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Sketch of the history of the Church of England

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HISTORY

OF

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

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SKETCH OF THE HISTORY

OF

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

TO THE REVOLUTION, 1688.

BY

THOMAS VOWLER SHORT, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH.

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SEVENTH EDITION.

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PREFACE.

THE BEST EXCUSE which can be made for the publication of a Work such as that which is now offered to the world, is the plain statement of the reasons which originally led to its composition, and of the objects which the author had in view, when he commenced the task. And if, when the undertaking is accomplished, the same reasons still exist either in part or whole; if his labours be calculated to supply a want which in any measure continues to be felt, he must trust that the kindness of the public will excuse that vanity which induces him to hope, that his exertions may in some degree contribute to supply a desideratum among the elementary works of our country.

The author of the present Sketch discovered after he had been admitted into orders, that the knowledge of English Ecclesiastical history which he possessed was very deficient. It was a point concerning which, information was not to be readily obtained, but in which he felt that he ought to have made diligent search during the professional preparation of himself, on which every educated man, who is engaged in the instruction of others, is peculiarly bound to enter; he was distressed, that his knowledge of the sects among the philosophers of Athens was greater than his information on questions which affect the Church of England; and he determined to devote a considerable portion of those few hours which a laborious employment left at his disposal to the study of the history of our own church.

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His pursuits were chiefly directed to those particulars which at the same time might supply him with real knowledge in his own profession; and he was disposed to hasten over periods which could furnish little but an acquaintance with facts, and an insight into ecclesiastical abuses. The circumstances in which he was placed furnished him with an abundance of books; but this very fact made him more sensible of the need of some guide to direct him in the selection of them; and notwithstanding the kind assistance provided by a large number of clerical friends, he found a diversity of advice, which perplexed rather than facilitated his progress. He sought in vain for a general history of the Church of England, which might furnish him with a map of his intended journey; for those which exist are rather large surveys than maps; in which the general features are laid down on so extensive a scale, that they never exhibit a commodious view of the whole.

He determined, therefore, to draw up a sketch for himself, to lay down the great landmarks as distinctly as he could, and to fill up the details in such a manner as circumstances would allow. And conceiving that his own map, with all its imperfections, might be useful to others, he constantly framed it as he proceeded, thinking that when his task was accomplished, it might either remain as a private memorial of his own studies, or be given to the public when the academical labours of the author were at an end, in case no work of the same description should previously supply the wants of individuals situated as he had been. When this period had arrived, and he hardly felt satisfied with the publications which had appeared, he ventured to print the present volumes. Mr. Southey's *Book of the Church* hardly satisfied him.[1] Mr. Carwithen has given a very faithful description of the country through which he has passed, but he has not sufficiently pointed out the more

[1] Dr. Short begs leave in this edition to apologise to Mr. Southey for expressions used in the first, which ought never to have been printed, and which are, for that reason, now omitted; especially as the new edition of Mr. Southey's work has obviated the want of references, to which allusion is there made. Second Edition.

striking features to which the attention of the traveller must be directed, if he wishes to obtain an idea of the whole territory. Many of the other writers who might here be mentioned have examined only a part of the history of our church, and are perhaps liable to other objections.

A larger work than the present would probably have been better suited to a greater variety of readers; a small one, if it be wisely composed, will seek the immediate benefit of one class only, and trust to the chance, that whatever is useful to one description of persons can hardly prove uninteresting to others. The professed object of these pages is to facilitate the studies of young men who are preparing themselves for the offices of the Church, through their academical pursuits.

The careful perusal of two small volumes[1] may prevent them from being ignorant on those points on which general information is ordinarily expected: and prepare the way for more extensive studies, by furnishing them with the means of arranging systematically the knowledge which they shall otherwise acquire.

If such a book had fallen into the hands of the author twenty years agone, his labours might have been more profitably directed in the same course; for there is a certain quantity of knowledge necessary on every subject, before we shall proceed effectually to the acquisition of more; and it often happens that the want of this is not supplied, till the more active duties of life prevent the clergyman from taking advantage of those channels of information which would otherwise have been open to him.

In the execution of this work, there is hardly enough of detail to satisfy the inquisitive; but while it assists him in his pursuits, it may prevent the idle from being totally ignorant on ecclesiastical history; it is with this view that the author has directed his particular attention to those points which constitute the history of the Church of England as it is at present

[1] The first edition was printed in two volumes

established, to the Thirty-nine Articles for instance, the translations of the Bible, and the Prayer Book.

It is probable that feelings of personal kindness may induce some individuals, who are possessed of a greater knowledge on ecclesiastical history, to favour these volumes with a reading; and they may wonder that the studies in which he has been engaged have not convinced the writer of the imperfections of his work, and the objections which may be raised against the attempt to crowd the whole history of our church into two small volumes. In extenuation of his defects, he would only plead the difficulty of the task, and beg them to examine the question on its right grounds. The work was composed when the author had an abundance of books, and but little time to use them; and has been prepared for the press in a small country village, where he has the command of his time, but of no library save his own private one. If, therefore, he had extended the limits of his work, the attempt must have been made under many disadvantages, of which they only can be fully aware who have once possessed a free admission into large libraries, of which they have been subsequently deprived. An occasional access to libraries is extremely useful for purposes of reference and collation; but he who collects materials for history must search among a variety of books which the hand of time has consigned to oblivion, and which are frequently unworthy the attention of the general reader; and no one can do this who is not resident among public libraries; nor can it be regarded in any light less serious than a national calamity, that the necessary labours of those who reside in the universities almost preclude the possibility of their deriving any extensive advantages from the treasures which are preserved around them.

In despair, therefore, of accomplishing anything more worthy of the subject, yet hoping that his present labours may not have been totally thrown away, he commits himself to the kindness of his friends and readers, with a full conviction that none of them are more fully aware of the deficiencies of these

volumes than himself. With regard to actual mistakes, he presumes that many may be discovered, arising partly from the extensive range of history which he has been forced to embrace, while the reader will criticise that portion with which he is best acquainted; he will ask, therefore, for a fair indulgence from those who have never engaged in such a task, nothing doubting that he who knows the difficulty of avoiding such errors, from experience, will use that forbearance which the case requires.

Some persons may object that the opponents of the Establishment are occasionally depicted in too favourable colours, and the defects of our common parent held up to view with less cautious respect than becomes a dutiful son of the Church of England. Let such remember, in the spirit of meekness, that there is a higher body to which we belong, and that the Church of England is no further our mother than as she proves herself a church of Christ. If such a charge be reasonably substantiated, no one will be more ready to find that he has been deceived than the writer of these pages; he has always endeavoured to search for the truth, and he hopes that in this pursuit he may never grow weary. To say that the Church of England is imperfect in constitution and practice is only to say that she was partly framed by human beings, and is administered by men; but to pray that her maladministrations may be corrected by her friends, and her deficiencies supplied by those who understand her constitution, is the petition of one, who while he admires the Church of England, believes that neither communities nor individuals are infallible.

And if the perusal of these volumes shall be accompanied with a portion of that amusement which their composition has afforded the author; if they shall contribute to excite in the breast of others that love and admiration for our church which their preparation has confirmed in the heart of the writer, their publication will fully answer the desires of one who believes that the best reformation of the Church of England would be to reduce her in practice to what she is in theory; who

believes that her doctrines are such, that he who ventures his eternal safety to her guidance is taking a secure path; and that the framework of her establishment is that which, under God's providence, is best suited, in the present state of the Christian world, to preserve and disseminate our holy faith among the various branches of society.

KINGS WORTHY:

April 1832.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES of the author of this sketch are so changed since he wrote it, that they will sufficiently account for his reprinting the work with little or no alteration. The Rector of Bloomsbury ought to be engaged in other tasks than that of writing ecclesiastical history. The public have taken off the first edition as rapidly as could have been expected, considering its extent and the nature of the work; and in offering a second in a cheaper form, the Author has consulted the convenience of those for whose use it was originally designed; in this edition he has corrected such errors as his friends have kindly pointed out to him, and he places it before students in Theology, with the hope that it may assist them in becoming acquainted with the history of the Church of England; and that they may derive as much practical advantage from this pursuit as he has obtained from it, in all the different circumstances to which his clerical duties have called him.

RECTORY, ST. GEORGE'S, BLOOMSBURY:

April 1838.

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APPENDIX B. TO CHAPTER V. p. 125.

DOCTRINES PREVALENT AT THE END OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

271. Three treatises put forth by authority. The doctrines contained in these retrograde.

272. The articles inserted in the *Institution*. Points in which the *Erudition* had advanced towards the doctrines of our church. The order of the Thirty-nine Articles convenient for examining these doctrines. Arrangement of the tracts themselves.

273. With regard to the Trinity, the church of England agrees with that of Rome.

274. With regard to the standard of faith, the difference is greater in appearance than in reality. The Decalogue admitted, exception of the fourth commandment.

275. Original sin. Freewill. Justification by faith. Good works. Works done before Justification; and of supererogation.

276. Christ alone without sin. Repentance. Predestination. Universality of redemption. Salvation through Christ alone. These doctrines not so distinctly laid down as in the Thirty-nine Articles.

277. Articles relating to the church. Errors of Rome not stated. Diversity of rites does not destroy unity. Purgatory, masses, and exequies. Images. Invocation of saints.

278. Seven sacraments; difference with regard to different sacraments. Baptism; penance; and the Lord's supper. The other four not equally necessary. The difference as to the manner in which the church of England holds these is merely concerning the name. In baptism the chrism retained.

279. Penance or repentance; the sacramental part of it consists in absolution. Doctrines of the churches of England and Rome; that of the *Erudition* nearer the church of Rome; danger of this doctrine. Orders; two only mentioned in Scripture, different from either the church of England or Rome. Confirmation. Extreme unction.

280. Transubstantiation. Matrimony. Celibacy of the clergy.

281. Traditions and ceremonies. The king's supremacy.

282. In doctrinal points the *Erudition* made small progress. Differences between the two churches. Papal infallibility the curse of Rome.

283. Points of difference between the *Institution* and *Erudition*. Transubstantiation; ceremonies; justification by faith; in which the latter had gone back as to its doctrines.

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301. Lord Hartford made Protector. Cranmer retiring in his disposition Wriothesley injudicious; this circumstance favourable to the Reformation.

302. The common people hasty in reforming; some persons reprimanded for it. Cranmer anxious to destroy images. Gardiner writes in favour of them.

303. Henry VIII. left money for masses and obits; the progress of opinion not rapid; delayed by giving preferments to monks who had been turned out from monasteries. Poverty of benefices a hindrance to the Gospel.

304. Opponents to reformation strong. Cranmer uses civil authority against them. Visitation for ecclesiastical matters. Images which had been abused to false devotion, to be taken down.

305. First book of Homilies published. Erasmus' Paraphrase to be set up in every church. Petition for the dead altered. Injunction sent forth.

306. The reformers strengthened by the success in Scotland. Severity used towards opponents. Bonner and Gardiner sent to prison. Mary remonstrates, and objects to any alterations during her brother's minority.

307. The parliament repeal the severe laws. Communion in both kinds granted the laity. Private masses forbidden. Laws about bishops and their courts. Chantries given to the crown; alarm about colleges.

308. Images removed. Proclamation against innovating. Communion examined; questions proposed; many superstitious notions still retained.

309. Communion Service published. Auricular confession left optional; the evils arising from confession have made Protestants neglect it. These arose from the corruption of the early customs of the church. The church of England recommends it, but neglects it.

310. Gardiner imprisoned for refusing to preach according to notes given him from court. Cranmer's Catechism.

311. Bill for the marriage of the clergy. The law of God does not enjoin celibacy, and the imposing it is injurious to morals. The secular clergy bound by no oath.

312. Psalm singing. Fish enjoined to be eaten on fast-days, to support the fisheries. Sir Thomas Seymour, the admiral, executed.

313. Ecclesiastical visitation. Examination of points of faith. Transubstantiation. Consubstantiation. Doctrine of the church of England.

314. Disputations in Oxford and Cambridge on transubstantiation.

315. Anabaptists, confusion about them; a commission appointed against them. Joan Bocher burnt. Edward unwilling to sign the warrant; Cranmer urges him. George Van Pare burnt.

316. The new Liturgy drawn up with great moderation. Wisdom of having the old prayers in Latin; an odd argument in its favour.

317. Infant baptism and predestination the causes of differences in the church. Dissolute morals prevalent. Labourers out of employment. Risings in Norfolk and Devonshire. The demands of the rebels.

318. Bonner deprived of his bishopric for not preaching as he was directed.

319. The fall of Protector Somerset. The earl of Warwick (duke of Northumberland) joins the reformers. Old service-books destroyed. Ordination service prepared. Heath sent to prison.

320. Gardiner detained in prison, and deprived of his bishopric.

321. Hooper entertains scruples about the dresses; Cranmer, Ridley, and Bucer argue against him. The question of conformity.

322. Common Prayer reviewed. Prayers for the dead, exorcisms, &c. objected to by Bucer; his book given to Edward VI. Edward's own book.

323. Ridley made bishop of London; his visitation. Altars changed into communion-tables. Preaching on week-days stopped.

324. Many foreign Protestants fly into England. John A'Lasco the superintendent of the churches in London. Many learned men received by Cranmer: his plan of a Protestant union.

325. The Forty-two Articles prepared; no grounds for deeming them a compromise of opinion.

326. Common Prayer altered. Six king's preachers appointed and sent through the country.

327. Mary's chaplain imprisoned for saying mass; she will listen to no arguments on the subject.

328. Execution of the Protector. His death attributed to the duke of Northumberland. Means taken to injure him in the opinion of his nephew.

329. Acts of parliament. Liturgy; holidays; fasting; eating fish; marriage of the clergy. The parliament dissolved.

330. Commission for reforming ecclesiastical courts. Poverty of the church. Degrading employments of the clergy. See of Gloucester suppressed from poverty. Spoliation still carried on.

331. See of Durham divided by act of parliament. The palatinate given to the duke of Northumberland, and Tonstal deprived for misprision of treason. The larger Catechism (Ponet's) authorized.

332. Edward's foundations: St. Bartholomew's hospital, Christ's hospital, and Bridewell.

333. The duke of Northumberland persuades Edward VI. to leave the crown to Lady Jane Grey; the crown lawyers unwilling to draw the deed; Cranmer unwilling to sign it; Judge Hales refuses.

334. Edward near his death; his character, by Cardan. Cranmer's and Ridley's speech to Cheke.

335. State of the church of England. The lower orders not generally fond of the Reformation; the upper orders bribed to approve of it; the clergy adverse to it. Morals depraved by the transfer of property, and the destruction of the power of the ecclesiastical courts.

336. Erastianism of the church of England. The question discussed, whether the religion of our church be a parliamentary one. Too great temporal power of the church of Rome produced a reaction.

337. The power opposed to reformation considerable; danger of delay from the state of the king. Opinions of Cranmer very Erastian.

338. Churchmen drew up the reforms; the parliament or king sanctioned them. The alterations must depend on their own merits.

339. The commissions granted to the bishops destroyed the nature of a ministry. The bishops generally entertained opinions at variance with them, and their acts must be valid. This does not decide whether Cranmer were wise in his proceedings.

340. There was not only need of reformation, but of restraining innovators; and the exertion of the temporal power was probably alone adequate to both these ends. It cast out superstition and preserved episcopacy, and the decent ceremonies of religion.

341. Our standards drawn from Lutheran sources. Melancthon invited to England, and consulted with regard to the Articles of 1536; many of the Forty-two Articles borrowed from him; article on consubstantiation. Services formed from Lutheran sources.

342. The documents of our church not original; wisely borrowed from other sources. She altered as little as she could; and where she was forced to alter, borrowed from previous reformers. This the wisest plan of proceeding.

CHAPTER VII. p. 168.

351. The religious opinions of Mary unfavourable to her cause. Some persons doubt as to Edward's power of leaving the crown by will. Lady Jane Grey.

352. Mary proclaimed queen; her error in promising more than she could perform, or perhaps meant to do.

353. Gardiner chancellor; his prudence in wishing to bring matters connected with religion to the state in which Henry VIII. left them; afraid of Pole. Precipitancy of the Roman Catholics. Bonner reinstated in his see.

354. Prohibition of preaching. Restoration of the deprived bishops. Mary hostile to her Protestant friends; many Protestants fly beyond sea. The bishops prepare for persecution.

355. The parliament repeals the act of Edward. Lady Jane Grey attainted; Cranmer comprehended in the bill.

356. Cardinal Pole legate; his arrival delayed by the advice of Gardiner. The idea of any personal attachment on the part of Mary unfounded. The parliament unfavourable to the Spanish alliance and to the papal supremacy.

357. The convocation attacks the Common Prayer and Catechism. Six Protestants advocate the cause of the Reformation; their arguments borne down by clamour.

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451. Inquisitorial Articles, *ex officio mero*; dispute as to their legality: Lord Burleigh dislikes them. Discussions carried on in presence of some of the court. Many considerable persons hostile to the proceedings of the church. Lord Leicester, Beal, and Sir F. Knowles. *Articuli pro clero.*

452. Objects of the puritans; a preaching ministry; they would attack choirs and impropriations. The introduction of the presbytery; of new ecclesiastical laws. The whole stopped by the queen.

453. Parliament. Acts for securing the queen's person, and against Jesuits and seminary priests; the first levelled against Mary queen of Scots. Forces sent into Holland.

454. Travers and Hooker, dispute between them. Hooker writes his *Ecclesiastical Polity.* Travers silenced (b). Presbyterian orders.

455. Babington's conspiracy. Mary queen of Scots tried and executed. The injustice of this proceeding.

456. A bill brought in to alter the whole ecclesiastical laws. Some members sent to the tower. Firmness of the queen. Judicious acts of convocation.

457. Spanish Armada. The good conduct of the Roman Catholics. Much blame due to Allen and Persons. Wryght and others maintain loyal opinions.

458. Martin Marprelate. The press taken. Many puritans in trouble; they refuse to take the oath *ex officio mero.* A party formed to change the constitution of the church. Cartwright hardly dealt with (a). The nature of the oath *ex officio mero.*

459. No government could safely allow the proceedings of the puritans; but unnecessary severity was used towards them. Eusebius Pagit. Bishops much hated; mismanagement on their part.

460. Argument in favour of episcopacy. The question of episcopacy not settled in the New Testament; settled early in ecclesiastical history. A very strong moral proof in favour of it.

461. Treatment of the libellers. The outrages of enthusiasts not properly chargeable on the puritans. The satires or Tom Nash useful.

462. Severe laws against puritans and Roman Catholics; some executions of priests; the Roman Catholics themselves the cause of these persecutions. Dispute between the Jesuits and seculars. Declaration of loyalty from the seculars (a). The number of Roman Catholics who suffered.

463. Disputes at Cambridge on Predestination. Barret recants. The question discussed at Lambeth.

464. The Lambeth Articles; the dogmatical language of them failed to produce peace or conviction in Cambridge or elsewhere. Baro opposes them (a). Whether they were forbidden by authority.

465. Greater peace in the church caused by the growing age of the queen and archbishop. The moderation of the house of commons.

466. The puritans become more moderate. Browne. Cartwright repents of his violence. The writings of Hooker and Bancroft. Character of Cartwright. Good effects of moderation.

467. Character of Elizabeth; her selfishness; love of money and of power; treatment of Roman Catholics and puritans.

468. In herself she was disposed to favour the Roman Catholics; their conduct offended and alarmed Protestants; she hated the puritans; was friendly to education; but very peremptory about church matters, in consequence of which Grindal remonstrated with her. Her own disinclination to marriage made her dislike it in others, and particularly in the clergy (a). Marriage of the clergy.

469. Elizabeth was very religious, but an enemy to free and impartial discussion; she proved herself a great monarch.

470. Death of Elizabeth; the earliest account of it: her melancholy; partakes of the offices of religion; dies quietly.

471. Little progress had been made in essentials in the church; the puritans most to blame, though they had not been treated wisely. Difficulties against which the bishops had to strive. Many of the bishops very unfit men. Sad state of the universities.

APPENDIX C. TO CHAPTER X. p. 266.

HISTORY OF THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES.

481. The Forty-two first published in 1553: their title; appended to a short catechism; the history of their composition uncertain.

482. The committee for reforming ecclesiastical laws appointed, 1549. Cranmer directed to frame the Articles; they were submitted to Cecil and Cheke, as well as to others; Ridley is supposed to have assisted him.

483. Whence did Cranmer draw the Articles? The Augsburg Confession; papers of the committee of doctrines, 1540; from his own researches; and from Luther and Melancthon.

484. The Forty-two Articles not sanctioned by convocation; few of the clergy subscribed them.

485. Articles examined in 1562. Parker prepares them for the convocation; they alter them; the Thirty-eight printed. A bill concerning subscriptions to the Articles brought into the commons; stopped by the queen in the lords; in 1571 Elizabeth allows the bill to pass. The subscription limited to the articles of faith and the sacraments. The Thirty-nine reviewed by the convocation; subscribed, and printed.

486. Controverted clause in the twentieth article; testimonies concerning it; the question agitated in the examination of Laud, 1637.

487. Idea of the author with regard to the controverted clause. Jewel publishes the Articles.

488. Laud not to blame about the twentieth article. The subscription at present dates from the canons of 1604. Parker and the bishops did not authorize this clause.

CHAPTER XI. p. 274.

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

491. Necessity of examining the Reformation in Scotland. Benefit of gradual reform. The Reformation had been long preparing in England, and advanced very slowly.

492. A combination of circumstances contributed to the Reformation in England, and tended to moderate its proceedings.

493. The light of the Reformation was much later before it broke in on Scotland. Deaths of Hamilton and Campbell. Further persecutions. Avarice of the nobility. Combination between the crown and the clergy. Cardinal Beaton. Political circumstances of England and Scotland. Wishart burned.

494. Murder of Beaton. The castle of St. Andrew's reduced by the French. The English interest connected with the reformers; interests of these two countries. Hostility of the reformers to the government. The Congregation formed. Use of the Common Prayer.

495. Mill burnt. Arrival of Knox; his natural impetuosity. Destruction of monasteries. The Reformation established. Political difference between the churches of England and Scotland.

496. Faults of Knox; his sternness did not convince those whom he reproved, and was dangerous to the minister himself. Advantages of mildness.

497. Political tendencies of the Reformation in Scotland; founded on resistance; danger of this ground; moderation might have produced the same effect.

498. Its moderation an argument in favour of the church of England. The preference to be given to this church over that of Scotland. The feelings which arose from the difference in the constitution of the two churches, productive of considerable effect in the subsequent history.

CHAPTER XII. p. 284.

501. Tranquil succession of James. Dr. Neville congratulates the king from the church of England. A favourable impression produced by James.

502. The puritans eager for reform. The Millenary petition; the contents of it. The difficulties in reform. The bishops directed to make inquiries. James anxious for information.

503. The summons to the conference held out no prospect of a free discussion. Alarms of the hierarchy. Divines consulted.

504. Conference at Hampton Court. Confirmation. Absolution. Baptism.

505. Objections of the puritans to the Thirty-nine Articles; 16th, 17th; it is desired that the Lambeth Articles may be introduced.

506. Confirmation; always performed by bishops. More objections to some of the Articles.

507. Catechism. Sabbath. New translation of the Bible. Popish books. Petition for a preaching and praying ministry. Lessons from the Apocrypha.

508. Cross in baptism. Questions proposed to the children. Surplice. Marriage service. Churching of women. Ecclesiastical censures. Prophesyings.

509. The bishops return their answers. The king speaks in favour of oaths *ex officio*. Adulation offered to his foolish vanity. The scruples of the nonconformists those of weak men. They request indulgence for certain ministers, and offend the king. The superior wisdom of the king himself.

510. Barlow's account of the conference; so favourable to the episcopal party, that it has been attacked without reason.

511. Galloway's account in reality confirmatory of Barlow's (b). Bancroft's and Galloway's accounts.

512. Convocation. Canons; they are binding on the clergy. Translation of the Bible. Prayer Book.

513. James deprives himself of the power of alienating church lands. The puritans and Roman Catholics offended at the favour shown to the church.

514. The powder-plot; discovered by means of a letter; Roman Catholics implicated; Oldcorn and Garnett executed; the miracle of the straw; the church of Rome by its unwise conduct implicated its own members.

515. Penal laws. Penalties for not receiving the sacrament; for refusing the oath of allegiance; for reconciling persons to the church of Rome. Disqualifications imposed on the Roman Catholics; obliged to conform to the services of the church of England.

516. The oath of allegiance not wisely drawn up; Paul V. forbids Roman Catholics to take it; Blackwell takes it, and is excommunicated for so doing. Laws put in force against papists; impolicy of so doing.

517. James's plan of a college at Chelsea for controversial divinity; not much required, and soon dissolved.

518. James interferes about theological questions; about Conradus Vorstius at Leyden. Burns Legate and Wightman. It was determined that there should be no more public executions. The wisdom of concealing intolerance.

519. Growing respect for the Sabbath; the point made a party question. James publishes the *Book of Sports*; many clergymen offended at it.

520. Synod of Dort; delegates sent from England; injustice towards the remonstrants; the five points. Moderation of the church of England.

521. The king favours the Roman Catholics, on account of the Spanish match. Recusants released. Abbot inveighs against toleration. Violent sermons. James publishes a letter concerning preaching, restraining the subjects of discourses, and limiting the licences; it produced no good effect.

522. Necessity of discussing politics, from their connection with the church; this will be done by examining the character of James.

523. James too weak a man to make a good king; he possessed intellect, but no firmness, and was not true to his word.

524. His ideas in church and state government were very extravagant, and his want of wisdom in talking about them created suspicions in his subjects. The puritan party was esteemed hostile to the government in both.

525. The Reformation made men think for themselves, and they began to do so in state as well as church matters.

526. Elizabeth was arbitrary but powerful, and consulted the good of the country. James, who was a weak man, and knew not how to govern, was guided by favourites; he hated the presbytery; but had abused the church of England till he came to this country.

527. He disliked the temporal supremacy of Rome, but was otherwise favourable to the Roman Catholics, and yet he persecuted them; indistinctness on the question of the Roman Catholics; ill treatment of them: their own ill conduct. Impolicy of the court in combining under the name of puritans all who in any way opposed the court. James a bad and weak man.

APPENDIX D. TO CHAPTER XII. p. 309.

HISTORY OF THE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE.

531. Four periods to be examined. The variety of readings and alterations in the same version.

532. All the English versions are taken from each other.

533. Early Saxon Versions; Hampole's; Wiclif's; his method of translating (c); the idea of a previous translation incorrect.

534. Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, Pentateuch, and Jonas. Joye makes alterations in the text.

535. Coverdale's Bible dedicated to Henry VIII.; he was not well suited to the task. Matthew's Bible formed from the two former.

536. Cranmer's Bible the same as Matthew's. Taverner's. An attempt at correcting the translation, which failed.

537. Geneva Bible; persons engaged in it; notes objected to by James I.

538. Bishops' Bible, or Parker's Bible; tables affixed to it; marriage table.

539. Rhemes and Douay Bible taken from the Vulgate.

540. Authorized version; undertaken in consequence of some observations at Hampton Court; the persons engaged; rules laid down for them; great care used. Question about a new translation. Archbishop Newcome.

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551. The government of the state influenced the affairs of the church from the stations which many churchmen held in the administration.

552. Montague attacked by the commons. Mainwaring fined by them. Both of them made bishops.

553. Laud urges the clergy to promote forced loans; the clergy thus invested with an office little suited to their character, and made parties to arbitrary proceedings, in the ideas of the people.

554. Churchmen admitted into the privy council, star-chamber, and high-commission courts. The foundation and proceedings of the star-chamber; its illegal extension; severity of its punishments.

555. Court of high-commission. The people angry at the dissolution of so many parliaments. Williams and Abbot treated severely; Abbot's real fault.

556. Feoffees of impropriations: they act without any legal authority; accused of perverting the charity to wrong purposes; exchequered, and the property forfeited to the crown. Laud ought to have managed the charity himself.

557. Arminianism generally prevails; particularly among those in authority in the church. Declaration prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles. Bishop Davenant censured. Preachers at Oxford expelled. These acts create an hostility against the court and church.

558. The Sabbatarian controversy. The laxity prevalent in Roman Catholic countries had been continued in the reigns of James and Elizabeth. Disputes as to the name, the time of its continuance, the day of celebrating it, and the manner of observing it; faults on both sides (a). Austerities of some preachers.

559. Richardson suppresses wakes, &c., in Somersetshire; he is brought before the privy council. The *Book of Sports* republished; enjoined to be read. The conduct of different clergymen.

560. Sabbatarian question discussed; difficulty of the question; folly of the court: and the ill effects of this on the church.

561. The proclamation might have done much good, if judiciously drawn up.

562. Severity against Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton: irritation produced by it: they are brought back in triumph. Odium thrown on the bishops.

563. Severity used towards Williams. Injustice towards Osbolston: his libel against Laud. These circumstances prove the insecurity of the government.

564. Scotch Liturgy. Hostility to bishops in Scotland. Alienation of church property; Elizabeth fostered this. James had gradually obtained some power for the bishops, and when he came to England endeavoured to unite the two churches.

565. The steps by which James endeavoured to establish episcopacy. Assembly of St. Andrew's, and of Perth; articles of Perth.

566. The presbyterians petition Charles I. Lord Balmiranoch condemned to death. The causes which contributed to render episcopacy unpopular. Imprudence of Charles. Bad state of the government.

567. Charles prepares to send down the Scotch Liturgy; drawn up by Weederburn. Canons sent down under a proclamation; the impolicy of this. The advisers of these measures quite inadequate to the task.

568. Tumults arising from the use of the Liturgy; no one was anxious to suppress them. Hamilton the king's commissioner at Glasgow. The general assembly rescind all that had been done. The Covenant signed in Edinburgh, and a civil war begun, in which the king was unsuccessful.

569. The same process was going on in England. Laud and the bishops were alienating the minds of the people by severity, and by enforcing ceremonies; the absurdity of this conduct.

570. Canons framed; the questionable nature of their authority, the absurdity of them at such a moment; their enactments: the *et cætera* oath; the clergy directed to enforce them; their injurious effect with regard to the clergy. They would have made the clergy promoters of the illegal acts of the crown.

571. An outline of the state of the country; necessity of reform. The power of the king ill defined. The court of ecclesiastical commission prejudiced the nation against bishops. Laud attempted to defend corruptions, and his opponents were forced to attack the whole of the existing state of things. The impolicy of Laud consisted in alienating the moderate party. The struggle was in the state, and episcopacy was disliked as an engine of state.

572. Long parliament. Committees on church matters. The crimes objected to clergymen. The injustice of these proceedings.

573. Attacks on the civil power of the church. Property cannot be retained without power. Attacks made against the votes of the bishops. They sign a protest, and are unjustly sent to the Tower. Bishop Hall's *Hard Measure*. The star-chamber and ecclesiastical commission suppressed.

574. The first steps tended to curtail the power of the bishops. When the war broke out, the loyalty of the clergy forced the parliament to destroy them as individuals; but it was on account of the aid from Scotland that the house favoured the presbytery.

575. Causes of the war; the existence of real abuses, and the unwillingness of the court to reform them till it was too late.

576. Outline of the war. Edgehill. The king gains possession of Oxford. Battle of Brentford.

577. The parliament take Reading. Sir R. Hopton takes Bristol. The king loses time in besieging Gloucester. The siege raised, and the first battle of Newbury fought.

578. Advance of the Scotch army. The covenant forced upon England. Battle of Marston Moor; York surrenders. The army of Essex surrenders at Fowey. Second battle of Newbury.

579. Faults and advantages of either party. The royalists were gallant and vicious. The puritans were outwardly religious, regular, and covetous of plunder.

580. Essex anxious to become the arbitrator of the war. The self-denying ordinance. Cromwell continued in his command. Fairfax, general; his merits. Cromwell the secret contriver of these plans; his talents in forming his army (a). The classes of persons who composed the two armies.

581. Campaign of Fairfax. Battle of Naseby. Reduction of the west. Charles surrenders to the Scotch. Oxford surrenders. The royalists destroyed by their own dissensions, arising from want of firmness in the king.

582. Misery of England. The injustice of the parliaments towards Laud and Lord Strafford. Charles much to blame in giving up the latter. Difficulty of drawing Laud's character.

583. Character of Laud. His objects good; his method of pursuing them unsound; difficulty of the times. Laud advanced churchmen to defend the church; and increased the hatred of the people towards him; he so favoured Arminianism as to make the Calvinists his enemies; he enforced ceremonies, and engaged the religious feelings of the country against him. As a minister he made the law bend to his wishes.

584. Many charges brought against him were groundless; he was guilty, but not of treason; he was not a hero; his defence pusillanimous; his greatness in his afflictions.

585. The church and state were now thrown down, and it was necessary to reconstruct some form of government. Archbishop Usher's plan of combining episcopacy with the presbytery. The assembly of divines called. Their constitution, and numbers.

586. Episcopalians, presbyterians, and independents. The presbyterians soon became the predominating faction, chiefly through the introduction of the covenant.

587. Principles of the Presbyterians. Republican tendency of this form of government. Much more tyrannical over the laity than the episcopal.

588. Independents. Their principles subversive of all church government. Friends of religious liberty, supported by the politics of Cromwell. Erastians; they made the church entirely political.

589. Alteration of the Thirty-nine Articles. The principles of Church government discussed. The divine right of presbytery not established. Erastianism prevails. Ordination placed in the hands of the assembly.

590. Works of the assembly. Directory; points in which it essentially differs from the church of England. Indefinite rules about ordination. The doctrine of predestination brought forward prominently.

591. Constitution of the presbyterian church. The ministers and elders have the judicial power vested in them. The difference in this respect in the episcopal church. Deacons (a). Cause of the power in the presbytery.

592. The presbytery established in London and Lancashire only, and always under control of Parliament; objections raised to this restraint. The claim of the *jus divinum* for the presbytery; it was superseded by independency.

593. Independency destroys all church discipline; the army friendly to it. The chief officers, who were also preachers, disdained spiritual control; and the politics of the army disliked the republican tendency of the presbytery. Independency established in Wales.

594. The object of the Independents was liberty of conscience; the army joined them, and the presbyterians joined the republicans. Escape of the king; the object of allowing this. All tended to destroy the king.

595. The presbyterians might have saved Charles, if he would have joined them. His disputation with Henderson, and firm adherence to episcopacy. The soundness of his arguments. At Newport the king was assisted by several divines; but his reasoning at Newcastle was safer (c). Episcopal power.

596. Character of Charles. The people of England had determined to pay no taxes save those which they had imposed on themselves, and the court would not concede this. Laud tried to induce the church to maintain the government, but he had offended many of the lower clergy.

597. Great want of confidence in the court. The concessions, when granted to force, were to be supported by further demands; and these were necessarily grounded on the insincerity of Charles. Evidence against him as to this point. The real difficulty consisted in his weakness of mind; when he had lost his crown he became dignified in his misfortunes; his virtues.

598. Sufferings of the clergy. Many puritans driven to join the parliament. The royalists ejected on very small grounds, and without any formal proceedings. Accusations made against them; ejected for refusing to take the covenant. The parliament most unjust in this proceeding. One-fifth of the value of their preferments granted to their families. Number ejected.

599. Cambridge. An order for respecting the property of the university disregarded. The Earl of Manchester reforms it, and ejects many members.

600. Oxford; of great assistance to the king during the war. Commissioners sent there to reform it. Their authority despised till supported by soldiers. '*Reasons why the university could not assent to the covenant.*' The suffering royalists aided the Restoration. The university filled up. The value of such establishments.

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601. The history of all popular revolutions the same. Reform only safe in the hands of the upper orders. The power at the end of the war was in the hands of the army, and they chose to retain it.

602. Cromwell conquers Ireland; goes to Scotland, gains the battle of Dunbar. Charles crowned at Scone. Battle of Worcester.

603. Cromwell, by threatening the country with the prospect of anarchy, from the insufficiency of his parliaments, assumes the protectorship (b). Instrument of government.

604. The principle of his government; he attaches eminent persons to him; seeks for fit men for all situations. Justice. The protector of Protestants.

605. Character of Cromwell; honest and patriotic at first. His own interest led him to wish for the death of the king; he became entangled in political plans, and lost his honesty; he was severe, but never bloodthirsty; his treatment of the royalists.

606. The presbyterians had generally established themselves in livings; but they could not control the power which they had raised. The government found them ill-suited to its views, and ejected them by means of the Engagement. The presbyterian ministry fond of temporal power.

607. The independents raised the standard of religious liberty against the presbyterians; and when some of the presbyterians communicated with the Scotch, Mr. Love was executed; their power as a church was never established.

608. Propagation of the gospel in Wales, the work of the independents; the ministers were here invested with no ministerial authority, and were mere licensed and paid teachers.

609. The assembly formed the first bond of church government, and afterwards the Triers; they were vested with great power, and used it very arbitrarily, and as a political engine. Oliver Cromwell's declaration against the royalist clergy.

610. Cromwell was a friend to toleration, which was granted to those who held 'the fundamentals of Christianity;' question as to the meaning of this expression. He would have tolerated Roman Catholics and Jews, but objections arose from different quarters.

611. The effects of the usurpation on morals; the accounts are very various.

612. Baxter's ministry at Kidderminster; he was elected lecturer, and afterwards took the sequestration of the living; he gathered a church in his own parish, and exercised discipline there. Associations formed among ministers, and not confined to any party.

613. Objections to Baxter's plans. Separation between the godly and ungodly. Meetings of the clergy then more wanted perhaps than at present.

614. Strictness of the independents as to admission into church union; they composed a confession of faith nearly resembling that of the assembly; their internal government democratic. The presbyterians publish directions about catechising.

615. Walton and Clarendon give a sad account of the state of morality. Some ministers of the church of England continued their ministry. Sanderson and Bull. Skinner, bishop of Oxford, ordained many.

616. The episcopalians spent their time in sufferings and patient study, and thus assisted the Restoration. Cromwell was practically not cruel. Many resided with their friends. Oriental literature flourished.

617. The features of religious fanaticism are generally the same everywhere. Forms had been regarded too much, and they were now laid aside altogether.

618. Fox. The conduct of the Quakers exposed them to punishment, which was often cruelly inflicted, but the fault was chiefly their own; these Quakers unlike those of the present day.

619. Anabaptists. Antinomians. Familists. Fifth-monarchy men. Confusion produced by these differences and a want of toleration. Morality injured by it.

620. Laws against immorality very severe; concerning the Sabbath, uncleanness, and plays.

621. Laws against heretics. James Naylor punished. Fry expelled the house. Biddle tried for Socinianism. Corruptions produced by the war.

622. Marriage made a civil contract; the wisdom of this.

623. Difficulty about the succession of bishops; many methods of obviating it contrived, but rendered unnecessary by the Restoration.

624. Causes of the Restoration.

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650. The presbyterians instrumental in restoring the king; they provided no safeguards for their own form of government, thinking themselves too strong to be in danger.

651. The term *presbyterian* explained; they were not anti-episcopalians, but wished to confine the power of the bishop within narrow limits.

652. Charles II. was very civil to the presbyterians. He refuses to omit the ceremonies of the church. There was no real coalition between the puritans and the court.

653. The convention parliament contained many presbyterians; its acts prudent, which however were liable to be questioned, and several of the members were not chosen according to the writs; it is dissolved.

654. Difficulties attending the Restoration; the army is unwilling to be disbanded; some officers suspect that they had been made the tools of Monk; little money.

655. The old and new royalists, each despising the other, and each importunate to obtain preferment from the king.

656. State of the church. The presbyterians were unfriendly to the government of the bishops, who were now restored. The reversion of all church lands and livings created a vast transfer of property. Fellowships restored; some innocent persons ejected.

657. Episcopacy objected to. The presbytery sought the jurisdiction over their parishes; this the real point at issue.

658. The bishops feared that their power would be taken away, and they tried to show that no alterations were necessary, and would make no concessions to the presbytery.

659. The presbyterians wanted to show the necessity of changes, but were afraid to ask too much, for fear of offending their own party, and dividing among themselves; and equally unwilling to ask too little, lest the bishops should say that there was no cause for separation from the church.

660. Origin of the Savoy conference. The king's declaration from Breda had raised the hopes of the presbyterians, who presented a petition objecting to.

661. The discipline of the church, the Liturgy, and ceremonies; and prayed for alterations.

662. The bishops answered, that many of the evils complained of with regard to discipline were remedied by law. That objectionable points in the Liturgy might be altered, and that the ceremonies were innocent.

663. The nonconformists were induced to proceed, by a promise from the king that he would put forth a declaration to moderate between the contending parties. When this was shown to the nonconformists, Baxter drew up a violent paper, which was never presented.

664. Many alterations are introduced into the declaration by the nonconformists. A discussion at Worcester House. The presbyterians unwilling to tolerate others.

665. The king's declaration; it contains ample concessions as to the power of presbyters, the Liturgy, and ceremonies; and prays all to conform as far as they can.

666. Sir Matthew Hale attempts to convert the declaration into a law, which is thrown out. Bishoprics offered to some of the nonconformists; Baxter refuses one; his reasons.

667. The commission for the Savoy conference; they were to review the Liturgy, and draw up additional forms.

668. The bishops demanded at once all the objections of the nonconformists. A committee formed for all the alterations. Baxter undertakes the additional forms.

669. Baxter's liturgy. The imprudence of drawing it up; his object and plan. The faults of the work.

670. The objections to the Liturgy presented. Baxter's petition for peace; the want of moderation in it.

671. They object to the Common Prayer generally, to the ceremonies, and discipline; particulars in which they requested alteration.

672. The answer of the bishops was moderate and sound; but not conciliatory. Three of the promised concessions were never really made.

673. Answer of the nonconformists. They agree to carry on a disputation. Bishop Cosins desires the nonconformists to distinguish between what was sinful and what was inexpedient in the Common Prayer. Baxter's answer.

674. Inutility of the disputation. The time of the commission elapses through delays created perhaps on purpose. No good results from the conference.

675. The nonconformists present an address to the king. Baxter was much to blame in the whole transaction.

676. The concessions might have been more numerous, but the great question turned on discipline.

677. The question of discipline is one of great difficulty. The difference between discipline and government. Church government a mixture of the two.

678. Discipline over the laity. A conscientious minister may now admonish; it is doubtful whether further power would increase his spiritual utility.

679. The nonconformists present a petition, and state their readiness to suffer patiently the penalties affixed to nonconformity.

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701. Little good to be expected from conferences. The best method of attempting alterations. Convocation. Review of the Liturgy. Alteration of the canons. Articles of visitation. Consecration of churches. Grammar. Subsidy, the last raised by the clergy; how this change was effected, and its consequences.

702. Act of uniformity. Its object different from that of Elizabeth. The practical tendency of the latter was, to make all conform; of the act now made, to eject as many nonconformists as possible.

703. A church must exclude from the ministry those who will not conform to its rules; but on this occasion moderation might have been used, for so great a change of property was an evil; and much good might have been done by augmenting small livings (a). Augmentation of small livings.

704. Ejection of the nonconforming clergy discussed. The country generally unfavourable to them, which gave a full power to the church of treating them as they pleased.

705. Moderate measures would probably have retained many nonconformists in the church; but this was not the object of the superior clergy. A saying of Sheldon.

706. The injustice of ejecting those who had obeyed a government *de facto*, and of making no provision for them.

707. If they had proceeded on the act of Elizabeth, they would have divided the party. The Prayer Book published very near St. Bartholomew's day: and that day selected in order to deprive the ejected clergy of the tithes of the year.

708. Political feelings mixed up with these measures. The governing party were uncertain as to the continuance of their power. The papists promoted these dissensions.

709. Charles not unfriendly to toleration; he tries to soften matters; his declaration.

710. Two thousand ministers ejected; who thus evinced their sincerity. Reordination the chief difficulty. The delicacy of the question. Bramhall's and Overall's conduct about this: it is unfortunate that nothing of this sort were adopted (a). On reordination.

711. Severities exercised on the nonconformists. The church of England tries to defend herself by exclusive laws.

712. Corporation act. Select vestry act.

713. First conventicle act. Second.

714. Five-mile act; passed while the nonconformists were particularly exerting themselves during the plague.

715. Attempts at a comprehension. Lord Keeper Bridgman. The king's declaration for toleration. Repeal of the law against nonconformists; omitted by the clerk of the crown. Unconstitutional vote of the commons.

716. The severity against dissenters prepared the minds of the people for toleration.

717. The conduct of the nonconformists unjustifiable; they destroyed the unity of the church for their own prejudices; the laws were impolitic in comprehending them all under one class.

718. Letters of foreign reformers. The nonconformists wished for certain alterations, and because these were not granted they caused a schism in the church. Both parties became guilty, and taught other people moderation.

719. Latitudinarians. The name first given at Cambridge. Men whose moderation displeased everybody. The term applied indistinctly.

720. Laws against Roman Catholics. They are excluded from all offices, and from sitting in Parliament. The Duke of York excepted. The inutility of all enactments with regard to Charles II.

721. Plots; Oates'. The evidence questionable. There was probably a general attempt to bring in the Roman Catholic religion, but no design to murder the king. The severity against Oates in the next reign proves nothing.

722. Dangerfield's plot. There was no safety from the law, which was converted into a means of oppressing the subject.

723. The danger which threatened the church was that to which the state was likewise exposed—viz., the introduction of the Roman Catholic religion by means of arbitrary power. The high and low church party joined in repelling this. The court regarded the question as one of politics. The country looked upon it generally as a religious one.

724. Attempts of Charles to establish the dispensing power. The country adverse to toleration; and justly alarmed at the conduct of the crown.

725. The nonconformists not worthy of praise for refusing toleration, which must have been extended to Roman Catholics. The exclusion of the Roman Catholics from civil offices not inconsistent with toleration, but can only be defended on the plea of necessity.

726. The civil history of the reign disgraceful.

727. The plague. Many of the clergy fly; their places were quickly filled by the nonconforming divines. Reformation of morals promoted by it. Athens and London.

728. Fire of London. The nonconforming ministers deprived of the charity which they had obtained from the city. The mutual criminations. The nonconformists establish meetings. Several influential members of the establishment particularly useful. Violence of the nonconformists.

729. Dissent and hostility to the government create a reaction among churchmen, who adopt extravagant notions of government. The Oxford decree framed by Dr. Jane.

730. Lord Clarendon friendly to the republicans: hostile to the church. Why? Burnet's reason. In reality the presbyterians were unfit to govern. The chancellor trusted to severity, and the adoption of it convinced men of the necessity of toleration.

731. Lord Clarendon supported measures of which he did not approve; his own opinions, therefore, are uncertain. The feelings of the country fostered persecution. The nonconformists would have persecuted in their turn. The church certainly to blame.

732. Profligacy of Charles II.; he sought ease; and arbitrary power was no further dear to him than as it procured him freedom. His talents considerable; infamous for being willing to enslave England to France.

733. Profligacy fostered by religious dissensions. Fanaticism was followed by hypocrisy, by profligacy, by religious discord; but God raised up deliverance from our very misfortunes.

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HISTORY OF THE COMPILATION OF THE COMMON PRAYER BOOK.

741. The Common Prayer Book was compiled from the services of the Roman Church. The *King's Primer* published 1545, containing the Litany and prayers; republished by Edward and Elizabeth.

742. The service for the communion after the mass; the first part in Latin, the second in English, 1548. Great moderation with regard to auricular confession.

743. The whole service in English, 1549; this differs much from the present Liturgy, and may be deemed a connecting link between the missal and the Prayer Book (b). Differences from the present Liturgy.

744. The prudence with which it was drawn up. An ordination service composed and published, 1550.

745. Review of the Liturgy, 1552. Second of Edward VI. Bucer and Peter Martyr consulted. It differs little from the present (b). Alterations between the Liturgy of 1549-1552.

746. Liturgy of Elizabeth, 1560; few alterations from that of the second of Edward VI. (b). Alterations 1552–1560.

747. Alterations introduced by proclamation, 1604 (a). Alterations, 1560–1604.

748. Changes made while Laud was archbishop (a). Changes then made (b). Scotch Liturgy.

749. Alterations made by the convocation, 1661. The work had been prepared, and was quickly carried through the house. This is the present Liturgy (b). Alterations now made.

750. Service for the consecration of churches; often attempted, but never authorized; drawn up by Bishop Andrews. Four political services, for Nov. 5, Jan. 30, May 29, and the Accession.

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751. The contest decided in 1688 was a political one. James's arbitrary notions; his very conversion to Romanism, political.

752. He aimed at arbitrary power, and preferred the principles of Romanism, because they are better suited to it than those of the church of England. His sentiments about the bill of exclusion.

753. The Protestants had driven the Roman Catholics into his arms; at his accession he promised to support the Church of England; and he fancied that a party in the church would support his plans.

754. The first acts of James were arbitrary. A large revenue was settled upon him; he was blinded as to the real state of things, partly by the success with which his arms were crowned. His cruelty.

755. James's cruelty was his own. No one can entertain any great respect for the religious principles of so vicious a man.

756. In order to check the opposition of churchmen, James forbade preaching on controversial subjects, and threatened to make a new *valor* for tenths and first-fruits. The Church active in the popish controversy. James appoints an ecclesiastical commission.

757. The commission furnished with ample powers for reforming ecclesiastical bodies, schools, and universities. Compton suspended for not suspending Sharp.

758. James, wishing to curb the Church, issues a declaration for liberty of conscience, which totally repealed all the penal laws. In this he invaded private property, though he disclaimed the right of doing so.

759. He attempts to form a parliament favourable to his views, by unwise means. He attempts to influence the judges most illegally. The dispensing power tried in the case of Sir Edward Hales.

760. The sufferings of the Dissenters; the Court tried to divide them from the Church, but their moderation prevented this.

761. James begins by attacking the Universities. State of Oxford. Roman Catholic heads of houses. He commands Magdalen College to elect Farmer for their president; and upon their continued refusal, Hough and twenty-five fellows were ejected. S. Parker and B. Giffard successive presidents.

762. James's view of the question. The University of Cambridge refuses a degree to a Roman Catholic. The Vice-chancellor ejected. A similarly illegal attempt is made at the Charter-house.

763. James makes Petre a privy counsellor, and sends Lord Castlemain to Rome. These acts attributed to Lord Sunderland (a). Vicars apostolic.

764. James not friendly to the power of Rome. The Pope and his other friends recommend caution. The Pope's nuncio received at Windsor, and consecrated at St. James's.

765. James sees the growing spirit of opposition, and tries to gain a parliament favourable to his views, and to abolish the test; he converses with many persons on his progress, and uses violent methods towards corporations; but became more and more mistrusted.

766. He relies on his army, and introduces Roman Catholics into it. Mr. Johnson punished severely for an address to the army.

767. When every one was offended at him, James republishes his declaration for liberty of conscience. The clergy are directed to read it in their churches.

768. The difficulty in which the clergy were placed. The bishops come forward and present a petition. Few clergymen read the declaration. Four bishops enjoin it.

769. The bishops sent to the Tower. The excitement among the people.

770. Trial of the bishops. Question of the dispensing power. Opinion of the judges. They are acquitted. Joy of the people and army.

771. James hopes to remedy his folly by firmness. Dismisses the two judges who had favoured the bishops. The ecclesiastical commission exerted. The good conduct of the dissenters. Sancroft attempts a comprehension. His plan.

772. Progress of the revolution. The alarm of James made him retrace his steps when it was too late.

773. He consults the bishops, and follows their advice to no purpose.

774. The bishops refuse to sign a declaration of abhorrence with regard to the conduct of the Prince of Orange. This refusal probably saved episcopacy in England.

775. The bishops advise him to call a free parliament. He determines to try the army; discovers his mistake, and attempts a flight into France; he is detained, returns to London, and again flies.

776. Character of James; his talents; wanting in honesty; an excellent man of business; his views with regard to trade and liberty of conscience; his false notions of government.

777. His great object was to establish arbitrary power, and for this purpose he wished to introduce the Roman Catholic religion; he always esteemed all persons who differed from his opinions, as hostile to him, and fell into the hands of foolish and dishonest advisers.

778. He possessed no real religion while he was king, and opposed the Church of Rome; received the banished Protestants. He was very deceitful in his promises about the Church of England. Dishonest and unwise.

779. The birth of the prince made the country look to itself for deliverance. No ground for the supposed illegitimacy of the child.

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781. Conduct of the clergy. Accused by the Roman Catholics and Nonconformists of preaching passive obedience, till they had deceived the king. This might have been the case with some, but many of them exhibited their opinions openly. Glorious conduct of the distinguished churchmen.

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801. The oaths of supremacy and allegiance altered and imposed. The non-juring bishops. The impolicy of imposing the oath.

802. Inutility of many oaths. General oaths sometimes useful. Frequency of oaths disgraceful to us.

803. The friends and supporters of the Revolution suffered by it. Power given to William to grant incomes to some of the clergy, never used. The deprived bishops continue the succession of bishops among themselves.

804. The principles upon which they did this. They possessed a power which the civil authority could not take away, and which therefore they continued to exercise. Difference between their case and that of the Scotch bishops. Difficulty of praying for William and Mary.

805. The question of the propriety of the conduct of these bishops. The Revolution is not to be justified on permanent principles, but is one of those cases which are not provided for in the Bible. The non-juring bishops are not to be blamed; their subsequent conduct created a schism, and is unjustifiable.

806. Toleration Act passes. A commission granted for preparing alterations in the Liturgy, and reforming the discipline of the church; some of the members refuse to act (a). The names of the commissioners.

807. Intended alterations in the Liturgy.

808. Prideaux's expectations from this convocation. *Desiderata* in the Liturgy. Form of family prayer; disuse of it arising from the circumstances of the times (b). The American Prayer Book, 1790.

809. The temper of the lower house of convocation. Dr. Jane elected prolocutor; the causes of this; his speech. The dispute about the address. The session discontinued. The clergy blamed.

810. If alterations had been made, the non-jurors would have had more apparent reason for calling themselves the old church, and of charging the others with creating divisions. No good to be expected from a comprehension; yet all reasonable objections might as well be obviated.

811. The church of England was now established by law, as it stands at present; a summary of its history; it ceased to be Roman Catholic under Henry VIII.; it became Protestant by law under Edward VI.; but hardly fixed in the hearts of the people.

812. Under Mary Romanism was restored, but by no means with full power; she persecuted from principle, and her persecutions convinced the people of the evils of popery.

813. Elizabeth loved ceremonies, and hated puritanism; and by her severities united those who opposed either the government of the church or state.

814. These evils were augmented under James, and his weakness and impolicy strengthened his enemies.

815. Laud increased the tyranny of, and the opposition to, the star-chamber and ecclesiastical commission. The canons contributed to make the ruling part of the clergy disliked, and the exclusive conduct of Laud drove many more into the ranks of the enemies of the church.

816. At the Restoration some power was given back to the bishops' courts; but the persecution which was exercised arose from the house of commons, and at last convinced the country of the necessity of toleration.

817. The church of England is an authorized and paid establishment, but not an exclusive one; and is bound to endeavour to benefit the country. Such an ecclesiastical society was instituted by Christianity, but has been modified by the law of the land.

818. Evils arising from the connection between the church and state. Wrong appointments in the church. Worldly-mindedness in the clergy. Destruction of spiritual government; and of ecclesiastical discipline.

819. The blessings of the church as a moral police, and a teacher of Christianity.

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SKETCH OF THE HISTORY

OF

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

1. Outline of the history of the British church. 2. Evidence in favour of St. Paul's having preached in Britain. Other traditions without foundation. 3. King Lucius. St. Alban. Constantine puts an end to persecution. 4. British bishops at various councils. 5. Pelagianism. Schools. Gallican liturgy. 6. Conversion of the Saxons. 7. Augustin; his proceedings. 8. Progress of the conversion of the Saxons. Wilfred. 9. Roman supremacy. 10. Danes. Tithes. 11. Alfred. 12. Odo. Dunstan. Wealth of the church. 13. Imperfection of this sketch. 14. Origin of the errors of the church of Rome. 15. Prayer for the dead. Purgatory. 16. Transubstantiation. 17. Mass. 18. Image-worship. 19. Relics. 20. Pilgrimages. 21. Confession and Penance. 22. Celibacy of the clergy. 23. History of ecclesiastical establishments. 24. Progress of error. 25. Real danger of erroneous opinions. 26. Inadequate views of Christianity among the Saxons.

The early history of the British church, if it be regarded as a question of curiosity, may well claim the attention of those who delight in such researches; but to him who seeks only for truths which may prove useful in the formation of his own opinions, any considerable investigation into the records which are left us, can offer little beyond labour, accompanied with very trifling hopes of reward. The particulars which are to be gleaned from our uncertain and unsupported histories, may be briefly comprehended under the following heads. The island was early blessed by the dissemination of Christianity, possibly through the preaching of St. Paul; and before the end of the second century the country had generally received the gospel. Episcopacy was from the first established among us, and the British church partook in the persecutions and heresies which agitated the rest of the Christian community, and appears to have had much connexion with Gaul; but neither of these churches paid any further deference to Rome, than that which the younger sister ought to concede to her elder. The flourishing condition of this church was first destroyed by

heresy and vice, and then oppressed and overwhelmed by the arrival of the heathen Saxon, who in his turn became the civilized convert of the faith which he had once persecuted.

§ 2. With regard to the details of these events, it will perhaps be deemed sufficient if the reader be referred to those authorities where he will find all the satisfaction which can be obtained, while such particulars only are mentioned as seem from their importance to merit our further attention. Eusebius asserts,[1] that some of the apostles preached the gospel in the British isles (a). Theodoret confirms this (b); and elsewhere, after having mentioned Spain, says, that St. Paul brought salvation to the isles which lie in the ocean (c). These testimonies of the fourth and fifth centuries are supported by an expression of Clement of Rome, who wrote before the end of the first, and who relates that St. Paul preached righteousness through the whole world,[2] and in so doing went to the utmost bounds of the West (d). If these words are to be taken in their literal sense, little doubt can remain that this kingdom was converted to Christianity by the apostle to the Gentiles; yet such deductions must always be regarded with suspicion: and though we may not hesitate in believing that our holy faith was planted in these islands at a period not far distant from the first preaching of Christianity (e), we shall hardly

(a) —— τινὰς δὲ ἤδη καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐλθεῖν τὰ ἄκρα, ἐπί τε τὴν Ἰνδῶν φάσαι χώραν, καὶ ἑτέρους ὑπὲρ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς καλουμένας Βρεττανικὰς νήσους, &c. &c. Euseb. *Dem. Evang.* lib. iii. c. 7, p. 112. Paris, 1628.

(b) Οἱ δὲ ἡμέτεροι ἁλιεῖς καὶ οἱ τελῶναι καὶ ὁ σκυτοτόμος ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις τοὺς εὐαγγελικοὺς προσενηνόχασι νόμους. καὶ οὐ μόνον Ῥωμαίους, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τούτοις τελοῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ Σκυθικὰ &c.—καὶ Βρεττανοὺς—καὶ ἁπλαπλῶς πᾶν ἔθνος καὶ γένος ἀνθρώπων, δέξασθαι τοῦ σταυρωθέντος τοὺς νόμους ἀνέπεισαν. Theodoreti *Serm.* ix. *De Legibus*, p. 610, tom. iv. Paris, 1642.

(c) Ὕστερον μέντοι καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπέβη, καὶ εἰς τὰς Σπανίας ἀφίκετο, καὶ ταῖς ἐν τῷ πελάγει διακειμέναις νήσοις τὴν ὠφέλειαν προσήνεγκε, &c. *In Psalm.* cxvi. tom. i. p. 871.

Ἀπολογισάμενος ὡς ἀθῶος ἀφείθη, καὶ τὰς Σπανίας κατέλαβε, καὶ εἰς ἕτερα ἔθνη δραμὼν τὴν τῆς διδασκαλίας λαμπάδα προσήνεγκε. *In Tim.* iv. 17, tom. iii. p. 506.

(d) Παῦλος—κήρυξ γενόμενος ἔν τε τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει—δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθών, &c. Clemens Rom. *ad Cor.* p. 6. Oxf., 1633.

(e) Tertullian, who wrote about A.D. 200, and Origen 240, both speak of Christianity as fully established in Britain.

In quem enim alium universæ gentes crediderunt, nisi in Christum qui jam venit? Cui enim et aliæ gentes crediderunt; Parthi, &c.—— Hispaniarum omnes termini et Galliarum diversæ nationes, et Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita, &c. Tertullianus, *adv. Judæos*, p. 212. Paris, 1634.

Virtus Domini Salvatoris et cum his est qui ab orbe nostro in Britannia dividuntur, &c. Origenis *Hom.* vi. *in Lucam*, p. 939, iii. Paris, 1740

Quando enim terra Britanniæ ante adventum Christi in unius Dei consensit religionem? Quando terra Maurorum? Quando totus semel orbis? Nunc vero propter ecclesias,

[1] Stillingfleet's *Orig. Brit.* 36.

[2] Cave's *Life of St. Paul*, 80.

assign to this event a date so early as the reign of Tiberius, as some authors have done,[1] from misunderstanding a passage in Gildas.

The several traditions about St. James, Simon Zelotes (a), and Philip,[2] are destitute of any ancient testimony; and that in favour of St. Peter is of a very late date. The fable about Joseph of Arimathea (b), and his having founded Glastonbury Abbey,[3] would have been unworthy of notice, had not Queen Elizabeth and Archbishop Parker[4] ventured to claim him as the first preacher of Christianity in England; but the absurdity of the whole story is fully established by Stillingfleet.[5]

§ 3. Many English writers refer the conversion of this country to the reign of King Lucius,[6] of whom the old book of Llandaff says, that he sent Eluanus and Medwinus to Eleutherius, the twelfth Bishop of Rome, requesting that he might be made a Christian through his instruction; and that on the return of these messengers, Lucius and the chief of the Britons were baptized, and bishops consecrated for the dissemination of Christianity. So many improbabilities have been engrafted on this relation, that the very existence of such a king, and the whole tale, has, without much reason, been questioned. The circumstance of his sending ambassadors to request instruction corresponds with the supposition already made, that the country had before received the truths of Christianity: and the disagreement between the two relations is the less important, as it amounts only to this, whether we suppose that the Christian religion was now first established, or that, having made but little progress, since its first foundation, it was now reformed and renewed: and the want of any sufficient testimony must preclude the idea of deciding this question. We may nevertheless assume as an undoubted fact, that Christianity was established here very generally before the end of the second century:[7] for Tertullian says,[8] that the kingdom of Christ was advanced in Gaul and Britain, and that Christ was solemnly worshipped by the inhabitants. From this time we meet with little concerning the British churches till we learn that England was not free from the trials to which Christianity was subjected during the third

quæ mundi limites tenent, universa terra cum lætitia clamat ad Dominum Israel, et capax est bonorum secundum fines suos. p. 370. H. in Ezech. iv.

(a) According to the Greek menologies, Simon Zelotes suffered martyrdom in Britain. See Cave's *Apost.* p. 151.

(b) It is curious that at the council of Basil the English bishops claimed precedence on the ground of the conversion of Britain by Joseph. Fuller, iv. 180.

1 Stillingfleet, 4.
2 Ibid. 45.
3 Strype's *An.* i. 218.
4 Parker, i. 139.
5 *Orig. Brit.* 6. &c.
6 Ibid. 66.
7 *Orig. Brit.* 50.
8 Tertull. c. *Jud.* ch. 7.

century, and the fate of Julius, Aaron, and St. Alban (a), who has transferred his name to Verulamium,[1] where he suffered, proves that the Diocletian persecution extended thus far into the provinces which were subject to the Roman power.

Constantius Chlorus, when he was declared emperor, put an end to these persecutions; and upon his death, which took place at York in the year following, his son Constantine the Great began his reign, in which it pleased God that most of the outward miseries of his Christian servants should terminate. (A.D. 307).

§ 4. The British church seems to have flourished at this period;[2] for, at the council of Arles (b), there were three English bishops present; and it may be observed that the manner in which that council communicated its canons to the bishop of Rome proves that the representatives of the churches there assembled esteemed themselves quite independent of his authority.[3]

It seems probable that there were English bishops at the council of Nice (c) in Bithynia,[4] but the subscriptions preserved are so imperfect, that no names of British bishops can be distinguished. Their presence, however, at Sardica (d) and Ariminum[5] is more clearly established;[6] and it is related, with regard to this latter council, that the British bishops generally refused to receive the allowance made to them from the emperor, while three of them only accepted it; a proof at once of the number and wealth of the British bishops who were there.

§ 5. The introduction of Pelagianism (e), which took place about

(a) St. Alban, the first British martyr, had served in the Roman army, and on his return, having been converted to Christianity, was put to death. A monastery was afterwards raised to his honour by Offa, king of Mercia.

(b) The council of Arles was assembled by Constantine against the Donatists, who had fallen into schism on account of the election of a bishop of Carthage. The canons of it may be found in Collier, i. 26.

(c) The council of Nice was assembled by Constantine against the Arians, 325. The anathema of it is, 'The catholic and apostolic church anathematizes all who say, that there was a time when the Son did not exist, that he had no existence previous to his birth, and that he was created out of nothing, or who say that he was formed or changed from another substance or essence, or that he is capable of change'; see Pearson *on the Creed*, p. 134. This council did not make the Nicene Creed as it now stands, which was published at the first council of Constantinople, 381; it settled that Easter should be held the first Sunday after the fourteenth day of the ecclesiastical new moon. The doctrines of Arius seem to have made some progress in England.

(d) This council was assembled at Sardica in Thrace, 347, to judge between the Arians and Athanasius; see Collier, i. 30, &c., where more arguments against the right of appeals to the pope may be found.

(e) The Pelagian heresy had its origin from Morgan, who is generally called a Welshman, but probably was Scotus, *i. e.*, a native Irishman. (Stillingfleet, p. 181.) His name in the old British language signifies sea-born, and from hence is

[1] Stillingfleet, 70. [2] Ibid. 74. [3] Ibid. 84.
[4] Ibid. 89. [5] Ibid. 135. [6] Fuller, 24.

the same time,[1] filled the church with tumult and distraction. The opinions connected with this heresy were generally diffused in England; and so strongly were its advocates fortified with arguments, or so weakly were they opposed, that the British divines, finding themselves unequal to the task of convincing their heretical adversaries, were twice forced to call[2] in the assistance of Germanus, a Gallican bishop.[3] He was accompanied in his first visit by Lupus, and in his second by Severus, and on each occasion successfully refuted the errors of his opponents. As the best means of putting an effectual stop to these heresies, St. German seems to have attempted to introduce into the island the study of sound learning and theology;[4] and his disciples Illutus and Dubritius established schools famous in their generation. The monastery of Banchor[5] near Chester was probably a seminary of this description, rather than one formed after the model introduced from Egypt(ª) in which the monks were bred up to labour, and in ignorance; for Bede, who is not generally favourable to British establishments, confesses that it was furnished with learned men at the coming of Augustin into England.

These bishops are said to have brought with them into the British churches[6] the use of the Gallican liturgy,[7] which was derived probably from St. John, through Polycarp and Irenæus.

derived his classical appellation. He was of considerable rank, and possessed much learning and natural genius; his life was exemplary. He travelled to Rome, and from thence to Africa, and died somewhere in the East. (See Collier, i. 41.) He denied the doctrine of original sin, and the necessity of grace, and asserted that man could attain to perfection. His opinions were opposed by St. Augustin, bishop of Hippo, and condemned in the person of Cœlestius, his disciple, at councils held at Carthage and Milevum in the year 416: no less than thirty councils are said to have been held concerning them. As the doctrines of Pelagius are of such a character that every man's own heart will naturally suggest them, unless he be guided by the grace of God, we need not wonder at their general reception. Pelagius taught and gave a name to that to which all of us are of ourselves disposed, 'self-reliance in spiritual things.'

(ª) The first monks were persons who in solitude, and afterwards in private houses of their own, led more pious and retired lives than their neighbours. The wild fancies of certain visionaries who established themselves in Egypt can hardly be accounted the origin of the later institutions of this sort. Such instances of fanaticism and ignorance, often combined with some portion of knavery, are common to all periods and religions, and among Christians might have tended to pervert the minds of those who aspired after the highest degrees of sanctity. Individuals first dedicated themselves to the service of God in this manner: societies were afterwards formed, who lived under a head or abbot, and conformed to certain rules. They were originally mere laymen, but subsequently many of them were adopted among the clergy, and rose to the highest offices in the church.

1 Stillingfleet, 187. 2 Ibid. 194. 3 Ibid. 189.
4 Ibid. 204. 5 Ibid. 205. 6 Ibid. 216.
7 Johnson's *Can.*, Pref. xv., who doubts of this.

The principal differences (a) between this and the Roman liturgy[1] are stated to be followed in the Common Prayer Book of our church: so that the reformers, when they translated and made selections from the services of the church of Rome, really reduced back the form of prayers to a nearer conformity to our more ancient liturgies.

§ 6. The arrival of the heathen Saxons overturned the ecclesiastical as well as civil government, and their barbarity spread such devastation through the land, that Christianity was confined to those mountainous districts where the Britons still retained their liberty. But the records of these times furnish little more than the mere detail of uninteresting events.

Christianity was again introduced into England, now become Saxon, by the arrival of St. Augustin, in 596. The comparative tranquillity which had for some time prevailed throughout the island, and the marriage of Ethelbert, king of Kent, with Britha, daughter of Charibert, king of Paris, had prepared the country for its reception. She was allowed the free exercise of her religion; and her chaplain, a French bishop, had openly performed the ceremonies of the church, thus softening down that animosity towards Christianity, which a bloody struggle against its professors had excited in the minds of the Saxons. Nor, in speaking of their conversion, must we neglect to take into account the growing dissatisfaction which heathens, as they advance in civilization, must always feel towards their former superstitions, even when they continue to observe them; a disgust which the Saxons seem frequently to have displayed.[2] Gregory I. came to the papacy in 590, and soon put into execution a determination which he had formed while in a private station. He had been struck with the personal beauty of some English slaves whom he happened to see at Rome, and made the resolution of trying to convert their fellow-countrymen; an attempt which he would have begun in his own person, if circumstances had not prevented him. It was in order to fulfil this benevolent design, that he afterwards despatched St. Augustin with forty monks, who, having obtained interpreters in France, landed in Kent, and was permitted to settle in Canterbury, and to undertake the conversion of the inhabitants.

§ 7. The success of these missionaries was so great that Augustin was consecrated archbishop of England, by the archbishop of

(a) These consisted in a confession of sins, wherewith the service began; in proper prefaces, which were introduced for certain days before the consecration of the elements; in several expressions which mark that the doctrine of transubstantiation had not then been received; and in the attention to singing paid in the Roman church.

[1] Stillingfleet, 23.

[2] Turner, i. 231.

Arles, and more ecclesiastics were sent to his assistance, accompanied with presents of books (a), and other articles of which they might stand in need; and among these, relics were not forgotten. They received at the same time orders from Rome, which directed them to accommodate, as much as possible, the festivals of the church to the seasons of heathen amusement and feasting (b). The scheme of an ecclesiastical establishment, which was to consist of two archbishops, each having under him twelve suffragans, was also transmitted to them, but seems never to have been adopted.[1]

Augustin before his death,[2] which took place about 605, tried to bring the churches of the British into unity with that over which he presided, and insisted on three concessions only.[3] That they should keep Easter at the Roman time, should use the forms of that church in baptizing, and preach to the Saxons. His efforts, however, were unavailing, and he was rejected for a supposed want of apostolical humility, though he is said to have performed a miracle in attestation of his ministry. The point at issue seems really to have been, whether the British prelates should submit to Augustin and Rome. The question about the time of observing

(a) Wanley has given a catalogue of the books sent by Gregory. These were, 1. A Bible adorned with some leaves of a purple and rose colour, in two volumes. 2. The Psalter of St. Augustin, with the Creed, Pater Noster, and several Latin hymns. 3. Two copies of the Gospels, with the Ten Canons of Eusebius prefixed; one of which Elstob believed to be in the Bodleian library, and the other at Cambridge, p. 42. 4. Another Psalter, with hymns. 5. A volume containing legends on the sufferings of the apostles, with a picture of our Saviour in silver, in a posture of blessing. 6. Another volume on the martyrs, which had on the outside a glory, silver gilt, set round with crystals and beryls. 7. An Exposition of the Epistles and Gospels, which had on the cover a large beryl surrounded with crystals. Augustin also brought Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, which Alfred translated. See Elstob, pp. 39—43: and Wanley, p. 172, whose description is taken from Thomas de Elmham, a monk of Augustin's Abbey, in the time of Henry V. See also Cave, *Hist. Lit.* p. 431. Turner's *Ang.-Sax.* i. 332.

(b) This circumstance may account for the retention of many Saxon names in matters connected with religion. Thus Yule, the old name for Christmas, is derived from Jule, a Saxon feast at the winter solstice; and Easter from the goddess Eostre, who was worshipped with peculiar honours in April. Lent signifies spring. From the deities Tiw, Woden, Thunre, Friga, and Saterne, are derived the names of the days of the week. See Turner's *A.-S.* i. 213. Superstition has probably borrowed from the same source. *Luck* probably comes from a Saxon deity, *Loke* (Turner, i. 226, 216, 13); *Deuce* from certain demons called *Ducii* by the Gauls. *Ochus Bochus*, a magician and demon, and *Neccus*, a malign deity who frequented waters, may be the origin of the names of Hocus Pocus and Old Nick. The common derivation of Hocus Pocus, from a rapid pronouncing of *hoc est corpus*, is hardly admissible.

[1] Lingard, *Ang.-Sax. Church*, 14; Henry, *Hist. Eng.* iii. 194.
[2] Collier, i. 75.
[3] Bede, ii. 2

Easter was also discussed in the council of Whitby,[1] where Oswy decided it in favour of the Roman method, because both parties agreed that St. Peter kept the keys of heaven, and that he had used the Roman method of computing (a). (A.D. 664.)

§ 8. In 668, Theodore, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia,[2] was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, on the nomination of Vitalian the then pope; a step which he was induced to take on the death of Wighart, who, with most of his companions, was destroyed by the plague at Rome, where he had been sent in order to be consecrated. Theodore was very serviceable to the British church by the learning which he, and his friend Adrian, introduced, and is said to have advanced the establishment of parish churches, by allowing founders to become the patrons of them. He divided also some of the larger bishoprics, which, as they were then generally co-extensive with the kingdoms to which they belonged, were frequently enormous in point of size. Wilfrid, archbishop of York, whose diocese comprehended all Northumbria, or that part of England which lies north of the Humber, opposed the division of his see, and appealed to the pope.

(a) The question of the time of keeping Easter long agitated the Christian community. The Eastern church kept it according to the Jewish ritual, on the fourteenth moon of that lunation which occurred after the vernal equinox, whether it were Sunday or no: in 197, Victor, bishop of Rome, excommunicated them for so doing. They were in consequence called *quarto decimani*. In order to avoid any coincidence with the Jews as to the day of keeping this feast, most of the Western churches ran into the opposite extreme, and in those years in which the Passover occurred on a Sunday, they kept the Easter-day on its octave. The council of Nice (325) decided that it was to be kept on a Sunday, but as the British church which received its canons kept Easter on the fourteenth, when it happened to be a Sunday, it seems probable that the expression of the Nicene canon was originally so general as not to decide this point, and that the great nicety in avoiding the day of the Jewish passover originated with Rome. The Church, at the same period, generally adopted the Metonic cycle of nineteen years, by which Easter was newly calculated in the tables of Eusebius of Cæsarea, and rejected the cycle of eighty-four years, which was very faulty, and derived from the Jews. The question in England was the general one of keeping Easter as the Roman church did. The difference consisted in two points: the British churches seem not to have used the same cycle, probably that of eighty-four years, and to have kept Easter on the fourteenth, if that day happened to be a Sunday. (Fuller, p. 68.) This had arisen from the separation of the British church from the rest of the world, during the troubles in England, which succeeded the council of Nice, of which they had adopted, in all probability, merely the general rules. The churches of Northumbria having been converted by Scotch missionaries retained the British forms. See a note in Johnson's *Canons*, 673, i. d. The Syrians on the coast of Malabar have another method of finding Easter, which is given in Le Bas' *Life of Middleton*, i. 291, note 1. See also Newman's *History of Arianism*, p. 14.

[1] Collier, i. 95.

[2] Collier, 100.

The decision of Agatho was in his favour, but it profited him little, for Egfred imprisoned him upon his return, and about a year after, upon his release, which was obtained through the intercession of Æbbe, abbess of Coldingham, he preached in the kingdom of Sussex, which had not before received Christianity (a). This so restored him to the favour of Theodore, and Alfred, king of Northumberland, that he recovered the sees of Hexham and York, but was again expelled, and again gained a favourable decision from the pope: Alfred, however, would not allow him to enter his dominions, and it was not till after the death of that prince, and of his immediate successor, that Wilfrid was in his old age reinstated in a part of his preferments.

§ 9. The history of Wilfrid has attracted much more notice than it seems intrinsically to merit, on account of the discussions which it involves with regard to the appeal to Rome. But the question is one of curiosity, and really of very little importance (b).

(a) The conversion of the Heptarchy was now completed. The order in which the several kingdoms had embraced Christianity was as follows: Kent, 596. Essex, 604. Northumbria, 627. East Angles, 631. Wessex, 634. Mercia, about 650. Sussex, 678. The Isle of Wight was the district which last received the doctrines of Christianity.

The whole period occupied by these successive conversions consisted of less than ninety years. There is one particular feature which has been adduced as marking a want of simplicity in the individual missionaries, to whom we owe the blessings of Christianity. It may be observed, that the conversions generally took place among the court before any progress had been made with the people, a circumstance so contrary to the tenour of the early history of the Gospel, that it has been presumed that the missionaries themselves were actuated by worldly rather than spiritual motives. The solution of this apparent difference is, perhaps, to be sought rather in the state of civilization of those to whom they went, than in the temper of the teachers. The apostles were themselves uneducated men, and addressed their arguments to more educated nations; these missionaries had probably themselves received superior educations, and were going into a country of semi-barbarians; of men possessed of little or no education, and they naturally directed their instructions to the most exalted and best educated members of the country. Would not prudence dictate this conduct? and is not the wisdom of its adoption borne out by the conduct of recent missionaries?

(b) The whole question of the authority exercised by Rome over Saxon England is one of great difficulty, and on the different sides of which conclusions diametrically opposite may be drawn. The primacy conceded from Saxon England to Rome, extended to the admission of its established precedency, and a respectful deference to its authorities. Theodore was made archbishop of Canterbury, by Pope Vitalian, and the Canons of Cealchythe were drawn up under the influence of a Roman legate (Johnson's *Canons*, 785, præf.); but there is abundant evidence that the judicial authority of the see of Rome was not admitted, and that the monarchs of Britain exercised an ecclesiastical power within their dominions. That is, the independence of Saxon England amounted not to our present separation from the church of Rome, and the Roman influence was infinitely less than what it afterwards became. A proposition which might probably be asserted of most other Christian

That the church of Rome did, at an early period, try to extend its power where it could, is beyond all doubt; that it did in after-times obtain a spiritual supremacy in England, is equally unquestionable. The Roman Catholic, by proving the early date of these encroachments, touches not the broad principles which guided our church in throwing off all foreign authority; and the Protestant can never prove, by denying these points, that the pope did not afterwards possess the supreme power over the English church; while both incur the danger of neglecting the pursuit of truth, in endeavouring to establish their own opinions.

These observations[1] apply with no less strength to the discussions about the council of Cloveshoo, in 747, in which, though there seems no direct acknowledgment of the papal supremacy, yet since it was called in consequence of the letters of Zachary, there is every appearance of at least a great deference to the bishop of Romè. Inett[2] and Henry[3] try to prove the independence of our church by a comparison of one of the canons with that of a synod held at Mentz, and transmitted to Cuthbert, by Boniface: but were the proof as good as they esteem it, what purpose would it answer? We shall not be able to prove that our forefathers were Protestants, even if they had not then fully admitted the authority of the see of Rome. We shall not allow of the other canons there established, or suffer our prayers and psalms to be said in Latin, though 'a man may devoutly apply the intentions of his own heart to the things which are at present to be asked of God, and fix them there to the best of his power.'[4]

§ 10. The union of the several kingdoms of the Heptarchy would probably have been beneficial to the interests of Christianity, had not the succeeding inroads of the Danes more than counterbalanced this advantage. These heathen invaders joined a considerable portion of animosity against the Christian clergy to their love of plunder; and, as much of the wealth of the country was generally contained in the monasteries, their savage attacks were chiefly directed against these establishments, which possessed most of the learning, and much of the civilization which was left in England.

(A.D. 855.) Ethelwulf,[5] the father of Alfred, before his journey to Rome, made a grant of a tenth of all his possessions,[6] or liberated the tenth part of his possessions from every royal service and

churches of the same period. See Lingard's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 157; Soames, *Bampton Lect.*, Serm. iii. and the illustrations; Henry's *Hist. Eng.* iii.

[1] Lingard, note, i. 484.
[2] Inett, i. 177.
[3] Henry, iii. 225.
[4] Johnson's *Can.* 747, 27.
[5] Turner, i. 480.
[6] Johnson's *Can.* 1064, 8. e.

contribution. It is not at all clear what the nature of this grant was; it has generally been interpreted as relating to tithes, but as tithes[1] are spoken of long before, there must either have been a regranting of them, or perhaps they were now liberated from burdens to which they were before exposed. One of the supposed canons of King Edward the Confessor, which were probably drawn up after the days of William Rufus,[2] states that tithes were introduced with Christianity, by Augustin, and there is no time in which they are mentioned, without being spoken of as due. When the first notice of them occurs in the excerptions of Ecgbright in 740, directions are given as to the disposal of them; and almost all the collections of canons which follow introduce the mention of them in the same manner.

Some of the early fathers of the church spoke of them as due by divine right.[3] This point, however, must always be questionable; and as the right could not exist till the country was converted to Christianity, it will be quite sufficient to state that they appear to have been collected elsewhere, before the end of the fourth century. And the numerous laws with regard to their payment, while they establish the right, prove that there was even then a difficulty of collecting them.

§ 11. The great benefit which Alfred conferred on his country, beyond the military talent which he displayed in his wars with the Danes, consisted in the introduction of literature, and the establishment of laws. The inroads of these northern hordes had overturned all institutions which might educate the inhabitants, and directed the attention of the English to warlike rather than peaceful studies;[4] and even churchmen had become so ignorant, that few understood the services which they used, or could translate a Latin letter. The difficulties against which Alfred had to struggle were enormous: he had to discover the advantages of literature, and his own want of it, and to teach himself even to read, and that at a time when books were scarce, and when most of the libraries which had been formerly collected were destroyed. When he came to the throne, he assembled around him, by great munificence, all the literary men whom he could find, and his first steps showed him how much his countrymen had gone back in knowledge, since they were now unable to read those books which their own ancestors had written. The Latin tongue was now generally unknown; and to obviate this difficulty, Alfred translated many books into the language of his country. In presenting Boethius to the Saxons, he introduced many moral lessons and sentiments of his own, for our knowledge of which we are indebted

[1] Johnson's *Can.* 740, sect. 4, 5.
[2] Ibid. 1064, 9.
[3] Bingham's *Ant.* ii. 276, 281.
[4] Turner, ii. 8, &c.

to Mr. Turner;[1] he published, too, in the same manner, Orosius and Bede; and that he might better instruct his higher clergy, he put forth a translation of the Pastoral of Gregory. Besides these, he appears to have been employed on different works and translations, and his general knowledge seems to have extended to many other subjects, as architecture, ship-building, and jewellery.[2] For the education of his son Ethelweard, he established a public school, in which the young nobility were brought up, together with the heir of the crown: and so greatly did this and his other institutions raise the character of England for civilization, that Athelstan had the credit of educating in our island three kings of foreign countries, Alan of Bretagne, Louis of France, and Haco of Norway.[3] Nor must it be forgotten that Alfred sent an embassy to the Syrian Christians of India,[4] whose very existence has only been re-ascertained by modern communications.

§ 12. The darkness which followed the reign of Athelstan was broken by two men who succeeded each other in the see of Canterbury. Odo and Dunstan, with their real zeal for Christianity, joined a great desire of extending the influence of the church with which their own power was intimately blended. Their histories, however, have been written by such over-zealous advocates, that they have rendered even the good they did suspected, through the multitude of miracles attributed to them. Modern historians have taken an opposite direction; and the conduct of Dunstan, with regard to Edwi and Elgiva, has, without much foundation, been worked up into a pathetic tale; while, on the other hand, the monks, who were the only historians, had good reason for praising one who everywhere ejected the canons,[5] and placed the more newly established orders in their monasteries. The Danes were, according to the policy of Alfred, gradually incorporated into the religion as well as civil government of the country; and the kings of that nation appear not to have been behindhand in enriching the church; so that at the death of Edward the Confessor, one-third of the land in England is supposed to have been in the hands of ecclesiastical bodies.[6]

§ 13. The sketch here given will probably to most readers appear exceedingly defective,[7] and the only fair apology which can be offered, must be sought for by regarding the writer, or the subject-matter of his writings. With respect to the first of these two, he is fully aware of his own inadequacy to enter on the earlier part of the history of the English church, and confesses most readily that

[1] Turner, ii. 22. [2] Ibid. ii. 146. [3] Ibid. 200. [4] Ibid. 148.
[5] See § 23. [6] Henry, iii. 297; Spelman's *Gloss.* 396.
[7] A much more full one may be found in Henry's *History of England*; Lingard's *Anglo-Saxon Church*; or Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons.*

all his acquaintance with it is derived from secondary sources. Should any one think that this portion of the work ought rather to have been omitted altogether, than to have been thus treated, the writer, while he perfectly agrees with the better informed reader, begs him to consider, that this book is intended for those who do not possess much knowledge of these subjects, and to remember, in his excuse, that few men are able to cope with antiquarian difficulties, and to enter on the discussion of subjects which are interesting in the present day. With regard to the subject-matter, it must be acknowledged that we possess little or no acquaintance with British history, and that the true history of our Saxon church is still, in great measure, a desideratum in the catalogue of English authors. No Roman Catholic writer can hope to satisfy a Protestant, when the real question is as to the introduction of those errors which the member of the church of England imputes to the other; and the requisites for forming an author suited to the task are so numerous, that we must wish, rather than hope, that such an individual may be found. The whole of the history of the British church has been exhausted by Stillingfleet in his Origines Britannicæ, and to any one who will examine that work, it will be apparent how little is known, and how unimportant that little is; that is, unimportant as far as the present state of the world is concerned. The man who is fully acquainted with the history of the Reformation may see more clearly what is taking place, or may happen, among Roman Catholic nations of our own days: he who has studied the events which occurred in the reign of Charles I. will be able to estimate more fully the present state of England and of those countries with which she is connected; but he who successfully wades through the whole church history of England, and its ecclesiastical affairs, to the middle of the thirteenth century, will find little more than a continued chain of contrivances, by which mankind have set aside the law of heaven through their own traditions, and substituted the commandments of men for those of God. There are indeed some bright exceptions; and the lesson to be learnt even from such perversions is an useful one; for this fault is by no means confined to the church of Rome; it exists in human nature, and the blame which properly attaches to the church of Rome is, that in the dark periods she fostered this evil propensity; and when knowledge had dispelled the mist, for the sake of upholding her own infallibility, she refused to reject those customs and tenets, which, however understood and received by the well informed part of society, can hardly be free from evil among the mass of the community.

§ 14. The aboriginal Briton may question the amount of the debt of gratitude which he owes to the church of Rome for his

conversion; the Englishman, who derives his blood from Saxon veins, will be ungrateful if he be not ready to confess the debt which Christian Europe owes to Rome; and to profess, that whenever she shall cast off those inventions of men, which now cause a separation between us, we shall gladly pay her such honours as are due to the country which was instrumental in bringing us within the pale of the universal church of Jesus Christ. In the mean season, it may be instructive to point out the probable periods at which each of these differences were introduced among the Saxons, and to give some short historical notice with regard to the origin of some of them, a subject which may be omitted by the general reader if he find it uninteresting.

The errors of the church of Rome generally originated from feelings in themselves innocent, if not laudable, but perverted by the admixture of human passions and inventions.

§ 15. To pray for the dead was the dictate of human nature, and the practice of the early church;[1] and no reasonable Christian will blame Dr. Johnson[2] for the cautious manner in which he mentions his mother in his prayers; but in the hands of the church of Rome this feeling was soon directed to the unscriptural object of delivering the souls of departed friends from purgatory, and the practice converted into a source of profit to the priesthood. The history of this doctrine of purgatory is as follows:[3]—'About the middle of the third century Origen among other Platonic conceits vented this: That the faithful (the apostles themselves not excepted) would, at the day of judgment, pass through a purgatorial fire,' to endure a longer or a shorter time, according to their imperfections. 'In this conceit, directly contrary to many express texts of Scripture,' he was followed by some great men in the church;—and 'St. Augustin began to doubt whether this imagined purgation were not to be made in the interval between death and the resurrection, at least as to the souls of the more imperfect Christians. Towards the end of the fifth century Pope Gregory undertook to assert this problem;—four hundred years after Pope John the Eighteenth, or, as some say, the Nineteenth, instituted a holiday, wherein he required all men to pray for the souls in purgatory; at length the cabal at Florence, 1439, turned the dream into an article of faith.' The doctrine of a purgatory, of some sort, has been entertained by Heathens, Mahometans, and Jews, but there is no necessary connexion between praying for the dead, and the belief in purgatory.[4] The Greek church, for instance, prays for the dead, without admitting any idea of purgatory. Prayers and oblations for the dead were probably established in

[1] Bingham's *Ant.* vi. 671.
[2] Works, xii. 445.
[3] Bull's *Serm.* iii. Works, i. 76.
[4] Bingham, vi. 688.

England from the first,[1] and a short form of prayer to that effect is inserted in the canons of Cloveshoo (a); with regard to the latter doctrine, the Saxon homilists generally refer to the awards of final judgment,[2] though traditional notices exist, in which there appears to be at first an indistinct, but afterwards more clear reference to purgatory (b). Bede seems to have entertained an idea of the same sort: and Alcuin, in common with many others, supposed that the general conflagration of the world would form a purgatorial fire, through which the souls which escaped unsinged would pass into the abodes of bliss.[3] But later writers, and among the rest Alfred, adopted the popular notions of purgatory,[4] which were still very different from the opinions on that subject, established as articles of faith, by the councils of Florence and Trent.[5] Departed souls between death and their final judgment were divided into four distinct places: the perfect were conveyed to heaven; the less pure to paradise; the impure, who died in penitence, were consigned to purgatorial flames; and the impenitent to hell (c).

§ 16. With regard to the doctrine of transubstantiation, the opinions of the early fathers concerning it may be seen in Waterland;[6] and his account of the history of this tenet is thus given in a note:[7] 'In the year 787, the second council of Nice began with a rash determination that the sacred symbols are not figures or images at all, but the very body and blood. About 831, Paschasius Radbertus carried it further, even to transubstantiation, or somewhat very like to it. The name of transubstantiation is supposed to have come in about A.D. 1100, first mentioned by Hildebertus Cenomanensis of that time. (p. 689, edit. Benedict.) A.D. 1215, the doctrine was made an article of faith by the Lateran council, under Innocent the Third.' How far this doctrine was admitted by the Anglo-Saxon church is discussed by Lingard,[8] who shows that the canons, Bede, and Egbert, use expressions which a member of the church of England would not use; but these probably a Protestant might have adopted, if the question had never been

(a) Lord, according to the greatness of thy mercy, grant rest to his soul, and for thine infinite pity vouchsafe to him the joys of eternal light with thy saints. Johnson's *Can.* 747, 37.

(b) There are also many places of punishment, Lingard, *Ang.-Sax. Church*, 255 (21), in which souls suffer in proportion to their guilt, before the general judgment, and in which some are so far purified, as not to be hurt by the fire of the last day. See also Soames, *Bamp. Lect.* p. 344. 10, 12.

(c) On all these questions see also Usher's *Answer to a Jesuit's Challenge.*

1 Johnson's *Can.* pref. xix.
2 Soames, 349, 16. 324.
3 Soames, 325.
4 Ibid. 362.
5 Ibid. 328.
6 Works, viii. 235.
7 Ibid. vii. 182.
8 Note N. 492.

controverted. Bede, however, introduces language which no one who believed the doctrine of transubstantiation[1] could have admitted, particularly the words of St. Augustin, quoted in our twenty-ninth Article; and the testimonies of Rabanus Maurus, and Joannes Scotus Erigena, whose tenets were probably derived from the English school of theology, give us every reason for concluding that this doctrine never gained a footing in England before the Conquest. Lingard maintains that the language of Elfric (a) is borrowed from Bertram (b), to which a Roman Catholic would not object, but which Archbishop Parker deemed so favourable to the opinion entertained by Protestants, that he published it as conveying a meaning corresponding nearly with the doctrines of the church of England.

§ 17. Private or solitary mass (c) was unknown in the early church,[2] and for the first nine hundred years there is no form of ordaining priests, to offer mass for the living and the dead;[3] but Bede and Alcuin appear to have esteemed the sacrifice beneficial for the living,[4] Bede even for the dead. The same opinion is expressed by Elfric in his sermon;[5] and in the canons of Edgar, 960, the practice of saying mass, as an *opus operatum*,[6] seems clearly to have been established (d). As the custom of paying adoration to the host, and the denial of the cup to the laity (e)

(a) Elfric says (Johnson's *Canons*, 957, § 37), 'Housel is Christ's body not corporally, but spiritually, not the body in which he suffered, but that body of which he spake, when he blessed bread and wine for housel, one night before his passion, and said of the bread blessed, This is my body; and again of the wine blessed, This is my blood, that is shed for many for the forgiveness of sins,' &c. See also a sermon of his printed by the order of Archbishop Parker, under the title of a *Testimony of Antiquity* (Fox's *Martyrs*, ii. 380); reprinted in part.

(b) Bertram, or Ratram, was a monk of Corbey in France, about the middle of the ninth century; he wrote a tract *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, published in English, 3d. edit. Lond. 1686, see § 313. b.

(c) § 17. The word *missa*, or *mass*, was originally a general name for every part of the divine service. (Bingham, *Ant.* v. 9, &c.). Its signification is the same as the word *missio*, and it was the form used in the Latin Church, 'Ite missa est,' at the dismission of the catechumens first, and then of the whole assembly afterwards. Baronius (sub anno 34, § 59) derives it from the Hebrew. It now denotes the consecrating the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, and offering that as an expiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead.

(d) It is there ordered, 'that the priest never celebrate mass alone (sect. 35), without some one to make responses for him' (sect. 37), 'That he never celebrate more than thrice in one day' (sect. 40), or 'without eating the housel, or consecrated elements.'

(e) In Peckham's *Constitutions*, 1281, it is ordered that the laity (Johnson's *Can.* sect. I.) be told that the wine which is given to them is not the sacrament, but mere wine, to be drunk for the more easy swallow-

1 Soames, 399, 4. and 406, 5.
2 Bingham, vi. 721.
3 Ibid. i. 255.
4 Lingard, 193. 348.
5 P. 29.
6 Johnson's *Can.* 960, § 35.

did not begin till the twelfth century,[1] it would be unnecessary to search for the usage of the Anglo-Saxons with regard to these points.

§ 18. No pictures or images were[2] allowed in Christian churches for the first three hundred years, and there is a positive decree against them in the council of Elvira, 305.[3] Pictures were introduced during the fourth century, but there were no representations of the Trinity, nor statues.[4] It is probable, however, that the worship of them began before 692, since at that time it was forbidden to exhibit[5] the Saviour under the symbol of a lamb, or in any other form than the human. When, in opposition to the council of Constantinople (754), at which 338 bishops were present, the second council of Nice (787) sanctioned the worship of images, councils held at Frankfort, Paris,[6] and in Britain, agreed unanimously in condemning the decree,[7] though it was received at Rome. There is good reason to believe that image-worship did not prevail in England till the middle of the ninth century; but from the omission of the Second Commandment (a) in the laws of Alfred,[8] we may presume that it was established before that time, though

ing of the sacrament. In a MS. called *Liber Regalis*, giving an account of the coronation of Richard II., A.D. 1378, in the keeping of the Dean of Westminster, there is a curious direction with reference to this point: 'Osculo autem pacis a rege et regina accepto, descendentes rex et regina de soliis suis et accedentes humiliter ad altare percipient corpus et sanguinem Domini de manu archiepiscopi vel episcopi missam celebrantis, corpore vero Domini a rege recepto, ministrabit ei vinum ad utendum (I presume the wine in question), post perceptionem sacramenti Abbas Westmonasteriensis, vel is qui vicem ejus pro tempore gerit, prout dictum est, de calice lapideo de regalibus,' &c. &c. This appears to have been an intermediate step in the progress of withdrawing the cup; the denial was canonically sanctioned at the council of Constance.

(a) As to the mode of dividing the Commandments, it appears that the Jews anciently divided them without any certain rule; for Philo and Josephus divide them somewhat differently, the former making the Prologue (if I may use that word) to be the First Commandment, and running our First and Second into one, Josephus making the Prologue and the First to be the First; and both, in other respects, agreeing with our division (Philo *de Decalogo*. p. 751, ed. Paris. Josephus *Antiq*. B. III. c. v.). But the division of the church of Rome (not the omission) is sanctioned by the Hebrew of the Masoretic text, where the tenth is divided. It is sanctioned also by S. Augustin, who speaks as Bede does, of both divisions as occasionally used in his time (Quæs. in *Exod*. B. II. c. 71), and prefers this of three and seven to that of four and six.

The Anglo-Saxon church in the first ages borrowed almost all their theology from the Latin Fathers, and particularly S. Augustin and S. Gregory. It is no wonder therefore if they followed S. Augustin in his division of three and seven. Alcuin, if he is correctly represented in the edition by Frobenius (vol. I. pp. 340, 341), speaks of the Decalogue under this division only. His Commentary is very like Bede's, and he quotes

1 Bingham's *Ant*. vi. 813, 772.
2 Ibid. iii. 249.
3 Ibid. 250.
4 Ibid. 257.
5 Ibid. 260.
6 Ibid. 257.
7 Johnson's *Can*. pref. 18.
8 Ibid. 877, 48 a.

there does not appear to have been much zeal for it till after the Conquest. As the figures of the Virgin Mary (b) and the saints were among the first which were introduced, the history of the intercessional worship paid to them is probably closely connected with the former, and contemporaneous with it. In 678, Benedict imported a picture of the Virgin Mary from Rome, and the Saxon services for the dedication of churches imply a belief in a local superintendence of the Saint over those who applied to him, while, by the canons of Cealchythe, relics are ordered to be used in the consecration of places of worship.[1] The canons of Theodulf place

little more than the first words of the Commandments; but it would not be fair to infer that either he or Bede meant to leave out our Second Commandment.

The instances which Mr. Soames gives of decided omissions, are all of the later period of the Saxon church, Alfred's Laws, Elfric, and others: and they are remarkable, as showing how ill agreed the different teachers were, after the introduction of image-worship, as to the best way of abridging the Decalogue. The modern consistent plan adopted in most Roman Catechisms was not established all at once.

It is of some consequence to show that an error of this kind, as well as others, came in gradually. The division which our Saxon ancestors adopted from Augustin was not so good as the older one (see this well argued in Jer. Taylor, vol. xii. pp. 360–368. Heber's ed.); and it was unfortunate, as it gave a facility to the omission. But it was not till after the synod of Nice, in A.D. 787, that we have any proofs of an attempt to introduce the worship of images into England; and then it is stated on plain historical evidence that Alcuin and the bishops of the English church, A.D. 792, condemned the worship (Soames' *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 119). Alfred's Laws, about a century later, are the earliest document from which we can at all collect that such idolatry had found any favour in England.

Alfred's version is as follows; it stands prefixed to his laws:—

'I. The Lord was speaking these words to Moyses, and thus sayth: (248) I am the Lord thy God. I led thee out from Ægipts' land, and from their slavery. Love thou not other strange Gods over me.

'II. Utter thou not my name in vain: for thou beest not guiltless with me, if thou in vain utterest my name.

'III. Mind that thou hallow the resting day. Work thou six days, and on the seventh rest you; thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy slave, and thy maidservant, and thy working cattle, and the comer who is within thy doors: for in six days Christ wrought the heavens and the earth, seas, and all creatures that in them are, and rested himself on the seventh day; and therefore the Lord hallowed it.

'IV. Honour thy father and thy mother whom the Lord gave thee, that thou be a long liver on the earth.

'V. Slay not thou.

'VI. Steal not thou.

'VII. Lie not thou secretly.

'VIII. Say not thou false witness against thy neighbour.

'IX. Desire thou not thy neighbour's inheritance with unright.

'X. Work thou not golden gods, or silveren.'—*Exod.* xx. 23.

These are also printed in Johnson's *Canons*, 877, and in Archbishop Parker's *Testimony of Antiquity*, in which last the order of the commandments against stealing and adultery is not transposed as it is here.

(b) For the history of the origin of the worship of the Virgin Mary, see Fr. Paul's *History of the Council of Trent*, p. 170.

[1] Johnson's *Can.* 816, 2.

the doctrine of the Saxon church of that time in the clearest light.[1] The layman is there directed, that 'having worshipped his Creator only, let him call upon the saints, and pray that they would intercede for him to God; first to St. Mary, and afterwards to all God's saints.' (c)

§ 19. Closely connected with this subject is the religious veneration which was paid to relics. Respect for everything which has belonged to those whom we admire, is so consistent with right feeling, that from the very earliest period great regard and attention must naturally have been paid by Christians to the mortal remains of such persons as had gone before them in the Lord; but nothing resembling worship was used towards such relics[2] till after the time of St. Augustin. The line between religious veneration and worship is so nice, that from the earliest days perhaps, some individuals offended in this particular; and we find that our Saxon forefathers were early led to regard such remains with more than due reverence, through the attention which was paid to them by their first teachers. Gregory, among the presents which he sent to Augustin, soon after his arrival in England, transmitted certain relics. And in the eighth century, the number of persons who were anxious to pay their devotions[3] near the bodies of the previous

(c) This doctrine of the church of Rome is, I believe, as much misunderstood by Protestants as perverted by Roman Catholics. Roman Catholics would assert that they prayed *before* the image, and not *to* it; and that they requested the prayer of the saint in heaven as St. Paul did that of the faithful on earth: but the Protestant, while he believes that to pay any religious respect to an image is a breach of the second commandment (*Exod.* xx. 4—6), even if it do not amount to idolatry, may feel convinced in his own mind that many uneducated persons are guilty of the actual sin in the worship which is paid to the brass image of St. Peter, in St. Peter's, Rome. Nor is it easy to comprehend how reference can be made to anything but the image, when a rivalry is supposed to exist between different images of the Virgin or of the same saint: or how a college can be dedicated to St. Mary of Winton, unless some peculiar sanctity be attached to the image, which can alone possess a local existence. God must judge of the question; but it is a heavy charge to have caused even one weak brother to offend. It may be remarked, too, that to request the intercession of the dead, is founded on no authority of Scripture, and contrary to the custom of the primitive church.—Bingham's *Ant.* v. p. 75. The first form in which the adoration of saints (Soames, *Bamp. Lect.* 216, 5) was introduced into the Anglo-Saxon church seems to have been a prayer to God, that his servants on earth might be benefited by the intercession of his saints in heaven (*e. g.*), 'Da nobis Domine quæsumus, beati Stephani protomartyris intercessione adjuvari, ut qui pro suis exoravit lapidatoribus, pro suis intercedere dignetur veneratoribus, per Jes. Xt. D. N.' A trace of this is to be found in the subsequent form of 'Oret pro nobis,' but before the Conquest it had got to the equivocal 'Or,' and to the distinct (220) 'Ora,' and 'Orate,' in which the prayer was addressed to the saint (221).

[1] Johnson's *Can.* 994, 231.
[2] Bingham's *Ant.* x. 113.
[3] Lingard, 262.

archbishops of Canterbury, deposited in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, induced Cuthbert, before 759, to direct that his own remains should be buried in the cathedral church. This question produced a vehement altercation between the monks, who claimed the body, and the clergy of the cathedral, who detained it.

§ 20. Under the same head must be ranked the abuse of pilgrimages; for while kept within the bounds of reason, and referred only to the effect upon the mind of the person visiting the scenes of Christian history, little objection can be raised against them. It appears that pilgrimages to Jerusalem had become common among the English in the fourth century, and, from the objections which St. Jerom makes with regard to them,[1] that a superstitious value had been attached to such journeys undertaken with a religious view; but in after-times Rome became an object of easier approach, and afforded more numerous attractions. Ethelwulf[2] went there in 855 with great magnificence and splendid presents, and in his journey was accompanied by his son Alfred, then a boy. It is not perhaps too much to presume, that the future greatness of this monarch was promoted by this early visit to a more polished state of society, nor need we refer the journeys of seven other British kings, who each sought the metropolis of Christian Europe, to mere blind superstition, or view their conduct in a very different light from that in which we should regard the coming to London of some heathen monarch, who had derived his knowledge of Christianity from an English missionary. The frequency, however, of these pilgrimages was a great evil. Boniface, in his letter to Cuthbert, 747,[3] speaks of English women, who, having set out on a religious errand, had disgraced the character of pilgrims by their licentious conduct in almost every city in Europe. Pilgrimages are often ordered in the penitential canons,[4] and in extreme cases the penance is imposed of a perpetual wandering from one place of religious resort to another, in which the penitent was never to remain two nights in the same residence.[5]

§ 21. With regard to confession and penance, the tenets of the churches of England and Rome differ in these respects. Both hold that without confession to God, and sincere repentance, there is no forgiveness of sins; but they differ as to the necessity of confessing to a priest, and of obtaining absolution from him. The church of England, in cases of gross sins, where the conscience is troubled, advises its members to confess their sins to a priest, and has enjoined a form of absolution. The church of Rome denies that there is any hope of pardon from God, except through confession, and the absolution of a priest. The Protestant minister is

[1] Usher, *Ant. Brit.* 109 p. [2] Lingard, 159.
[3] Johnson's *Can.* pref. 747. [4] Ibid. 740, 963. [5] Ibid. 263, § 64.

the adviser of his penitent, the Roman Catholic assumes too the character of his judge; and in this, the rule of our church corresponds with the practice of the primitive Christians during the first four centuries.[1] The directions given in Theodulf's Capitula[2] resemble much more the custom of the church of England than that of Rome, enjoining confession to God, and recommending confession to a priest, on the ground of the advice to be received from him; nor would there remain any doubt of the agreement of the Anglo-Saxon church with that of England, were it not for the rules laid down among the directions given concerning discipline, in which the penance (a) is spoken of as a satisfaction for sin.[3] The penances generally imposed are fasting, wandering, laying aside arms and external pomp, a change of clothes,[4] not allowing iron to come near the nails or hair. 'Much of the satisfaction of sin,' says the canon,[5] 'may be redeemed by alms-deeds;' an observation which is followed by a long account of the commutation of penance, whereby a rich man may buy off the penances imposed on him by finding other persons who will join with him in his fasting, and thus lighten the severity of the discipline by dividing it among a greater number. It should be observed, however, that this is strictly forbidden in 747;[6] and Dunstan imposed, and Edgar submitted to, a seven years' penance, of not wearing his crown, as a punishment for deflouring a nun.

§ 22. The question of the celibacy of the clergy is one which involves this difficulty, that it is not clear, even now, whether the church of Rome esteem it an apostolical tradition or an ecclesias-

(a) One difficulty with regard to this question between the Protestant and Roman Catholic arises from the word *pœnitentia*, which a Roman Catholic would translate 'penance,' in its secondary or theological sense; whereas the Greek is μετάνοια, or repentance. 'Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand,' by being translated through the Latin, is rendered 'Do penance, for the,' &c. The fruit of repentance, for which a Protestant minister would look, is a proof of the sorrow of heart in the penitent, expressing itself in his outward conduct. A severe penance, voluntarily submitted to, may strongly testify such godly contrition; still he will never esteem this a satisfaction for sin. But wherever a regular system of penances is enjoined, it is difficult to understand how they can be enforced, unless the custom of auricular confession be at the same time established. If, then, the Penitential of Theodore were in use in England, as probably it was, it seems fair also to conclude that confession was necessarily joined with it. Those civil laws which confirm the penances imposed by the church prove nothing to the point (Johnson, 877, 1; 925, 7); for in each case the offence is of such a nature as might be known without any private confession. See, on the whole of this question, Soames, *Bamp. Lect. V.* and the illustrations.

1 Bingham's *Ant.* vi. 871; viii. 117, 130; Burton, ii. and iii. cent. 338.
2 Johnson, 994, 30.
3 Ibid. 963, s. 57, 58.
4 Ibid. 963, 64.
5 Ibid. 67.
6 Ibid. 747, 27; 963, post 77.

tical law:[1] *i. e.* whether it cannot, or can, be dispensed with by the authority of the church. A Protestant would say, that no church can possess the right of depriving a priest of his orders in consequence of his marrying, because such a step would not be sanctioned by Scripture; but the laws of a Roman Catholic country must have the same authority to deprive him of his preferment, as the law of England has to say that a married priest shall not continue to hold his fellowship. The early practice of the Christian church was clearly in favour of the marriage of the clergy.[2] No vow of celibacy was required of them at their ordination for the first three centuries, and many were married. At the council of Nice, 325,[3] it was in vain endeavoured to impose this restraint upon churchmen; but it seems to have been unusual for clergymen to marry after ordination.[4] The custom of the Greek church[5] was settled at the council of Trullo, 692, in which it was ordained that bishops only should separate themselves from their wives, while all other orders were allowed to dwell with them; and the church of Rome was rebuked for the contrary law. The answers of Gregory to Augustin imply that the regulations of the Roman church had been made in England[6] from the very first (a). The Canons of Ecgbright, of Elfric, the Penitential Canons of Edgar, Theodulf's Capitula, the Canons of Eanham, and the laws of Canute, all imply that this was the law of the church; and the only testimony which seems to favour the contrary side of the argument appears to be founded on a misinterpretation (b). But whatever might have been the law, the practice seems to have been diametrically opposite, at least after the Danish invasion; and the severity threatened in all the later canons proves the difficulty of enforcing this unscriptural regulation. The temper of mind generated by it is pretty clearly marked by other canons, which ordain

(a) The words in Johnson are loosely translated 'any of the inferior clergy;' *clerici extra sacros ordines constituti.* The orders in the Roman church are, ostiary, lector, exorcist, acolyth, subdeacon, deacon, priest (Johnson, 957, 10—17). Elfric allows of no distinction between a bishop and a priest, but the power of ordaining, confirming, consecrating churches, and taking care of God's rights. This, too, is the law of Ecgbright. The first four orders were not sacred, and those in them might marry (740, 159).

(b) The thirty-fifth section of the laws of the Northumbrian priests ordains: 'If a priest dismiss one wife, and take another, let him be anathema' (950, 35). The probable meaning of which is, 'If a priest with a view to ordination has given up one wife, and then taken another afterwards;' which is the very sin spoken of in the Canons of Eanham, and the Penitential Canons (1,009, 2; 963, 40).

[1] Jurieu's *Council of Trent*, 487. [2] Bingham, ii. 152.
[3] Bingham, ii. 155. [4] Ibid. 156. [5] Ibid. 158.
[6] Johnson's *Can.* 601, 1; 740, 15, 28, 31, 32, 159; 957, 1, 5, 7, 8; 963, 40; 944, 12; 1,009, 1, 2; 1,017, 6.

that no woman should approach the altar while mass was saying;[1] and that no woman, not even a mother, should live in the house with a priest,[2] lest the visits of other women should tempt him to sin. The struggle as to this point forms the chief feature in the later history of the Anglo-Saxon church; but the question is far too extensive to be fully discussed within our limits, though a brief outline of it may be useful.

§ 23. The earliest ecclesiastical establishments consisted of the bishop and his clerks, who lived together on a property common to them all, and managed by the bishop. These were governed by a rule or canon, and were called *canonici*, or *canons*. As the diffusion of Christianity into the district surrounding the cathedral church called for the erection of more places of worship, parish churches were gradually established, the services in which were supplied by some member of the general society; and when benefices, distinct also in their property, were founded, the secular clergy, under the direction of the bishop, rose by degrees into existence. But besides these, there was a class of persons, originally not, strictly speaking, ecclesiastics, but who after a time generally became so, living together under more strict regulations than the canons, and guided by some peculiar rule, in England generally that of St. Benedict. There can be little doubt, that in the earlier stages of society, monastic institutions were of very great utility. They formed an independent landlord, anxious for peace, and able and willing to introduce improvements. They contained and fostered the little learning which existed in the country. They encouraged the arts of architecture and its adjuncts(a), and established manufactures; thus forming a middle class of men, whose combination might afford a salutary check to the power of the crown or the aristocracy. No persons suffered so much by the irruption of the Danes as the inhabitants of monasteries. They were possessed of wealth without any means of defending it, and their destruction became general. During these periods of confusion, the mass of the clergy appear to have become married; and when peace was re-established, the higher clergy, who were friendly to the Roman see, as Dunstan, and his colleagues Oswald and Ethelwold, proceeded with all activity to eject the married clergy, and re-establish the monks. For it should not be forgotten that it was justly argued at the council of Trent,[3] that the principal reason why priests are forbidden to marry is,

(a) The illuminators of MSS. in this country were, in the end of the tenth century, surpassed by none but those of the Greek school. *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv. p. 26.

1 Johnson's *Can.* 960, 11. 2 Ibid. 994, 12. 3 Fr. Paul, 635.

that it is plain that married priests will, through their affection to their wives and families, and the ties thus formed with their countries, lose that dependence on the apostolic see which constituted the strength of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

It may be observed, that the use of holy water[1] is enjoined, and the burning of lights[2] in churches, and that the service was performed in the Latin language. That priests are directed to preach every Sunday, and to explain the Lord's prayer, the Creed, and the Gospel, to the people.

§ 24. If then it be asked, whether the doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon church corresponded more nearly to those of the church of Rome or of England, it will be impossible to return an answer without inquiring how far the tenets of the Roman Catholic of that period agreed with the decisions of the council of Trent; and in all probability it would be found that the difference between the doctrines of the church of Rome at different periods was much greater than that which existed between the Anglo-Saxon church and the church of Rome of the same date. The progress of error can never be very rapid, and the conclusions of the council of Trent must have required a growth of many years. Fancies are first converted into opinions by the authority of those who have entertained them, and interest adopts opinions which have been once admitted, to sanction unwarrantable demands. It was thus that a belief in purgatory was first received, and then became the origin of many ecclesiastical foundations; it was thus that the priesthood first persuaded men to believe in transubstantiation, and then converted it into a means of augmenting their own personal dignity, as conferring a distinctive pre-eminence on those to whom this power of working a perpetual miracle was committed. With this view of the subject, it is probable that we should find the church of Rome of that day nearer to the present doctrines of the church of England than the decrees of the council of Trent are. And as the Anglo-Saxon church was, from its situation and distance from Rome, not likely to receive every new invention as it was framed, we might expect that her tenets would be nearer our own, not only than those entertained by Rome now, but than those which were then maintained in Italy. And this is precisely the conclusion to which the previous examination has arrived, as far as it has gone.

§ 25. But if it be asked, how far these erroneous views had drawn our forefathers from the vital principle of Christianity, the question must require the greatest caution, even in one who was thoroughly versed in the subject; must be answered as a matter of

[1] Johnson's *Can.* 816, § 2; 960, § 43. [2] Ibid. 960, 42.

opinion rather than as a point of history; and ought only to be discussed, because the great use of history is to teach us, through the example of others, the dangers to which we are ourselves exposed. And first it may be premised, that it is not the abstract belief in erroneous doctrines which perverts the faith of the Christian, but the tendency which such errors have to undermine the essentials of our religion. He who believes in the existence of a purgatory may still seek for salvation, and an escape from every future punishment, through his Saviour's blood; it is only when he learns to confide in some other means of safety, that the idea of purgatory will practically destroy his faith in Christ. The Christian may believe in transubstantiation, and still receive the elements with humble reliance on the great sacrifice made once for all; but when he believes that the providing of masses can benefit his own soul, or that of others, he begins to lose sight of the atonement, and to seek for a new means of reconciliation. There is perhaps no reason why an individual holding wrong opinions of this sort may not trust in the same Rock on which our faith is built, but the tendency of such opinions is to lead those who entertain them from relying on God, who is the Giver, to relying on the means which God has appointed whereby we partake of his gifts.

§ 26. And this probably we shall find to have been the case among the Anglo-Saxons; for a very inadequate view of the atonement seems to pervade many of the documents of their faith which have come down to us. When the great features of Christianity are directly brought forward, they are perfectly correct; some of the prayers, for instance, given by Turner,[1] mark great piety and most correct views of the Trinity, the atonement, and sanctification. So in the homily on the Catholic faith it is said,[2] 'The holy Father created and made mankind through his Son, and he desires through the same to redeem us from hell punishment, when we were utterly undone;' but then the same homily adds, towards the end,[3] 'Come then, let us *earn* that eternal life with God, through this belief, and through *good deservings*;' expressions which a believer in the eleventh Article would never have used. In another, the writer speaks of redeeming transgressions by almsgiving:[4] upon the death of a bishop, alms are directed to be given out of his property, and his slaves to be set free, 'that by this means he may deserve to receive the fruit of retribution for his labours, and also forgiveness of sins.'[5] Alwyn, founder of Ramsay, desired the monks to pray for him,[6] 'and to place their merits in

1 iii. 490, 491. 2 Soames, *Bampt. Lect.* 63. 3 Ibid. 65.
4 Turner, iii. 476. 5 Johnson's *Can.* 816, 10. 6 Lingard, 251.

balance against his defects;' and a monk prays for Edgar,[1] 'that his good deeds may overbalance his evil deeds, and shield his soul at the last day.' More examples of the same sort might be found, if the Penitential Canons were consulted; but these are quite sufficient to prove that the fruit of unorthodox doctrines had grown up with the admission of those opinions; and though we may bring forward the Anglo-Saxon church as not having admitted all the errors of Rome, yet, when we would defend ourselves from the attacks of our enemies, we must at once fall back upon the Bible, and profess ourselves ready to amend whatever part of our faith or practice does not correspond with the lively oracles of God. They possessed the Bible in their native language, yet they admitted the traditions of men, and were perverted so far as not to place their faith and confidence entirely in their Redeemer's blood. They buried their faith under a mass of unauthorised observances, and partially lost sight of that which is chiefly valuable in the Gospel. There were many errors which had not yet been introduced, but the way was fully prepared for their admission.

[1] Lingard, 278.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE CONQUEST, 1066, TO THE PREACHING OF WICLIF, 1356.

51. View to be taken of the Church history of this period. 52. William I. 53. Growth of the power of Rome. 54. William Rufus and Anselm. 55. Henry; celibacy of the clergy. 56. Stephen. 57. Henry II. 58. Becket. 59. Death and character of Becket. 60. The first heretics punished in England. 61. Interference of Rome with England. 62. John. 63. Deposed by the Pope. 64. Henry III. 65. Robert Greathead, Bishop of Lincoln. 66. Edward I. 67. Growth of the papal power. 68. The contest was a temporal one. 69. The Church taxes itself. 70. Strength and weakness of the Roman power.

§ 51. The church history of this period can be viewed in no other light than as a continuous struggle between the ecclesiastical and civil power; and there will be little else to record than the methods by which the mitre triumphed over the crown, and the crown invaded the rights and property of the church.

It will not perhaps be necessary to say much of the steps by which the erroneous doctrines of the church of Rome gradually overspread that of England; for the seeds of these innovations were abundantly sown before the Conquest, and the introduction of foreign ecclesiastics, connected closely with papal policy, would effectually tend to foster their growth. The history of the papal errors in England would not differ from that of the same errors in Italy, and we shall hereafter have to regard them as the causes of the Reformation.

In estimating the character of such events, or of the individuals engaged in them, we shall hardly arrive at a correct view of the subject, if we form our ideas on the standard of present opinions. If Anselm and Becket be regarded as champions in the cause of ecclesiastical prerogative, as advocating the privileges of the church against the arbitrary proceedings of the crown, we shall perhaps form a different judgment of their conduct from that which must result from viewing them as ministers of the Gospel. Their cause unfortunately was little connected with that of Christianity; yet their firmness, and the manner in which they conducted that cause, may excite our admiration of them as men.

§ 52. William the Conqueror, though he invaded England

under the sanction of a papal grant, nevertheless maintained the authority belonging to the crown, and proved that he was the head of ecclesiastical as well as civil power in his kingdom, by subjecting all church property to the services which were demanded from other lands. This had become absolutely necessary; for it is said, that according to Doomsday book, seven-fifteenths of the kingdom were in the hands of spiritual persons, who had heretofore furnished scarcely anything for the support of the state. As a further proof of his supremacy, he forbade churchmen, unless they had previously obtained his permission, to leave the kingdom —to acknowledge any one as pope—to publish letters from Rome —to excommunicate any persons connected with himself—to hold councils, or make canons.

Most of the larger preferments were now transferred into the hands of Normans, who had accompanied the invasion, and much tyranny seems to have been used towards the chief members of the English church, many of whom were expelled from their benefices, or frightened into involuntary resignations. William ejected them by means of legates from Pope Alexander II., whose admission introduced an authority into the kingdom, of which he himself was little afraid, however dangerous it might prove to a successor; for he rejected the demands of homage made by Gregory VII., and would allow that Peter's pence should be sent to Rome on no other ground than as a benefaction. In separating, too, the ecclesiastical and civil courts, he made an alteration of which he did not foresee the extent, for this step greatly assisted the clergy in establishing their claim to a separate jurisdiction(a).

§ 53. William had little reason to dread the power of the Vatican, first, because that formidable authority was not yet fully established; but, secondly, because he made himself strong at

(a) In Saxon times, the sheriff or earl had properly the government of the county; but the bishop was always associated with him in judicial matters, and they together went a circuit twice a year, holding in every hundred a court called the Tourn. In ecclesiastical matters, the bishop sat as judge, and the sheriff assisted him by inflicting temporal punishments; when civil offences were tried, the sheriff was judge, and the bishop his coadjutor. This joint jurisdiction was now dissolved; for William ordained that no bishop or archdeacon should submit to the judgment of any secular person a cause which related to the cure of souls, but that such cases should be brought before the bishop, at such places as he should appoint, and be there decided according to the canons and the episcopal law: that those who refused to obey the summons of the bishop should be excommunicated, and the assistance of the king or the sheriff should be called in: and that no layman whatever should intromit any matter which properly belonged to the bishop's court. Abridged from Reeve's *History of English Law*, pp. 6 and 64.

home, and confined his tyranny (a) to those whom he had conquered; whereas the injustice of his successors being directed against men who ought to have furnished them with support, rendered the interference of the pope a benefit to a portion of their subjects. For it must never be forgotten that the influence of Rome generally owed its origin and extent to the vices and oppressions of the kings, who were in their turn the victims of it. The property of the bishopric was a benefit to society. The church in those days formed a balance between the crown and aristocracy, of which the weight would, under ordinary circumstances, be generally thrown into the scale of peace, and on the side of the middle and lower orders. The election to the see was vested in the chapter or monastery, and the appointment of a bishop furnished the church, and all who held under it or were connected with its interests, with a person of such a station in society as might be able to defend their cause against the aggression of the military baron or his dependents. When therefore the crown appropriated to itself the temporalities of the bishopric, by keeping it void for a season, a vast number of persons were deprived of the advantages which they naturally looked for from their ecclesiastical superior. No ecclesiastical authority in England was adequate to cope with this evil, for the power of the crown was more than sufficient to oppress any individual bishop; but in times of difficulty, the discontent of a large body of the native subjects gave great strength to any foreign authority which advocated the cause of the sufferers. A patriotic churchman, with the full conviction of the evils arising from such oppression, exercised over the body to which he belonged, might fly to any tribunal which could furnish him with assistance; and most certainly the court of Rome would never have acquired that power which was afterwards so misused, if the commencement of its exercise had not been really useful to many persons labouring under oppression. William Rufus kept the see of Canterbury vacant above four years, and when, through compunction of conscience, arising from sickness, he had nominated Anselm to the primacy, the warm yet just remonstrances of the archbishop created at first an unpleasantness, and at last an open rupture, between himself and the king. Anselm properly exhorted him to fill up all vacant preferments, and admonished his sovereign, that though God had made him the protector

(a) There is one instance of tyranny with which the memory of William I. is generally loaded, which it may be allowed an inhabitant of Hampshire to refute. He is ordinarily accused of depopulating a large tract of country for the purpose of forming the New Forest. The soil, however, in this district is such, that it could never have been much inhabited, and the act, however arbitrary, could not have produced any real distress.

of the church, he had not constituted him the proprietor of it. (b)

§ 54. By a law of William I., every churchman was forbidden to leave the kingdom, or to acknowledge any one as pope without the permission of the king; and he had prevented Lanfranc and Thomas from going to Rome to receive the pall. Yet Anselm (1095) sought to do so while at variance with William II., and even consulted the bishops at the council of Rockingham whether his obedience to Urban, whom Rufus had not recognised as pope, were compatible with his obedience to the king; declaring at the same time the reluctance which he had felt towards accepting the station which he now held, and his determination to obey the successor of St. Peter.

William, with that folly which often marks the conduct of those who are determined to gratify their own wishes without regarding the consequences, agreed to acknowledge Urban as pope, provided he on his part would depose Anselm. A legate was accordingly sent from Rome, who, when he had been received and procured the acknowledgement of his master, confirmed Anselm in his see, as a dutiful son of the church. Considering the circumstances under which he was placed, we cannot wonder at the attachment of the primate to Rome; but at the moment it proved but of little benefit to him; for he was forced to avoid the immediate anger of his sovereign by flying into France, from whence he proceeded into Italy; and when the pope made an application for his return, William answered, that Anselm, in leaving the kingdom, had justly incurred those penalties under which he was suffering, and that the pope was wrong in advocating his cause. During his stay at Rome, he gained himself great credit at two councils which were held by Urban, in the last of which the canon against lay investitures was established. (a)

(b) Before the Conquest, the temporalities during a vacancy had been placed in the hands of the diocesan or archbishop of the province. Under the Conqueror, they had been sequestered in the hands of churchmen, who were forced to account for the proceeds; but Rufus kept them in his own, or let them out to farm for his profit. At his death he was enjoying the income of one archbishopric, four bishoprics, and eleven abbeys. Ling. *Hist.* ii. 134.

(a) Investiture was a ceremony performed by giving a staff and ring to the bishop elect, which put him into possession of the spiritualities, as homage did of the temporalities. Gregory VII. who began to pave the way to that universal monarchy which in subsequent times the popes nearly obtained (A.D. 1074), forbade princes, under pain of excommunication, to make use of investiture, the object of which canon was to break off as much as possible all connection between ecclesiastics and the civil authorities. The importance of the ceremony consisted in the real power it gave with respect to the nomination, since it conferred on the party possessed of the right a sort of power of annulling the election. In the frequent instances which we have of disputed elections to the see of Canterbury, the monks

§ 55. The difficulties inseparable from the beginning of a reign founded on an unjust title, made Henry I. seek for popularity by the recall of Anselm; but one of the first acts of the archbishop was the refusal of homage founded on the beforenamed canon. The necessities of the king produced a truce, but the absurd demands of Pascal II. soon put an end to every appearance of peace; Henry declaring that no subject should remain in England who refused to do homage, while Anselm withdrew to his province and defied all earthly power. In a council held at Winchester, it was determined to refer the matter to the pope; but the conduct of Pascal was so deceitful, that the accounts brought back by the envoys of the king and archbishop were at total variance with each other. Anselm himself soon after went to Rome at the request of Henry, when a decree of the papal chair seemed to put an end to all hopes of reconciliation. At length, however, Henry was induced by the threat of excommunication to submit to a compromise, and to give up the right of investiture, the church at the same time allowing its members to do homage for the temporalities.

In endeavouring to promote the liberty of ecclesiastical elections, Anselm might have been acting on sound principles; but the earnestness with which he insisted that the archbishop of York should acknowledge the superiority of the see of Canterbury was so closely connected with his own prerogative, that it suggests the idea that much of his conduct owed its origin to spiritual pride. As an advocate for the papal authority, he of course insisted on the celibacy of the clergy, which was one of the most powerful engines by which this foreign jurisdiction was supported. The repeated canons against the marriage of the clergy prove how difficult it was to enforce this restraint; and there is a letter sent from the pope to Anselm, in 1107, allowing him to ordain and advance the sons of clergymen, 'because the greatest and best part of the priesthood in England consisted of such persons.'

claimed to themselves the sole choice, and the court of Rome supported them against the suffragan bishops of the diocese, who demanded a share in the election. But the crown also claimed its influence, which in the 12th article of the Constitutions of Clarendon is thus expressed. Having declared that vacant preferments shall be in the king's hands, it proceeds, 'Et cum ventum fuerit ad consulendum ecclesiam, debet Dominus rex mandare potiores personas ecclesiæ' (send his mandate to the chief persons of the church. Johnson's *Canons*, 1164, 12), 'et in capella ipsius regis debet fieri electio, assensu ipsius regis et consilio personarum regni, quas ad hoc faciendum advocaverit.' The person elect shall then do homage, &c. If this custom then had been established, and the king had possessed the power of investiture as well as right of homage, the real nomination would practically have been in his hands; and unfortunately many royal appointments were little better than sales of the preferments.

§ 56. The papal power continued to extend itself by making use of every advantage which the weakness and vices of our sovereigns afforded. Thus after the usurpation of Stephen, which was sanctioned by Rome, Albericus, bishop of Ostia, held a synod at Westminster, where he promulgated canons on the sole authority of the pope, and interfered in the election of Theobald to the see of Canterbury. So again Stephen, by faithlessly seizing the persons of Roger, bishop of Sarum, and his nephew the bishop of Lincoln, at Oxford, paved the way to an act of unjustifiable audacity on the part of his own brother, the bishop of Winchester, who summoned him to answer for his conduct (A.D. 1139), and then arrogating to the clergy the right of appointing kings, declared in favour of Matilda and her son. The facility with which oaths and declarations were then made and broken, while perjury was almost sanctioned by the dispensations of Rome and her emissaries, is one of the many proofs which might be produced that the cause of the church was far from being that of God[a]. The papal power was the only one which was advanced by the miseries of England during this period. Her king was deprived of his patronage, and of the fidelity of his subjects, while the clergy were subjected to a foreign legate, celibacy was more strongly insisted on, and most of their causes were ultimately carried to Rome; by degrees, too, many abbeys were freed from episcopal jurisdiction, holding directly from the see of Rome, and forming ecclesiastical garrisons prepared for its defence.

§ 57. Henry II. found the power of the church greatly augmented during the reign of Stephen, and though a wise prince, he contributed to extend that jurisdiction over the whole world which was arrogated by the court of Rome, when he accepted a grant of Ireland from the pope. Few monarchs, however, have more severely felt the ill effects of exalting the hierarchy, and that at the hands of a favourite, whose aid he had expected in repressing them.

Thomas Becket was born in London, educated at Oxford, Paris, and Bologna, and, by the influence of Theobald, was made chancellor of England (1158). Upon the death of that prelate he was appointed his successor in the see of Canterbury, though only in deacon's orders, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of many of the king's friends, who endeavoured to dissuade him from putting so much power into the hands of one who with ambitious views possessed talents which would render him formidable. The courtier, now converted into an ecclesiastic, assumed a severity of conduct corresponding with his station, and discarded that levity

(a) Fuller says, 'Dealing with oaths as seamen do with the points of the compass (iii. p. 25, § 29), saying them forwards and backwards.'

for which he had been before conspicuous. The point on which the interests of the archbishop and the king first came into competition, regarded the punishment of ecclesiastical persons guilty of notorious crimes, of which unfortunately, at that time, there were too many examples.

This question was discussed in a council at Westminster (1163), and Becket and the other bishops agreed to observe the customs of the realm such as they existed in the time of Henry I., but added the clause of 'saving their order,' a reservation which virtually maintained that no clerk, though degraded, should be subjected to the civil power for the same offence for which he had been deprived of his orders; and this upon the principle that a man shall not be twice punished for the same crime. When the Constitutions of Clarendon (a) were drawn up, Becket at first (1164), with much reluctance, promised to observe them, and to submit to whatever else was the law in the time of Henry I.; but he subsequently obtained a dispensation from his oath. When he had attempted to leave the kingdom, and was driven back by contrary winds, a violent persecution was begun against him in a parliament held at Northampton. He had violated those laws which he had before sworn to observe, and was justly liable to punishment; but it was not of this that they accused him; he was sued under frivolous, if not false pretences, and at last ordered to give in an account of the moneys received by him while chancellor. The day after this unreasonable demand, he entered the hall in his pontificals, observed a dignified conduct towards his opponents, and when threatened by the Earl of Leicester, declared that all claims on him had been discharged when he was made archbishop, and appealed to God and the pope. The next night he set off in disguise, and retired to France.

§ 58. The reception of Becket at the French court was much more favourable than that which the ambassadors of the king of England experienced; and the same difference was observable at

(a) They were established at Clarendon, near Salisbury, and are in number sixteen (Johnson's *Canons*, 1164). Their object is to preserve the rights of the crown (2, 14). To prevent appeals from being made to any foreign court (4, 8). To restrain the carrying of causes into ecclesiastical courts (1, 15), and the exercise of an undue (5) or inquisitorial power (6) in those courts, while their just rights were preserved, by the aid of temporal authority (10, 13). To regulate ecclesiastical elections, so that the appointment might not fall into the hands of the pope (12). To subject ecclesiastical property to civil service (11), and churchmen to the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts of law, so far that it might be known what cognizance was claimed by the ecclesiastical power, and how the offending parties were punished (3, 9). To screen persons connected with the king from the immediate influence of ecclesiastical censures (7), and to prevent the ordination of slaves, unless with the consent of their masters (16).

Sens, where the pontiff then resided. The Constitutions of Clarendon were immediately condemned by the pope, and the cause of Becket was taken up as his own. The violence of Henry now broke out in an unjustifiable persecution of the friends of the archbishop, whom he stripped of all their property, sending them over to their patron, with the view of increasing his misery by the sufferings of those connected with him. In this, as well as the former persecution, the passions of the king made him lose the advantage which his cause possessed, and he must have been regarded as a tyrant, even while asserting his own legitimate rights.

Becket's anger would have inclined him to proceed immediately to the excommunication of Henry; but through the interference of the king of France, the thunders of the church were hurled against his ministers alone. Several attempts at reconciliation proved abortive, and in 1170, when the court of Rome seemed to be more favourable towards Henry, the rage of the primate became excessive. These circumstances, however, appear to have expedited the cause of peace, for terms were soon after agreed on. The meeting which took place at Fretville displays the gentlemanly feeling of the king, and the revengeful pride of Becket: he refused to forgive his opponents in any but general terms: and the intention of these salvos was soon apparent; for before he landed in England he excommunicated those bishops who had taken any leading part against him, and thus declared war at the moment when he should have been the messenger of peace.

§ 59. Some angry expressions which dropped from Henry when the excommunicated bishops came to implore his protection, produced the murder of the primate. The tide of opinion now ran against the supposed author of this horrid deed; but the king made his peace with Rome by solemnly disavowing any knowledge of or participation in the murder. St. Thomas became a most powerful advocate with Heaven, and the miracles performed at his shrine would be incredible, if the force of imagination, in curing the most inveterate disorders, had not been proved by the quackery of modern times. Henry himself paid honour to him when dead, and subjected his own person to great severities at his tomb. Louis too, with more consistency, visited his bones, and sought to obtain the heavenly aid of him whom he had protected on earth. Of the cleverness and decision of Becket's character there can be no doubt; but it seems equally unquestionable that his object was personal ambition: he died a martyr to the cause of the advancement of his own ecclesiastical power. The violence of his letters to the court of Rome, and the vindictive persecution of his enemies, show most forcibly how far he was from that serenity which the disinterestedness of a good cause can alone inspire.

§ 60. It was during this period (1160) that the first punishment for heresy took place in England. About thirty Germans, under a teacher named Gerhard, appeared in this country. They were examined before a synod at Oxford, burnt in the forehead, and turned out to perish in the fields. They made no proselytes, excepting one woman, and as the only account of their tenets which remains to us is derived from those who punished them, no fair judgment can be passed on the opinions which they entertained. They are said to have rejected the use of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, to have been adverse to marriage, and to have gloried in their sufferings.[1]

§ 61. The manner in which the court of Rome interfered with the concerns of this kingdom cannot be more strongly illustrated than by a quarrel which happened in 1186, when Archbishop Baldwin attempted to build a convent at Hackington near Canterbury. The monks of the metropolitan church saw that any other archiepiscopal establishment was likely to interfere with their right of electing to the see; and indeed the object in the erection of this religious house seems to have been to diminish their power. They appealed therefore to Rome, and the pope insisted on the destruction of the intended establishment, which was accomplished in 1189; and so far did this jealousy extend, that when Hubert, in 1196, attempted to found a society of canons at Lambeth, and offered every safeguard which oaths could give, that they should not interfere with the election, the monks of Canterbury still resisted; and the see of Rome too well knew her own interest, not to advocate the cause of those who were always ready to fight her battles against any other authority.

In 1200, Innocent III. took the bold step of imposing a tax of one-fortieth on all ecclesiastical revenues, for the purpose of a crusade; to which it was never fully applied, says Diceto, unless the church of Rome has renounced her innate rapacity.

§ 62. It was, however, in the reign of John that the papal authority rose to its greatest height: the first act of encroachment was the appointment of Stephen Langton to the see of Canterbury. On the death of Hubert, the monks, to make sure of their privilege, hastily elected Reginald, and dismissed him secretly to Rome, to obtain his investiture; but, contrary to a promise which he had given them, he disclosed the news of his election in Flanders, and brought the anger of the king on those who had been instrumental to it. Upon this the monks, out of revenge, elected another primate, and the question was referred to Rome. The suffragan bishops of the diocese, too, sent in their claim; but this

[1] Collier's *Ecc. Hist.* i. 347.

was immediately rejected; and the pope, having annulled both the elections of the monks, compelled such of their members as were then at Rome to proceed to a fresh election, absolving them from all the promises to the contrary which they had made in England. Stephen Langton, in whose favour these steps were taken, was by birth an Englishman, had received his education at Paris, and had subsequently been made a cardinal. The intemperate warmth of the British monarch was met by the haughty firmness of Innocent, who first laid the country under an interdict, and then excommunicated John. But so little real effect had these spiritual weapons, that the only two successful expeditions which John made, against Wales and Ireland, took place during this very period.

§ 63. In 1212 the pope proceeded to depose John, and to free his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and in 1213 committed the execution of this act to Philip of France. The secret cabals of his discontented barons, whose defection rendered all his prospects of defence uncertain, coupled with the threat of a foreign invasion, forced the pusillanimous John to surrender his kingdom; and on May 15, 1213, at Dover, Pandulf restored the crown, which was laid at his feet; a tribute of a thousand marks was imposed, and the legate having obtained the object of his church, forbade Philip to proceed in the invasion, and neglected the interest of even those English churchmen who had suffered in the cause. So much did the pope now consider England as his own, that when, in 1215, the barons compelled John to sign the charter, the pope espoused the cause of the king with such earnestness, that he suspended Langton for the part which he had taken in favour of liberty.

In this year the council of St. John Lateran was held, which authoritatively declared transubstantiation to be a tenet of the church.

§ 64. The papal power had probably reached its greatest height by the surrender which John made of his crown; but its exactions and practical effects were by no means diminished under the weak reign of Henry III. A vast number of the benefices in England were filled by Italians, who resided out of the kingdom, and impoverished it by the sums which were thus withdrawn. But to what source could the oppressed inhabitants look for relief? They were little likely to obtain it from Rome itself, and the inadequacy of any such attempt they themselves experienced when the barons made a remonstrance to the council of Lyons (1245); for the pontiff amused them with delays, till their patience was exhausted, and their return to England was the next year followed by a further exaction of one-half of the revenues of the non-resident clergy, and a third of the rest. But this demand was too great to

be complied with, and the prudence of the court of Rome perceived the danger of pressing it.

§ 65. It was not, however, from the barons alone that the opposition to the court of Rome arose,[1] for Robert Grossteste, or Greathead (a), bishop of Lincoln, ventured to lift his feeble voice against corruptions which he justly designated as antichristian. Innocent IV. had named his nephew, Frederic de Lavania, then a child, to a canonry in the church of Lincoln; but the remonstrances of the bishop were so strong, that though they drew from the pope a torrent of abuse, he wisely gave way to the more prudent advice of some of his cardinals, and did not follow up the question. The good bishop died soon after, and on his death-bed endeavoured to convince his friend, John of St. Giles, that the pope was antichrist; and it should be remembered that he was one of the most learned men of his day.

§ 66. The chief points in which the English clergy had encroached on the civil power consisted in their growing wealth, and the freedom from temporal jurisdiction which they claimed. A partial remedy was provided first by a statute which passed in 1275, allowing a clerk to be tried by a jury before he was delivered over to his ordinary, and the Statute of Mortmain, 1279, made the king's consent necessary for any transfer of property to an ecclesiastical body; but when Edward I. had established his power, he soon exerted it over the ecclesiastical portion of his subjects.

In 1292 he demanded one-half of the revenues of the church, in addition to many other exactions which he had already made, and frightened the clergy into submission. Robert Winchelsey, then archbishop of Canterbury, in hopes of putting a stop to these proceedings, which seem in truth to have been very tyrannical, obtained a bull from the pope, which prohibited princes from taxing church property; but the inefficacy of this was soon proved; for Edward excluded from the protection of the laws those ecclesiastics who refused obedience to his demands, and directed his civil officers to seize all the actual property of clergymen. This soon brought the question to a close, and obliged the churchmen to submit.

The ecclesiastical history which lies between this period and the

(a) See a life of Grossteste by Pegge, 4to. He was born 1175. In the early part of his life he resided in Oxford, and lectured there to the black friars. When elected bishop of Lincoln, 1235, he was much assisted by the friars in his episcopal duties, strongly enforced discipline, and endeavoured to reform abuses, defended the rights of the church and kingdom against papal encroachments, though he always submitted to the authority of Rome; about 1252, he put forth a sermon at Lyons, inveighing bitterly against the corruptions of the court of Rome.

[1] Fox's *Mar.* i. 364.

first preaching of Wiclif is marked by little peculiarity, and the civil power, as might be expected, during the active reigns of the two Edwards, seems to have been gaining ground. But the immediate vices of the clergy, and the fundamental errors existing in the ecclesiastical system, which formed the real cause of the attacks of Wiclif, and which are indeed the only church history of this period, shall be detailed by way of preface to the account given of this great author of the Reformation. There are, however, some few general observations, which may be introduced with advantage into this part of our history.

§ 67. In tracing the extension of the papal dominion in this kingdom, much more must be attributed to the vices of the British kings than to any other cause. The comparative weakness of the popes before the conquest had prevented them from interfering so much with the affairs of Britain; but as Rome became strong, she advanced her claims, and established them, whenever her interests could be mixed up with the correction of the real grievances existing in church or state. The unjust usurpation of William I. was sanctioned by the pope, and this same king introduced legates to execute his tyranny: but his injustice consisted in favouring the Norman clergy, and not in robbing the church as a body; and William Rufus might have kept himself as independent as his father, had not his invasion of church property compelled Anselm to fly to Rome for protection. The quarrel about investiture was really one as to the power which it gave the king of selling his preferments. Had not Henry so disposed of the benefices which became vacant, the interests of the clergy of England would have coincided with that of the king; his own avarice created the opposition which was raised against him; and in this vice he was so shameless, that when he had been invested with authority to restrain the marriage of the clergy, he used it by selling them licences which dispensed with the restraint. It was not till Stephen had most unjustly seized on the castles of Roger, bishop of Sarum, and his nephew's, that his own brother Henry, the papal legate, ventured to summon the king before an ecclesiastical tribunal; and Stephen, himself an usurper, appealed to the pope against his own bishops. John was incapable of contending with Rome, because he had first lost the confidence and love of his subjects. And the same thing occurred during the reigns of more powerful monarchs. Edward I. imposed a tax of one-tenth on ecclesiastical property, through pope Nicholas IV., and afterwards exacted larger sums from the clergy, till they in their turn obtained a bull which forbade the transfer of any ecclesiastical revenues to lay purposes without the concurrence of the holy see.

§ 68. Most of the contests which took place concerned the property of the church, and might more justly be viewed as questions of civil right than as belonging to ecclesiastical matters. The church is a body corporate, with spiritual functions, but possessed of temporal rights; the injustice generally arose with regard to the temporalities, ordinarily with respect to the appointments; and as the ecclesiastical body had no other means of defending its own rights than by spiritual thunders, the invasion of a right purely temporal in its nature became a question of spiritual power, from the way in which the contest was carried on (a). The king kept a bishopric or abbey vacant, and let the temporalities out to farm. The church was injured by the want of a head, but the injustice was such as might have been remedied without any appeal to a foreign power, if the barons had maintained the rights of the church; but when the church found no other remedy, her members were forced to seek for aid from any source which could afford it to them, and so put themselves under the protection of Rome. And that see usually showed itself eager to support the weaker party, till the stronger submitted to acknowledge the authority of its decisions, but exhibited no objection to subject the church to the crown, provided the crown was subservient to Rome.

§ 69. So again with regard to the right of taxation, the church had always possessed the privilege of imposing taxes upon her members, but the necessities of Edward I. induced him to demand a contribution of one-fifth of their moveables from the clergy; and Winchelsey, then archbishop of Canterbury (1296), obtained a bull prohibiting princes to levy, and churchmen to pay, any taxes imposed without the permission of the Roman see. Edward reduced the clergy to submission by putting them out of the protection of the law, as they would contribute nothing to the support of the government; but his conduct was certainly very tyrannical. The papal bull claimed a power over the crown, to which there could be no just pretension, but such a claim could hardly deprive the clergy of the right of taxing themselves. The question was not whether or no they should pay taxes, but as to the authority which should impose such taxes. This proceeding of the king was an infringement of their civil rights, and had in its nature a tendency to weaken the dependence of the church on the crown, and to transfer the allegiance of the heart of the churchman from his king to the pope; and the frequency of political disturbances and

(a) See the Constitutions of Boniface, in Johnson's *Canons*, 1261, which, though they were never established as law, yet mark strongly the violence and folly of those who then wished to legislate as friends of the church.

personal insecurity induced the wealthy members of the church to prepare every means of defence within their power; so that if we regard the higher clergy in their manner of life, and their proceedings against the crown, they resembled laymen rather than ministers of the Gospel. There were many instances when they engaged personally in war, and their castles were often as strong, their retainers as numerous and warlike, as those of any temporal lord; and the history of the churchmen of this period can hardly be reckoned as belonging to ecclesiastical history, any further than as it records the temporal wealth and power with which they were then invested.

§ 70. In order to discover the source of that political influence which was possessed by Rome, we must look at the elements of which society was then composed. The king was the monarch of a military oligarchy, whose power mainly depended on the military strength which he possessed; and therefore, chiefly on his own personal character, and the manner in which he used the resources of the crown. The church was a confederacy of corporations, sole and aggregate, whose very existence depended on opinion, and whose real strength consisted in combination, and in cultivating the arts of peace and civilization. Rome, possessed of many advantages in other respects, formed a centre of combination for the church; and the folly and injustice of the crown and of the barons would have rendered Rome and the church invincible, had not those vices, which are, humanly speaking, inseparable from power and wealth, destroyed the illusion of public opinion, and prevented churchmen from being able to trust in each other. The vices of monarchs and of nations first made the pope a king of kings; and the vices of Rome and her servants destroyed a power which no other human force could have subdued.

CHAPTER III.

FROM WICLIF, 1356, TO HENRY VIII., 1509.

101. Men wish to remedy abuses when they affect themselves. 102. Political abuses; separate jurisdiction of the clergy. 103. Money drained out of the kingdom. 104. Laws to restrain the papal power. 105. Moral abuses; the mendicant orders. 106. Doctrinal abuses; pardons; transubstantiation. 107. Little prospect of redress; inutility of canons. 108. Wiclif a leader in the Reformation. 109. His enmity to the friars. 110. He defends the crown against the papal power. 111. Attacked by the papal authority, but defended. 112. Driven from Oxford. 113. Summoned to Rome, but dies. 114. His talents and opposition to Rome. 115. Opinions of Wiclif; papal supremacy. 116. Church property; celibacy. 117. Purgatory; episcopacy. 118. Seven sacraments. 119. Transubstantiation; on justification and sanctification. 120. Wiclif's followers. 121. Enactments of Henry IV. in favour of persecution. 122. William Sawtrey, martyr. 123. Lord Cobham. 124. His execution. 125. Pretended rebellion of Lord Cobham. 126. Pecock. 127. His excuse for images and pilgrimages. 128. Papal supremacy and monastic orders. 129. The Bible; celibacy; fasting. 130. Continued persecution. 131. Summary of the history; origin of ecclesiastical power. 132. Competitors for the nomination to preferments. 133. Origin of the claim of each. 134. Each seek their own advantage, in consequence of the wealth of the preferment. 135. Advantages and disadvantages of wealth to the church. 136. Civil offices in the hands of churchmen; these evils were destroyed when they came to be examined. 137. Many steps made towards reformation, but an Almighty hand was still wanting.

§ 101. The period which we are about to examine is often regarded with less attention perhaps than it deserves, since it must contain traces of those steps which eventually led to the Reformation. The opinions of a people like ourselves are not changed in a moment, or at the mere mandate of a court; parties must have been long nearly balanced, or the party weakest in political influence must really be the favourite of the nation, before a rapid transition can alter the religion of a country. The prejudices of the multitude generally coincide with whatever they have found established, till circumstances induce them to suppose that some pressure under which they are labouring may be removed. The discovery of an abuse by no means disposes the generality of mankind to seek a remedy; but they are easily excited to desire the reform of abuses which affect themselves, or when any other causes of suffering dispose them to wish for a change.

Before, therefore, we enter on the history of Wiclif and his

followers, it may be useful to devote a few pages to a short account of the abuses which existed in the church about this time. We will begin with those of a political nature.

§ 102. The general extension of the papal authority had so blinded the eyes of mankind, with regard to that species of anomaly in civil government which has since been designated under the name of *imperium in imperio*, that though there were frequent complaints of the pope's interfering too much with the affairs of this country, yet no one seems to have claimed that total exclusion of foreign jurisdiction, which is now generally admitted as necessary to constitute an independent kingdom. There were many attempts to limit the exclusive jurisdiction which the church exercised over its own members, and which was in reality subversive of the equitable administration of justice. If a priest were guilty of the most heinous offences, he could only be punished by ecclesiastical censures: and the commission of rape, murder, or robbery, was visited by confinement in a bishop's prison, in which the appearance of canonical severity was rendered ineffectual by the ease with which a dispensation from any canon might be obtained.

§ 103. These evils, however, did not affect the mass of the people, and though injurious to society, were confined within a compass comparatively small; while the quantity of money[a] taken out of the kingdom by means of the ecclesiastical hierarchy was felt by all, and could not fail to attract the notice of the most uninformed political economist. The great source of this abuse was the power exercised by the pope of granting preferments by means of provisions or expective graces, by which he appointed a successor[1] to any benefice, whether in his own gift or no, before it became vacant, and thus took the patronage of all countries into his hands. This opened a door to a variety of other abuses; hungry foreigners were introduced into the richest offices,[2] who, while they enjoyed their incomes abroad, thought little of the spiritual care of their flocks, or the temporal hardships to which the exactions of greedy stewards necessarily exposed them. At the same time an additional revenue was produced to the papal throne by means of bribery, and the exactment of annates or first-fruits, which were a tax of one year's income levied on preferments when they became vacant. It was originally paid on those benefices only which were in the gift of the pope; as therefore his patronage was extended, he enlarged at the same time this branch of his income, and the indefinite power thus exerted enabled him,

(a) In 1376, the sum paid to the pope was five times as much as that paid to the king. Cotton's *Abridgment*, 128; Lewis's *Wiclif*, 34.

1 Lewis's *Pecock*, 21.
2 Fox, *A. & M.* i. 489. Lewis's *Wiclif*, 35.

as circumstances arose, to advance his prerogative (b). The pope claimed to himself the right of taxing beneficed churchmen according to the value of their preferments, and the tallage amounted generally to a twentieth, sometimes to a tenth, or larger proportion. This method of raising money was introduced at the time of the crusades, but subsequently extended to other wars, in which the interests of the church of Rome were concerned. This revenue was occasionally granted to the king, though ultimately appropriated to the pope. The sum, too, collected as Peter's pence (c) was considerable, and the fees paid to the pope's officers for aiding suitors in their causes, or expediting ecclesiastical business with the church of Rome, tended to swell the total amount which was drained from the pockets of our ancestors, and rendered the minds of all men alive to every argument tending to show the unsoundness of a system of which they personally felt the galling effects. The officers who thus impoverished the kingdom were injurious in another point of view; they not only formed, as it were, a papal army within the country, but furnished information to Rome[1] of everything which was transacted, thus providing that court with the means of continuing the slavery to which England was reduced (d). The prerogative of sanctuary[2] had become exceedingly injurious to morality and the police; for the perpetrators of every species of crime, who could reach one of these places of refuge, were free from immediate danger, and reserved for the commission of fresh enormities, whenever their pursuers relaxed in their

(b) The annates were by the reformers considered as bribes (see § 201, a), and it is probable that at first they very much resembled them. It is uncertain when the custom originated, but their date seems earlier than that generally assigned; they were objected to as illegal and oppressive before 1250, and at the council of Vienne, 1315, proposals were made for their discontinuance, which were opposed by Clement V. It is not extraordinary that uncertainty should prevail with respect to them, for they were an irregular demand, settled by the pope's chamber, and often exceeded two or three years' income. Lewis's *Pecock*, p. 40. They were declared illegal by the council of Constance. The pope did not obtain them for himself in England till after the reign of Edward I.

(c) Peter's pence was an annual tribute of one penny paid at Rome out of every family, at the feast of St. Peter. It was granted by Ina (740), partly as alms, and partly in recompense for a house erected in Rome for English pilgrims. It was paid generally till the 25th of Henry VIII. Burn's *Eccl. Law.*

(d) It is perhaps worthy of remark, that as the popes, from Clement V., 1305, to Gregory XI., 1378 (Vaughan's *Wicliffe*, i. 281), were all Frenchmen, and resided at Avignon, as well as Clement VII. and Benedict XIII. to 1409, this wealth and power was thrown into the hands of a nation engaged in political rivalry with England, and that therefore the eyes of the people of this country must have been peculiarly open to this abuse during the life of Wiclif.

[1] Lewis's *Wiclif*, 35.

[2] Ibid. 38

exertions to bring them to punishment. Wealth, then, and authority, as well as almost every species of knowledge, were in the hands of those most interested in the continuance of abuses, so that all external influence seemed combined to perpetuate these evils.

§ 104. There are, however, three laws, by which it was attempted to restrain the power of the church, passed not far from this period.

(A.D. 1279.) The Statute of Mortmain[1] tried to prevent bodies corporate from acquiring any lands or tenements, since the services and other profits due from them to the superior lord were thereby taken away, because escheats, &c., could never accrue, as the body never died. But this enactment was variously eluded; and the number of subsequent laws on the subject prove how inadequate human institutions are to counteract the interests of those who are possessed of power. Some persons may question the justice of such an enactment, some persons its wisdom; but the tendency which all bodies corporate have to accumulate property clearly points out the necessity of some species of restraint, though it appears very doubtful whether this be the wisest method of imposing it. Strict justice and sound policy seem always to go hand in hand; and as it is hard to prevent any individual who has acquired wealth from applying his property as he pleases, it would perhaps be wiser to allow bodies corporate to alienate, under certain restrictions, than to endeavour to prevent them from acquiring. The laws which obstruct the alienation and transfer of property are those which are most injurious in England.

(A.D. 1343.) The statute against provisions forbade any one, under the pain of forfeiture, to receive or execute any letters of provisions for preferments; but as this law practically carried all questions dependent on it before the tribunals of the court of Rome, to which the party aggrieved naturally applied for redress, it was enacted by the statute of præmunire(a), (A.D. 1352), that whoever drew out of the country a plea which belonged to the king's court[2] should be outlawed, after a warning of two months. Of the justice and wisdom of these laws there can be little doubt.

§ 105. Had the members of the establishment which was thus privileged, and for whose support these large sums were expended,

(a) The exact derivation of the word is uncertain. Some take it to proceed from the defence it gives the crown against the encroachments of foreign powers: others from *præmonere*, which has been barbarously turned into *præmunire*; in which sense it is certainly sometimes used. The term *præmunire* is either taken for the writ, or the offence for which the writ is granted. It was twice renewed by Edward III. 27, 28; by Richard II. 12, 13, 16; Henry IV. 2. Abridged from Blount's *Law Dictionary*.

[1] Burn's *Justice*; Tomlin's *Law Dict.* [2] Edward III. 25.

been themselves irreproachable in their conduct, it would have obviated one great source of scandal; but so far was this from being the case, that during part of this time nothing could be more corrupt than the papal court;[1] while its emissaries in England did all they could to irritate those whom they pillaged. The pride and luxury of the higher ecclesiastics was excessive; they vied with temporal lords in all the vanities of life, and men who had forsworn the world were on their journeys often seen accompanied by four-score richly-mounted attendants. Celibacy, which was strictly imposed by the ordinances of the church, led the clergy into divers snares and temptations; and the canons against incontinency are so numerous, that their very number proves their inefficacy. Those who had the cure of souls not only neglected their duty with regard to preaching and instructing the common people, but most of the higher stations in the state were held by churchmen;[2] many filled menial offices in the establishments of their patrons; and their ignorance was frequently so excessive, that numbers of them were unacquainted with the Ten Commandments, and could hardly pronounce correctly the words for the performance of the sacraments. These causes gave rise to the mendicant orders, who infested the church chiefly in the thirteenth century. They pretended to an extraordinary call from God to reform the world and correct the faults of the secular clergy. To this end they put on a mighty show of zeal for the good of men's souls, and of contempt of the world; accused the secular clergy of famishing the souls of men, calling them *dumb dogs* and *cursed hirelings*; maintained that evangelical poverty became the ministers of the Gospel; that it was unlawful for them to possess anything, or to retain propriety in any worldly goods. As for the public orders of the church, they would not be tied to them, alleging that themselves being wholly spiritual could not be obliged to any carnal ordinances. They broke in everywhere upon the parochial clergy; usurped their office; in all populous and rich places, set up altars of their own; withdrew the people from communion with their parish priest; would scarce allow the hopes of salvation to any but their own disciples, whom they bewitched with great pretences of sanctity, and assiduity in preaching. These artifices had raised their reputation and interest so high in a few years, that they wanted very little to ruin the secular clergy, and therewith the church. But in less than an age the cheat of these impostors became manifest to all men. They procured to their societies incredible riches; built to themselves stately palaces; infinitely surpassed the viciousness of

[1] F. Petrarchæ *Epist.* sine tit. lib. p. 797. 807.
[2] Vaughan, i. 298.

which they had themselves (perhaps unjustly) accused the secular clergy; and long before the Reformation became the most infamous and contemptible part of the church of Rome (a).

§ 106. Nor were the doctrines of this period less exceptionable than the political or private characters of the churchmen. Idolatry had become excessive, the people neglected the weightier matters of the law, and placed their hopes of acceptance with God on pilgrimages[1], which were esteemed the more meritorious in proportion to the difficulties which were to be encountered on the way. Another method by which the beguiled multitude hoped to obtain for themselves the favour of Heaven consisted in their purchasing an absolution for their sins from the chief minister of the church, who claimed to himself the power of binding and loosing, without reference to the conduct of those who made themselves the objects of these papal remissions; not that the infallible head of the Christian community could act contrary to the ordinances of God, but that the Almighty would ratify his servant's decree, whatever might be its nature. The doctrine of transubstantiation must not here be omitted, which subsequently formed so ordinary a subject of persecution. It was asserted, that under the form of the bread and wine, the very same body of Christ was presented which had been born of Mary, and had suffered on the cross, and that the elements after consecration no longer retained their material substance; while it was added, that he who would not believe this would have disbelieved Christ to be the Son of God, had he seen him in the form of a crucified servant.

§ 107. These numerous abuses (a), much as they must have

(a) Henry Wharton's *Defence of Pluralities*, 9, 10, A.D. 1692.

(a) As an Abstract of the more offensive abuses (Fox, *Acts & Mon.* i. 453) about this time, the *Complaint of the Ploughman* may be consulted; its author is not known. It begins with a brief account of the Old Testament history, and a statement of the doctrines of the New Testament; it complains that men have taken away the honour due to God; that auricular confession is not of divine institution, and leads to much evil. It objects to the spite, enmity, pride, and worldly-mindedness of the priests; their pharisaical prayers, singing and offering mass, instead of teaching; to their unmarried state, as the cause of much evil in the church; to their splendid buildings, images, &c., and not feeding the flock, and to their preventing others who would do so; to their injustice, in not punishing the clergy as other persons; to their setting up the canon law and pope's decrees above the law of God; to their inquisitorial manner of taking evidence. He blames the pope's unwillingness to forgive; his commanding people to fight for him, and to swear even falsely, and to break God's commandments; he reprobates the sins of pride and covetousness; calls Christ the good Shepherd, the clergy evil ones; asserts that the pope is antichrist, and has no power over purgatory; declares marriage to be honourable to all, and compensations for whoredom in the clergy abominable; and ends with a prayer for deliverance from such teachers.

[1] Wordsworth, *E. B.* i. 165.

injured the commonalty, and offended those who from their situation were most capable of judging of their destructive tendency, seemed to admit of no remedy, since the interests of the parties concerned appeared to be so much at variance with each other. Whatever might be the wish of her conscientious members, the church of Rome was little likely to reform abuses productive of so many temporal advantages to herself. If anything were conceded to the remonstrances of the prince or people, it was as readily withdrawn when occasion admitted of its resumption. Severity in the canon law becomes nugatory, whenever the power of dispensing with it is lodged in the hands of the same body against whose irregularities it was framed; and that balance of mutual advantage, which mixed establishments enjoy, cannot exist in conjunction with such an anomaly; in fact, the profit of the dispensation seems sometimes to have been one object in framing particular canons([b]).

§ 108. Against these abuses did Wiclif stand forward as the champion of Christianity.[1] We must not indeed esteem him to have been first in the glorious path; for in his writings he often refers to Greathead and Fitzralph([a]); but he took so conspicuous a lead in the contest that he may well be deemed one of the grandsires of the Reformation. His first work was against the covetousness of the court of Rome; it was published in 1356, and denominated 'The last Age of the Church.'[2] He was at this time about thirty-two years of age, and had rendered himself conspicuous in the university of Oxford by his learning, and the freedom of discussion in which he indulged. He had originally belonged to Queen's college, but was subsequently elected to a fellowship of Merton, which then enjoyed considerable celebrity as a college. The subject was well chosen; covetousness is a vice so open to observation, and so palpably contrary to the precepts of the Gospel, that though its existence proved nothing in reality

([b]) Clement V. by way of favour to Archbishop Reynolds, 1313, gave him power to grant the following dispensations. To dispense with his own visitations, which might be performed by proxy; to absolve one hundred excommunicated persons; to grant one hundred days' absolution, for hearing him preach; to ordain one hundred bastards; to allow twelve minors to hold preferments, and forty priests to hold pluralities. The severity of a canon thus became a bank from which the pope might draw. Wilk. *Cons.* ii. 433—444.

([a]) For Greathead, see § 65 a. Richard Fitzralph was educated in Oxford, and afterwards became in succession archdeacon of Litchfield, commissary or chancellor of Oxford, and archbishop of Armagh; from whence he is often called Armachanus. About 1359 he maintained nine conclusions against the begging friars before Innocent VI.; he died in banishment. Fox's *Acts & Mon.* i. 464, &c.

[1] Lewis, *Life.*

[2] Lewis, *Wiclif*, 3.

against the doctrines of the church, the discussion prepared men's minds to doubt whether infallibility of belief belonged to a body which was obviously deficient in practice. Had the church of Rome herself undertaken the reformation of those abuses, which her sincere members must have deplored as strongly as the Protestant, it is far from impossible that our separation from her might never have taken place; but the providence of God, who ordains all things for the best, made the examination of her conduct the means of detecting the errors of her creed. In 1365, Wiclif[1] was appointed warden of Canterbury-hall, by Simon de Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, but was the next year expelled by Langham, who had succeeded to the archiepiscopal chair.

§ 109. This expulsion arose from the enmity of the ecclesiastics regular, who formed a part of that society, and who were favoured by the new archbishop. Wiclif indeed had long shown himself a great enemy[2] to the friars, who were then very numerous in and about Oxford, and who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the university by their endeavours to draw away the students from the colleges into their own establishments; and an additional stimulus was now given to this general dislike by the political circumstances of the kingdom; for though his immediate opponent was a monk, and not a friar, yet as the resistance was against the court of Rome, to which both orders were equally allied, the animosity may be esteemed to have been common to both. In 1365, a demand was made by Urban V. of the arrears of the tribute conferred by John on the papacy, and which had not been paid for many years. The question had been referred by Edward to the parliament, but as the opinions of the hierarchy were different from those of the rest of the kingdom, the refusal which this demand had there met with was questioned by many ecclesiastics, and among the rest by some of the regular clergy resident in Oxford; and against one of these, Wiclif publicly advocated the cause of the king, and maintained the soundness of the answer returned by the parliament, viz., 'that as neither John nor any other king had power to dispose of his kingdom, without the consent of parliament, no subsequent monarch could be bound by any such transfer, in itself originally illegal.'[3] Although his labours were not confined to the university, yet Oxford appears to have been the chief seat of his residence and exertions, where, in 1372, he professed divinity, *i. e.*, took his degree of D.D., giving lectures and holding disputations (a); in these he

(a) Wiclif is frequently called professor of divinity, which arises, I believe, from a mistake concerning university customs. In theory, every D.D. is S.T.P. 'sanctæ theologiæ professor,' and all the divinity exercises consist in teaching theology. At this time, doctors were really teachers.

[1] Lewis, *Wiclif*, 13. [2] Ibid. 22, &c. [3] Ibid. App. No. 30, p. 349.

frequently inveighed against the errors of the church of Rome; and his diligence and zeal were crowned with ample success; for his audiences were most numerous, and his opinions received with marked approbation.

§ 110. In 1374, Edward issued a commission to his bishops,[1] in order to ascertain what preferments were in the hands of foreigners; and, in consequence of their report, a meeting took place at Bruges, between the pope's nuncios and certain ambassadors from England, of whom Wiclif was one; this honour he probably obtained in consequence of his having before advocated the spiritual liberty of the kingdom. It was here after a time settled, that the pope should not in future use provisions, nor the king present to benefices, by *Quare impedit* (a). On his return in 1376, Wiclif obtained the rectory of Lutterworth, and the prebend of Aust, in the collegiate church of Westbury. During the reign of Edward III. the payment of Peter's pence appears to have been discontinued, but when Richard II. came to the throne it was re-demanded; and the question, having been debated in the first parliament of that reign,[2] was referred to Wiclif, who maintained, that as an alms, or charitable donation, it might be lawful for the kingdom to suspend the payment which had been originally made as a free gift. For it was one of Wiclif's favourite maxims, on which he often reasoned in public, as well as exercised his pen, that the civil power, the original donor of ecclesiastical property, might, when the wealth so bestowed was uselessly or injuriously lavished, rescind its donation, and resume its rights. This doctrine, together with his opposition to the power of binding and loosing, rendered him obnoxious to the papal displeasure, while his continual strictures upon the infamous lives of ecclesiastical dignitaries exposed him to the personal hatred of many powerful churchmen.

§ 111. In 1377, Gregory XI.[3] issued several bulls, by which Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, and William Courtney, then bishop of London, were appointed papal commissioners to try Wiclif on certain points brought against him. A bull to the same effect had previously been sent to the university of Oxford; but his tenets had taken such deep root in that place, that it produced little effect.[4] Before these commissioners he appeared in St. Paul's;

(a) *Quare impedit* is a writ that lies for him who has purchased an advowson, against him who disturbs him in the right of his advowson, by presenting a clerk thereto when the church is void. Blount's *Law Dic.* in voc. The king in this case must have placed himself in the situation of one claiming the right of advowson, and have issued a corresponding writ, and by his superior power have enforced the admission of his clerk.

[1] Lewis, *Wiclif*, 33. [2] Ibid. 55. [3] Ibid. 56. [4] Ibid. 54.

but the presence of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and H. Percy, earl marshal, caused so great a tumult in the assembly that no proceedings were entered into; and a similar confusion, arising from the presence of the mob, together with a message from the queen-mother (Jane, daughter of Edmund earl of Kent), produced the same conclusion to a subsequent session held at Lambeth. About this time Wiclif sent in a declaration of his faith on certain points, contained in eighteen articles,[1] of which the substance will be given under the head of his opinions.

§ 112. (A.D. 1378.) The death of Gregory put an end to the commission, and no formal decree was issued against Wiclif; but his health suffered much from anxiety and fatigue; and during the next year he was nearly brought to the grave by a severe fever under which he laboured in Oxford.[2] On this occasion his old enemies, the friars, in company with the aldermen of the city, paid him a visit, and, after professions of kindness, exhorted him to do them such justice as remained within the power of a dying man, for the many injuries which their society had experienced from him. Upon this, he ordered himself to be raised in his bed, and exclaimed aloud, 'I shall not die, but live, and declare the evil deeds of the friars!' On his recovery he continued to preach against the same opinions which he had before attacked, and began his translation of the Scriptures into English; and though this excited considerable opposition, yet his controverting the favourite doctrine of transubstantiation[3] raised a much more formidable storm against him, which, in the following year, 1382, ended in his being forced to remove from Oxford to Lutterworth. The particulars of this persecution are reported in so contradictory a manner by different authors, that it is difficult to determine what portion of credit should be attached to each. It appears that his friend the duke of Lancaster,[4] however he might approve of his arguments against the papal supremacy, was unwilling that any innovations should be made in the received opinion about the sacrament; so that Wiclif on this occasion must have stood alone.[5] He is reported to have recanted all his heretical tenets, which were certainly condemned, and the students of the university forbidden to attend lectures where the objectionable doctrines about the sacraments were professed.

It is manifest, at the same time, that there was no great readiness on the part of the university to obey this archiepiscopal mandate, though Wiclif and some of his more immediate followers were ultimately silenced and expelled.

§ 113. Some of the errors which are imputed to him are so

[1] Lewis, *Wiclif*, 59.
[2] Ibid. 82.
[3] Ibid. 90.
[4] Ibid. 99.
[5] Knyghton, x. Scrip. col. 2647.

obviously absurd (a), that he must have given his testimony against them as readily as his persecutors, while the recantations which are preserved are merely qualifications of his own opinions, and professed for the purpose of obviating false reports concerning his faith; and Mr. Vaughan[1] has clearly shown that he had prepared his own mind for extremities, even at the time that he proceeded with all outward moderation.

This became now every day the more necessary; for the number of his followers was daily drawing the attention of the church, and the bishops were arming themselves with the civil power to repress innovations. In 1382[2] the statute was enacted which directed sheriffs to imprison itinerant preachers till they should justify themselves to the church; a law which would have afforded every facility to persecution, had not the complaint which Wiclif presented to the commons induced them to disclaim the authority of the enactment altogether (b).[3] His rest, however, in this world was of short continuance; he experienced a fit of the palsy before he got to Lutterworth; when cited by Urban to appear before him, he was obliged to plead his infirmity, and a return of his disease carried him off in 1384.[4] The disorder attacked him during the time of divine service in his parish; he fell down, and became speechless; and this circumstance has not failed to attract the notice of his enemies, who have recorded the event (c).

§ 114. In estimating the value of the labours of Wiclif, we should not forget that he was distinguished in his own day, as much for his learning and eloquence as for his opposition to the court of Rome; and that his enemies, among the calumnies with which they have loaded his memory, confess that they could not help admiring the various talents which he possessed (a). The

(a) One of these is, Item, that God ought to obey the devil.—Lewis, 107, art. 7.

(b) It has been questioned whether it were ever enacted by parliament (Fox i. 502), or only inserted in the rolls by Braibrook, bishop of London (Collier, i. 616); but it stands in the statute book, and is not repealed the next year. Burning was probably the punishment for heresy by common law. This law was to authorize the sheriff to detain the heretic; and the statute, 2nd Hen. IV. c. 15, gave the bishop the power of sending to the sheriff an heretic who would not abjure, or who had relapsed, without any application to the crown. It is probable that the actual burning was authorized long before this.

(c) Os nempe quod contra Deum et sanctos ejus, sive sanctam ecclesiam, ingentia locutum fuerat, a loco suo miserabiliter distortum horrendum cernentibus spectaculum exhibebat. Lingua effecta muta confitendi vel testandi copiam denegabat, &c. &c.— Walsingham, *Hist. Ang.* 312.

(a) In philosophia nulli reputabatur secundus, in scholasticis disciplinis incomparabilis. Hic maxime nitebatur aliorum ingenia subtilitate scientiæ et profunditate ingenii sui transcendere et ab opinionibus eorum

[1] ii. 129. [2] Fox, i. 502. [3] Vaughan, ii. 126. [4] Lewis, *W.*, 122.

temporal question of the papal supremacy furnished him with ready hearers among the powerful in the nation; and opposition to the encroachments of the church of Rome enabled those who called its spiritual opinions in question to enter on a more impartial investigation. At the same time we must remember that the persecutors and adversaries of Wiclif were not induced to exert themselves merely for the sake of upholding the doctrines which gave so much offence, but that the political power which they possessed virtually depended on the submission which was paid to their decisions. He who controverted the one was of course ready to free himself from the other, and was punished when in their power as an enemy to the papal throne.

§ 115. It becomes our next business to consider the opinions which Wiclif entertained; and in so doing it will be desirable to follow the same division as has been already adopted with reference to the abuses in the church: with regard to those which are obvious, it will be unnecessary to state his sentiments; customs which promoted the cause of vice and immorality were of course his aversion; and we will confine ourselves, therefore, to those points about which different ideas might conscientiously be entertained.

He denied entirely the supremacy of the pope,[1] maintaining the authority of the king and the civil power, and attacked the clergy for refusing to pay taxes unless authorized by the church of Rome, as if they were subject to a distinct jurisdiction only; thus proving his correct notion of the subjection of all orders to the political head of their country; while at the same time his answer about Peter's pence as strongly proves his firm conviction that the state was independent of any external power.

§ 116. He was a constant and vehement opponent to the begging friars,[2] reproving their vices and wealthy poverty; and so far in this particular did he go, that he has been stated to have denied to the church the right of possessing any temporal property; whereas his opinion seems to have been this, that, if the church did not use the wealth committed to her care discreetly and to the purposes for which it was given, the laity, as original donors, might resume their grants; nay, that it became the duty of temporal lords to deprive the clergy of possessions which were not rightly applied (a).

variare.——Potens erat et validus in disputationibus super cæteros, et in argumentis nulli credebatur secundus.—Henricus de Knyghton, 2664. Lewis, xxiii.

(a) Lewis, 387, art. 16. 'Licet regibus in casibus limitatis a jure, auferre temporalia a viris ecclesiasticis, ipsis habitualiter abutentibus;' see also pp. 66, 73, 145. Vaughan's *Wic.* ii. 4. This question is frequently confused, because the limitations are neglected. Civil society is established for the preservation of property: when, therefore, any regulations with regard to property

[1] Lewis's *Wiclif*, 153, 154.

[2] Ibid. 22, &c.

He did not approve of the constrained celibacy of the clergy, by which they fell into divers temptations and sins; especially when, by the influence of parents, their vows were made at an early period of life, while the parties so promising were not aware of their own weakness, and were subsequently renewed, through fear of poverty, or of disobliging their superiors. 'For marriage,' says he, 'is expressly allowed to priests under the old covenant, and not forbidden under the new:'[1] thus grounding his ideas on the word of God alone, which he seems to have admitted as the only ultimate standard.[2]

§ 117. His doctrines, therefore, founded on the same principle, correspond in most points with those of our church, though in some very material particulars he manifestly differs from us.

He admitted, for instance, the belief in purgatory, and seems to have esteemed the praying for souls in it to be useful, though sometimes accompanied with such errors as made it less desirable.[3]

He rejected episcopacy (a) as a distinct order in the church, affirming that in the apostles' time the two orders of priests and deacons were sufficient, and that the numerous distinctions which existed were the inventions of men, and served but to augment their worldly pride.[4]

really interfere with the preservation of it, the body politic must have the right of changing the tenure. The right is the same, whether lodged in a body corporate, as the church, or an individual landholder; but the regulations which pertain to the possessions of such a body as the church, are much more likely to require modifications than those which refer to the property of an individual. The laity have a joint interest in the property of the church, having as much right to the spiritual services of churchmen, as the churchmen have to the temporalities of their preferments. And a wise government, while it provides that the claims of all parties shall be satisfied, will interfere as little as possible with regard to the tenure itself. Yet cases may occur in which it may become necessary to legislate for both.

(a) See § 460, b. Great confusion is apt to arise as to the distinction between the different orders in the church, and the difference of ecclesiastical rank in the same or different orders. In the church of England there are three orders, bishops, priests, and deacons. In the church of Scotland there are only two, priests and deacons. In the church of Rome, with which we agree as to episcopacy, there are four degrees of bishops—the pope, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops; all of whom are bishops. The church of England admits of only the two latter of these. Deans, archdeacons, chancellors, &c., are all priests holding different offices. The moderator of the church of Scotland is a priest holding an office. The deacon is common to all. In the church of Rome there are, besides these, subdeacons, and four other inferior orders; acolyth, exorcist, lector, ostiary. A cardinal is a member of the body corporate of the college of cardinals. He may be a bishop, priest, or deacon.

[1] Lewis's *Wiclif*, 163.
[2] Ibid. 138.
[3] Ibid. 161.
[4] Ibid. 159.

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§ 118. These two points have been mentioned as those alone in which he differed very materially from the church of England; for though he upheld the seven sacraments (a), he did so in such a sense as to render the dispute about them almost a matter of words. He esteemed baptism[1] as absolutely necessary, but presumed not to say that a child dying without it might not be saved; in cases of necessity he seems to have allowed that the rite might be performed by a lay person. The views which he entertained with regard to the hierarchy rendered it impossible that confirmation[2] should be essentially or necessarily confined to the bishops, and he considered many of the ceremonies then used as nugatory and useless. He thought that absolution was of no use, unless the penitent were contrite in the sight of God and pardoned by Him. He rejected the efficacy of indulgences, and ironically declared that the pope was very uncharitable, if he allowed one soul to remain in purgatory when he might so easily deliver them.[3] Though he admitted the utility of confession[4] to a godly and discreet priest, yet he argued very strongly against the absolute necessity[5] of it, and affirmed that it was never enjoined as a sacrament till the time of Innocent III. (about 1200). He conceived that matrimony[6] and extreme unction[7] were sacraments in a certain sense; but in the former he overlooked the restrictions of the Levitical Law with reference to affinity,[8] as not binding on Christians. He objected to prayers addressed to saints,[9] to pilgrimages[10] and images,[11] which he allowed of only as books for the unlearned.

§ 119. But the great offence for which, as we have seen, he was visited with considerable persecution in his latter days, was the opposition which he showed to the received doctrine of transubstantiation. In this he asserted that the elements did after consecration continue to possess their original natures of bread and wine; and the decree with which this delivery of his opinion was followed in Oxford,[12] is probably the first formal determination of the church of England in the case, 'so that this opinion of transubstantiation, which brought so many to the stake, had not with us a 140 years' prescription before Martin Luther.'[13]

In consequence of an expression used by Melancthon,[14] an idea

(a) The five commonly called sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, Extreme Unction, xxv. art.

1 Lewis's *Wiclif*, 165. 2 Ibid. 167. 3 Ibid. 170.
4 Ibid. 171. 5 *Dialog.* iv. ch. 23, p. 139. 6 Ibid. 171.
7 Ibid. 379, 14. 8 Ibid. 173. 9 Ibid.
10 Ibid. 176. 11 Ibid. 175. 12 Ibid. 319; Wilk. *Cons.* iii. 170.
13 Wordsworth's *E. B.* i. 49, 1; Sir R. Twisden's *Hist. Vind.* 193, 4.
14 Lewis, 140.

has prevailed that Wiclif was unsound[1] as to his belief in the doctrines of justification by faith, and sanctification by the Holy Spirit, the very fundamentals of Christianity. And this notion has been introduced into the Church History of Mr. Milner. But the continuance of this mistake itself partly arises from the ignorance with regard to the doctrines of the church of Rome, which is so common among Protestants. That church has overlaid these fundamentals with various superstitions, among which the simple may easily be bewildered; but the humble Roman Catholic will tell his Protestant friend, that he has no hopes but in the mercy of God through Christ Jesus, and the assistance of the Holy Ghost; although he may occasionally expect to be made partaker of these blessings by means not derived through the Holy Scriptures, and to which the Protestant would object. Wiclif, however, is most distinct in his declarations with regard to both these doctrines. He directs his hearers to look up to Christ and be saved,[2] and to seek the aid of the Holy Spirit, to raise up even good thoughts in their hearts (a).

§ 120. The opposition which had been raised against Wiclif was calculated rather to give notoriety to his doctrines, than to silence those who advocated the cause of reformation; and the effect of his preaching was so widely spread, that Knyghton affirms that above one-half of the people of England were Lollards (a); a declaration which must be received under limitations, as the term might be applied to any one who did not assent to all the decisions of the Roman Catholic clergy; and it is probable that the inhabitants of this country had so far attended to the arguments of the reformer, as to begin to exercise their own thoughts on religious subjects. Many of the ecclesiastical followers of Wiclif refused to accept of benefices,[3] on account of the unscriptural compliances to their patrons which the acceptance of such preferments entailed upon them, and travelled through the country diffusing the doctrines of Christianity. They were known under the name of *poor priests,* and preached in markets and other places where they could

(a) There is an abstract of the opinions of Wiclif in Allix's *History of the Albigenses,* p. 252, ch. xxiv., and a much longer one in Vaughan, ii. ch. viii., besides that in Lewis, ch viii.

(a) The name is probably not derived from Walter Lolhart, nor from Lolium, Cockle, but from a German word *lullen* (to sing with a low voice), and the well-known termination *hard* (we say in English to *lull asleep*). As therefore a beghard is one who prays, so a Lollard is one who frequently praises God with a song. Lay-brethren, among the monks, were formerly called Lollard-brethren; and the terms *beghard* and *lollard* are frequently used indiscriminately. See Mosheim's *Eccl. Hist.* iii 355 (n) The modern word 'canting' may illustrate the same idea.

[1] Vaughan, ii. 359. [2] Ibid. ii. 356, 7. [3] Ibid. 196.

attract the largest audiences. Their exertions were often supposed to create a licentious freedom among the commonalty, which was probably, in some measure, the case, as there is a much closer connexion between civil and religious liberty than is generally supposed; nor is it to be questioned that many of those who received the spiritual tenets of Wiclif,[1] and who possessed considerable power, were ready to defend him with the arm of flesh. The university of Oxford became so tinged with his opinions, that, in 1396, it was subjected to the visitation of Archbishop Arundel, notwithstanding the opposition shown to the admission of any external jurisdiction. Upon this occasion the commissioners selected 298 conclusions(ᵇ), which were declared erroneous and deserving of censure, and transmitted them to the convocation then assembled in St. Paul's; but these coercive measures seem not to have produced much effect, or to have eradicated the regard justly borne to Wiclif by those who had imbibed his sentiments; for letters testimonial of his general good character, and propriety of behaviour, were subsequently given, and sealed with the university seal in 1406(ᶜ).

§ 121. The storm of persecution which Wiclif had escaped by death, and which some of his followers avoided by recantations, still continued to lower, though its violence was not felt till the next reign. In 1388,[2] an inquisitorial commission was issued, enjoining strict search to be made after those who held heretical opinions; but the exertions of the Lollards do not appear to have abated, or to have been confined to preaching, and the gradual dissemination of their tenets; for, beginning to feel their own strength in the country, they not only satirized the clergy (A.D. 1395), but presented a petition to the parliament,[3] in which many very severe animadversions were passed on evils existing in the church. The circumstances under which Henry IV. came to the throne rendered it necessary for him to strengthen his interests with every species of ally, and there was no method by which the support of the church could be gained so easily as by assisting the bishops in their severities against the Lollards, to which cause we may probably trace the enactment of the statute against them.[4]

(ᵇ) The works of Wiclif, from which these were taken, are very numerous, amounting, tracts and all, to nearly 300. Lewis gives a catalogue of them, with observations, in ch ix. p. 179; a list of them may be found also in Vaughan.

(ᶜ) The authenticity of these letters has been doubted; the question is fairly discussed, and the document given in Lewis, 228; and *App.* No. 28, p. 343; see also Collier's *Eccl. Hist.* 624, i. The opinions of Wiclif were condemned in convocation, in 1410. Collier, 629, &c.

[1] Lewis, 220.
[2] Collier, i. 590.
[3] Lewis, *App.* No. 27, 337.
[4] See § 113, b.

(A.D. 1400). This law, after forbidding all unlicensed preaching,[1] authorizes the bishop to arrest, and detain in prison, any one suspected of preaching or spreading unsound doctrines, with regard to the sacraments or the authority of the church, till they shall proceed to their purgation, or abjure their errors; in default of which he is allowed to hand them over immediately to the secular power, which shall forthwith 'do them to be burnt.' If what has been before said be correct, this act merely took away from the crown the power of refusing the writ *de hæretico comburendo*, which it had previously exercised, and thus gave the church the full privilege of inflicting death on those who differed from her, or who refused to pay submission to the supremacy which she claimed.

§ 122. William Sawtrey,[2] a London clergyman, was the first among the followers of Wiclif who suffered martyrdom; he was brought to the stake by Archbishop Arundel, because he refused to worship the cross, and denied that the bread in the sacrament was transubstantiated.

There is an almost uninterrupted succession of martyrs and confessors from this time to the period of the Reformation, excepting when the ineffectual struggles of the English in France, or domestic convulsions, produced a feverish tranquillity to the professors of the true faith. In the examination of these persons, of which several remain to us in their original forms, written when they took place, or soon after, a considerable similarity prevails. The questions on which condemnation was pronounced, though they vary, ordinarily turn upon transubstantiation, or submission to the authority of the church.

§ 123. The most illustrious of these sufferers whose private virtues as well as public character rendered his punishment a great object with the upholders of the papacy, was Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham:[3] he had acquired his rank by marrying the daughter and heiress of that nobleman, and seems to have shown himself, at all times, a firm opponent to the usurpations and power of Rome. When the ill conduct of Richard II. had paved the way to the throne for Henry IV., Lord Cobham early joined a standard which was at first ostensibly unfurled in the cause of justice. Henry rewarded his services with his confidence, and, in 1407, he was appointed to a command in an army destined for France, which, in conjunction with the Duke of Burgundy, raised the siege of Paris.

Immediately after the coronation of Henry V., Archbishop

[1] Collier, i. 614.
[2] Fox's *A. and M.* i. 586.
[3] Gilpin's *Lives of the Reformers*, Lond. 1819, *Christian Knowledge* edit.

Arundel prepared to exterminate heresy, which was every day becoming more prevalent throughout the kingdom; and Lord Cobham was universally marked out as its upholder, as not only countenancing it in his own person, by entertaining unsound opinions on fundamental doctrines,[1] but by sending preachers into the dioceses of London, Rochester, and Hereford. When application was made to Henry, to allow of the persecution of this nobleman, he desired that the process might be delayed till he had himself laboured at his conversion; but the firmness of Lord Cobham so exasperated the monarch, that he delivered him over to the ecclesiastical tribunal.

§ 124. Of this trial we have a particular account written by John Bale([a]), afterwards bishop of Ossory, and first published in 1544. The points of examination coincide very much with those of William Thorpe[2] in 1407, of which, too, we have a history, probably written by himself; and it is impossible not to admire the Christian spirit of the author exhibited in this work, so little imitated by Bale, who is far too acrimonious against the errors which he combats. They were both required to give their opinions concerning confession to a priest, the use of images, pilgrimages, and oaths; but transubstantiation was the great rock of offence, and submission to holy church the touchstone of their sincerity.[3] The answers in both these cases differ so little from the opinions of Wiclif, that it is hardly necessary to state them at length; upon their refusal to abide by the decisions of the church, both were remanded to prison. It is not known[4] what ultimately became of Thorpe, but he probably died in confinement. Lord Cobham made his escape from the Tower, and fled into Wales,[5] where he remained concealed four years; during his confinement, a pretended recantation was published, in which it was declared that he submitted to the authority of the church; but his friends, who informed him of this proceeding, affixed in many conspicuous places a letter addressed to them for this purpose, in which he expresses his continuance in the same opinions which he had maintained before his judges. He was at length discovered, and sent back by Lord Powis; and on his arrival in London was burnt in St. Giles's Fields,[6] hanging on a gallows, to which he was fastened by chains.

([a]) A Brefe Chronycle concerninge the Examynacyon and Death of the Blessed Martyr of Christ, Syr Johan Oldecastell, the Lorde Cobham. By Johan Bale. Printed, 1544, Reprinted, 1729.

[1] Bale, 22.
[2] Wordsworth's *Ecc. Biog.* 111, vol. i. from Fox i. 602.
[3] Bale, 71. Wordsworth, 203.
[4] Wordsworth, 211.
[5] Gilpin, 80.
[6] Bale, 96.

§ 125. This spot was chosen for his execution on account of an affair which had taken place there about Christmas, 1413, immediately after his escape from the Tower. Henry V. was at Eltham[1] when news was brought him at supper that a body of Lollards were assembled, to the number of twenty thousand, in St. Giles's Fields, under the command of Lord Cobham. Following the dictates of his own courage, the king collected such forces as his household would supply, and hastened to disperse the rioters, whom he easily overthrew, and took many prisoners, most of whom were afterwards executed, by being hanged and burnt; and a statute was soon after made, in a parliament held at Leicester, granting every aid from the temporal arm to the persecutors of Lollardy. This tale is so variously represented that it is difficult to arrive at the truth. That an assembly of Lollards took place seems unquestionable; but there is no probability that it was very numerous, or headed by Lord Cobham, or that its objects were such as are attributed to it; and the evident tendency which such a story must have had to inflame the mind of the king against these unfortunate men furnishes us with a sufficient reason why this colouring should have been given to the circumstances; while the admission of the correctness of the tale involves an inconsistency and folly in the sufferers, for which no adequate cause can be assigned.

§ 126. Another promoter of the Reformation,[2] who, though not a martyr, was a confessor in its cause, was Reginald Pecock. By tranquil opposition to the more zealous followers of Wiclif, and by grounding his arguments on sound reason in the interpretation of the word of God, he contributed much to the furtherance of the Reformation. He was born about 1390, became fellow of Oriel, Oxford, 1417; about 1425, he left the university, and went to court, under the protection of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, and in 1444 became bishop of St. Asaph, which preferment he probably obtained through bribery(a), by means of a papal provision; for he defends such a method of becoming possessed of a benefice, on the plea that all ecclesiastical property belonging originally to the head of the church,[3] the pope may at his option resume any part of it for his own use. In 1449 he published his 'Repressor of over-

(a) This bribery might have been nothing but the payment of annates or first-fruits; see § 103, b. A conscientious man, who admitted the pope's right of patronage, might as safely pay his first-fruits to him, as we do to the crown; and yet a zealous reformer would call this simony. The question would really turn on the influence which such payment had in procuring the grant of the benefice; and, in order to judge of the question correctly, we must go back to the individual case of Pecock, of which we know nothing.

1 Gilpin, 81, &c. 2 Lewis, *Life of Pecock.* 3 Ibid. 42.

much blaming the Clergy,'[1] and the year afterwards was translated to Chichester, where he published his treatise on Faith. His moderation, and the low authority which he allowed to the church, together with some expressions against the French war, which might be unpleasant to the court, seem to have raised him up enemies among all orders in the state. In 1457 he was expelled from the House of Lords,[2] and the next year deprived of his bishopric, though he abjured his errors at Lambeth and Paul's Cross. He subsequently obtained a bull of restitution from the pope, which proved prejudicial to his interests; for by so doing he became liable to a præmunire, and subjected himself to the anger of the throne: he retired to Thorney Abbey, in Cambridgeshire; but of the exact date of his death nothing is known.

§ 127. His real offence was the method in which he defended the doctrines of the church: for when he had advanced what might be fairly said in favour of its tenets, he acknowledged its accidental defects, and betrayed the weakness of a cause which could not be supported unless other authority were admitted than such as can be derived from the Scriptures.[3] He denied not the errors which the use of images produced, but esteemed them remediable evils, while he thought that the figures themselves were useful in instructing the unlearned, and reminding all Christians of the events which they described; he wished therefore that such false representations of the Deity as existed should be removed, and more correct ones substituted in their place. It was on the same principle that he advocated the cause of pilgrimages.[4] To visit a spot where some martyr had suffered, or some event connected with religion had occurred, could not fail to excite a lively remembrance; while for the convenience of those who frequented such places, the erection of a church or convent was judicious and praiseworthy. He argued that the prayers offered at such shrines or images were addressed to the person represented, while the lively impression excited in the mind of the devotee served to render these acts of adoration more strong and availing; but it should be remarked,[5] that he says nothing of indulgences granted in consequence of pilgrimages, and advises people not to spend their time in them,[6] but rather to read and to hear the word of God.

§ 128. In defending the papal supremacy, he used the well-known text,[7] 'Thou art Peter,' &c., and allowed that the pope was possessed of authority equal to that of an apostle, though he would not admit that he might alter any institution of Christ. With regard to the religious orders,[8] his opinion was, that their

[1] Lewis, 44. [2] Ibid. 143. [3] Ibid. 61, 77. [4] Ibid. 69.
[5] Ibid. 70. [6] Ibid. 78. [7] Ibid. 94. [8] Ibid. 95, &c.

variety promoted activity; and if these men had not been friars, they might have been something worse; that their dresses were to remind them of their vows; that their possessions were dedicated to God's service, and, like the wealth of churches, might have been employed to less profitable uses; while such institutions formed a retreat for the sons of noble families, and were at least a fault less offensive to the Almighty than negligence of his honour. He freely expresses his disapprobation of many abuses which had been introduced, but argues on the general ground that they were at liberty to impose on themselves any laws they chose, in extenuation of some absurd regulations which had been adopted among certain of the religious orders.[1]

§ 129. He considered the Bible[2] as the foundation of his faith, and advised the laity to study it, conceiving that no man should be punished for heresy, till the error of his opinions had been clearly shown him; and in this respect he deemed the power of the church to be declaratory, rather than to consist in defining and decreeing points of faith; he allowed of the marriage of the clergy,[3] and disapproved of the ecclesiastical laws about fasting.[4] Thus little did many of his opinions differ from those of Wiclif, while the milder reasoning which he used, together with the advantage possessed by him, in advocating the established order of things, contributed much to spread his sentiments, and to induce his countrymen to examine the grounds of their religion. Under these circumstances it is no wonder that he became an object of hatred to a body which he endeavoured to reform; but it is not easy to perceive the source of the dislike which was shown him by the temporal lords, unless, indeed, we take into consideration the general influence of the clergy(a), and the facility with which prejudice is conveyed. He does not appear to have possessed any very superior talents, or to have been calculated for a martyr; yet God can work by weak instruments as surely as by those which appear to be strong, and to Him be the glory.

§ 130. The troublous times which succeeded this period furnish but little matter for the ecclesiastical historian, to whom the ground is barren till we begin to approach the era of the Reformation. The advocates of persecution ceased not to endeavour to eradicate all opinions contrary to their own, and the sufferings of their victims became more and more efficacious in the propagation

(a) In the first parliament of Edward IV. the temporal lords amounted to thirty-five, the spiritual to forty-eight. This is probably the real solution of the difficulty. Henry's *Hist. Eng.* x. 280 and 65.

1 Lewis, 100.
2 Ibid. 198.
3 Ibid. 208.
4 Ibid. 209.

of the reformed tenets; while the vices of the clergy were calculated to substantiate and confirm the accusations of their enemies. In 1490, Innocent VIII. sent an epistle to Archbishop Morton, directing him to reform the religious orders; and the pastoral letter addressed by the metropolitan to the abbot of St. Alban's,[1] furnishes a sad picture of the depravity which reigned within their walls. They are accused of many crimes, and charged with turning out the modest women from two nunneries under their jurisdiction, and of substituting in their room females of the worst characters. In one case a married woman, whose husband was still alive, had been made prioress of Pray, for the purpose of keeping up an adulterous connexion with one of the monks of St. Alban's.[2] Fox gives a detailed account of nearly twenty individuals who were burnt for heresy, between the death of Lord Cobham and 1509, when Henry VIII. ascended the throne; and this fact will greatly account for the facility with which the doctrines of the Reformation, when published, gained a rapid admission into this country.

§ 131. In taking a summary view of the history of the church up to the period at which we have arrived, we must regard the ecclesiastical establishment both as a civil engine and as a spiritual body. The reason why the state has allowed any temporal wealth or authority to be granted to the church, beyond the mere support of those who are engaged in the offices of religion, depends on the well-grounded presumption, that educated men acting under the sanctions of religion are peculiarly likely to exert the influence which they thus possess in the promotion of civil order and sound morality, and by this means to benefit the body politic; and we may presume that God has ordained that it shall be so, in order that, as the preaching of the first followers of Christ was supported by a Divine authority, which enabled them occasionally to work miracles; so the instructions imparted by the minister of God's word in the present day, should be aided and facilitated by the support of earthly power. This position is so sound in itself, that the only question on which a reasonable doubt can remain is, as to whether this power should be lodged in the hands of the ecclesiastic himself, or only furnished in his aid by the civil magistrate. But in the periods of which we have been examining the history, the power in question was vested in the ecclesiastic; and by degrees he was found to exert it for the aggrandizement of his own order, and to become a rival of the crown and aristocracy. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the power originally granted for spiritual objects had been utterly misused, and converted to an end for which it was not at first destined.

[1] Wilk. *Cons.* iii. 632. [2] *Acts and Mon.* 586, &c. vol. i.

§ 132. It does not, however, follow, that the authority thus created was useless as a civil engine; and the very acquisition of such an influence, dependent solely on opinion, must lead to the presumption that much benefit accrued from its existence. We have before seen that the power of the papacy arose from the injustice of the crown; and that as the interference of a foreign power, exerted in the cause of justice, made the people at first look up to its support, so the policy of the crown afterwards induced the king frequently to join with the pope in oppressing the church and plundering its property. Each party sought its own immediate advantage, without consulting the interests, spiritual or temporal, of those committed to its care. In this state of things, the right of appointing to ecclesiastical benefices was of the utmost importance; and for this privilege there were in fact three competitors. The lower clergy sought to elect those who were destined to govern them; the pope, or higher clergy, desired to appoint them; and the king was anxious that the nomination should be vested in himself. The same competitors must exist in every church establishment; and disputes will necessarily arise, whenever the situations in the church are invested with such temporal advantages as render the acquisition of them an object of solicitude.

§ 133. When the higher stations conferred nothing but spiritual superiority, attended with temporal difficulties and danger, the appointment was safely lodged in the hands of the lower clergy, who had no inducements to elect any but the fittest governors; while the subordinate places were filled by men who derived their authority from their ecclesiastical superior, or the election of the people, with the charge of whom they were intrusted. Bishoprics, therefore, were filled by the election of the clergy belonging to the see; and as the establishment of parish-priests rendered the number of electors too large, they were chosen by the members of the cathedral church alone. But when the bishopric was endowed with a temporal estate, and men might wish to become bishops without desiring a spiritual office, the king was anxious to promote his own friends; and sound policy induced him to place this newly-established temporal power in hands which might render it serviceable to his government. This created a dispute between the crown and the chapter; and the king very frequently deprived the chapter of its just rights, and turned the revenues of the church into the pockets of his favourites or himself. If the church establishment were of any benefit to the nation, the nation was injured by this injustice, and the churchman, oppressed by the king, and unable to obtain redress from the aristocracy, sought it from the pope. Here, then, the see of Rome claimed a right to consult the

general benefit of Christendom, by appointing proper persons to the more exalted situations, and pretended to manage the temporal wealth of the church, for the advantage of the whole Christian body politic.

§ 134. The appointment might safely have been committed to any one of the three parties, if they had acted up to the pretensions on which they claimed it; but as each in their practice deemed the ecclesiastical office a mere temporal property, the persons so appointed, and the rest of the community, regarded the matter in no other light; and when they looked for spiritual guides, they could find nothing but lordly governors. The clergy, when they elected, sought their own immediate interests; and the prospect of future elections made the community, to whom the church belonged, subject to eternal cabals. The king neglected the interests of the church, and made the preferment a reward for a courtier, or a means of enriching himself; and the pope generally nominated a foreigner, who utterly disregarded the cure of souls. It was the wealth and importance of the situations which induced each of these three parties to overlook the good of the people, and against this, therefore, the attacks of the first reformers were naturally directed; and the grossness of the abuse, which was everywhere exposed to their view, induced them to run into the extreme of denying that any temporal wealth should be assigned permanently for the support of the ministers of religion.

§ 135. No question can be attended with greater real difficulty than the ascertaining the proper quantity of temporal wealth which ought to be assigned to an ecclesiastical body, in order to make it as efficient as possible; for as any quantity, however great, may be used to the advantage of the state, so poverty will hardly ensure the existence of those virtues which render the churchman beneficial to society, in a political point of view. A small quantity of wealth and power would only have exposed the churchman of this period to the rapacity of the court and nobles; and the very safety of civilized society depended, in some measure, on the ability of the church to maintain its rights; for however barbarous the church was at that time, the king and his lords were generally worse; but there can be no doubt that the height to which the church power had now risen, rendered the members of that body totally unfit for spiritual duties, and made a reformation absolutely necessary. The time was come, when either their wealth and power must be taken from the clergy, or Christianity would be destroyed by those who were her appointed guardians. And the attacks of the poor priests were formidable to the priesthood, because they were backed by truth. The bishoprics had now become places of such vast importance, in a political point of view,

that the appointment could only be safely lodged in the crown; and by degrees this arrangement took place; the chapter generally elected by the advice of the court, and the pope sanctioned the election by nominating the same man; but Wiclif and his followers, who saw the spiritual evils of such an order of things, without regarding the difficulties which attended any other system, prevented perhaps moderate people from listening to their advice, when they beheld their doctrines coupled with such extreme measures of reform.

§ 136. Another abuse of the same sort existed in this circumstance, that most of the important situations in the state were monopolized by churchmen. From their superior education, they were probably better suited to the performance of many civil duties than any of their contemporaries, and there are frequent complaints of their engrossing offices of every description. This augmented the evil before complained of, and tended to withdraw the clergy from their peculiar duties; but in this case the jarring interests of the laity would generally provide a remedy, as well as counteract the injustice of that exclusive jurisdiction which the church claimed over her own members. Both these abuses might tend perhaps to delay the progress of civilization, but in the end they were sure to be overcome by it. With regard to the other, the temporal wealth of the clergy, while the corruption of the doctrines of Christianity prevailed, there seemed no limit to its extent; for there is no reason why an ecclesiastical dominion might not have been established in any or all the kingdoms of Europe, as well as in the papal states. Every event, therefore, which drew the attention of the people, and led them to examine the doctrines of Christianity, or the conduct of the clergy, assisted in loosening the fetters by which the minds of the nation were held captive. And it is in this point that our gratitude is peculiarly due to Wiclif and his poor priests. The translation of the Scriptures, and the tracts which he wrote, dwelling on the vices of the clergy, and enforcing the leading features of Christianity, instructed many, who in their turn became teachers, and excited inquiry; while the barbarous severities with which the clergy punished those who differed from them, must have attracted the notice of every one, and disposed them to regard the church with no very friendly feeling.

§ 137. The steps then towards a reformation which had been made were many, though they were little observed perhaps by the majority of the most intelligent among the clergy. The wealth of the clergy and the secular nature of their pursuits were observed, and called forth the animadversions of those who wished to remedy existing abuses, and who were not friendly to the established

hierarchy. The Scriptures had been translated, and were read, not to any great extent indeed, but they were read, and might be procured in English. There were many individuals ready to propagate the truths of the Gospel, and to undergo the greatest sufferings in the cause which they had espoused, and these, not only men of education, but many of them possessed of power and rank. The dawn of reformation was still, as far as human eye could distinguish, far distant; there was still much to be encountered and borne; but the eye of faith in Wiclif clearly foresaw, that Christianity must be restored to its just authority. Perhaps, in examining the steps which led to the Reformation, too much stress is sometimes laid on the individuals who stood forward in the cause; and their succession, and the connexion between those who succeeded each other, is traced with a minuteness which tends rather to cloud the truth, than to place it in the clearest light. Let any one study the word of God while he beholds the systems of error and knavery which have been pretended to be built upon it, and the necessity of reformation will need no other light than that which Providence has furnished. Greathead and Fitzralph, Wiclif and Pecock, Sawtrey and Lord Cobham, may have advanced the Reformation among us; but he who will behold the truth must look beyond these instruments to their great Artificer. The flame which was kindled among the Albigenses, and in the valleys of Piedmont, may have lent its brightness to dispel the thick darkness which enveloped us; but we shall fail to derive its greatest advantage from the study of ecclesiastical history, if we turn not our eyes to that brightness which no human device can extinguish, and look not up to the true Church of Christ, built upon the Rock of truth, against which the gates of hell shall never prevail.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII. 1509, TO THE END OF THE DIVORCE OF THE QUEEN, AND THE SEPARATION FROM ROME, 1534.

151. Ecclesiastical exemptions. 152. Hunne murdered. 153. Impolicy of the clergy with regard to the immunities. 154. Faults of the clergy. 155. Wolsey, his rise. 156. He spoils Henry VIII. 157. The progress of literature favourable to the Reformation. 158. Origin of the divorce. 159. Progress of it. Campegio. 160. Wolsey's fall. 161. Conduct after it. 162. The divorce referred to the universities. 163. The opinions of the universities. 164. Cranmer made archbishop of Canterbury. 165. Cranmer dissolves the marriage. Final rupture with Rome. 166. The parliament join in the rupture. 167. More and Fisher. 168. Character of More. 169. Character of Fisher. 170. Persecutions. 171. Supplication of beggars. Practice of prelates. 172. Effects of discussion. 173. Effects of persecution. 174. Review of the Reformation.

§ 151. The events which were most instrumental in producing the Reformation in England belong rather to the civil than the ecclesiastical historian; for though the spirit of reform was amply spread throughout the people, yet unless other circumstances had tended to promote a change, and to weaken the power of the church, it is probable that this body might still have been able to suppress those innovations which sapped the foundations on which the superstructure of its wealth and authority was raised. Whatever contributed to weaken the influence of the ecclesiastical body, gave at the same time a greater freedom of discussion to the laity; and the extension of knowledge at once paved the way to truth, and deprived the clergy of that branch of power which consisted in their being almost the only depositories of every species of information.[1]

The first event which bears on these points was a bill which passed the Commons in 1513, subjecting all robbers and murderers to the civil power, and which, in order that it might get through the Lords, had two provisos attached to it; first, that bishops, priests and deacons(a) should be exempted from it; and, secondly,

(a) It is hardly perhaps necessary to observe, that sub-deacons and the four inferior orders were subjected to the effects of it. As the greater part of this and the following chapter are abridged from Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, of which there are many editions, and to which reference may be made without any difficulty, I shall omit the mention of the page in which the event occurs, and merely quote the book in which it is to be found.

[1] Burnet, i.

that it should remain in force during this parliament only. At the termination of that period, the clergy were not satisfied that the bill should expire with the authority from which it sprung; but some little time afterwards a preacher, at Paul's Cross, vehemently reprobated the idea of subjecting any ecclesiastics to the jurisdiction of the common course of law; and this question was afterwards discussed before the king, who ultimately determined to support his own authority over all his subjects.

§ 152. While this point was in agitation, an event occurred which not only tended to irritate the minds of the people generally on this subject, but to throw the balance very much against the clergy in the opinion of the nation. Hunne, a respectable citizen of London (A.D. 1514), was put into the ecclesiastical court, for not paying certain fees to the priest of his parish, and was subsequently impolitic enough to sue the priest in a præmunire. Such indiscretion naturally suggested the idea to his spiritual opponents, that he must be tinged with heretical pravity, and he was consequently confined in the Lollards' Tower, where he was soon after found hanging. The coroner's jury which sat on the body brought in a verdict of wilful murder against Horsey the chancellor, and other ecclesiastical officers; who, on the other hand, declared that he had put an end to himself. The persecution of this unfortunate man did not terminate here; for after having been tried for his heterodox opinions, and condemned, the murdered body was exposed to the flames. The convocation, too, vehemently attacked Dr. Standish, who, though a churchman, had ventured to advocate the cause of the civil power, and to declare that a breach of the common law, perpetrated by an ecclesiastic, should be punished by the civil authority: in this case, however, their malice was obviated by the support of the king, who had been convinced by Dr. Vesey that the immunities claimed by the clergy had no more foundation in scripture than in reason.

§ 153. After a considerable struggle the parties came to a sort of compromise; Horsey was brought before the court of king's bench, and the attorney-general did not proceed against him; the question, indeed, seemed brought to a quiet termination; but nothing could tranquillize the minds of the people of London, whose hatred to the clergy became so excessive, that one of the arguments by which the bishops tried to prevail on the king not to suffer Horsey to be brought before a jury, was that they could expect no justice from men who were so vehemently prejudiced against them. The clergy themselves must have lost much in the good opinion of the people in general, by the obstinate manner in which they advocated so odious a cause. They seemed determined

to join themselves to crimes of which they must have disapproved in their hearts; and in coupling their own immunities with the outrages of some of their members, they extended to the whole body that general detestation which would otherwise have justly fallen on the individuals in fault. This proceeding of the clergy, in withdrawing the cause of Horsey into their own courts from before a lay tribunal, might have arisen from mistaken principles; but the ecclesiastical power should then have proceeded to punish his enormities with due severity; whereas Horsey seems not only to have escaped, but to have been rewarded for his crime.[1]

§ 154. Such conduct could not fail to make the people entertain a low opinion of the justice of the plea itself, when the exercise of it, in the present instance, was so palpably iniquitous, and naturally inclined them to listen to arguments in opposition to a claim which they had already learnt to dislike. Nor were the political power or the ordinary lives of the ecclesiastical body likely to count ract among the nobility the injurious influence of those feelings which pervaded the commonalty. We have an authentic account of the domestic economy of the greatest churchman of this period,[2] whose establishment vied with, and even surpassed, that of most of the princes of Europe, and whose sole administration of public affairs must have been very grating to men who deemed themselves entitled to a share at least, if not to the whole, of the concerns of government.

§ 155. Cardinal Wolsey was the son of poor but honest parents, and owed his extraordinary rise to his talents as much as to fortune. He was chaplain to Henry VII., and employed by him in some important transactions, much to the satisfaction of that monarch. When he was first introduced to Henry VIII. by Fox, bishop of Winchester, he was one of the king's chaplains, and about forty years of age. The immediate object of that prelate was probably to raise up a rival to Lord Surrey, and the choice was so well made that it soon became evident to all that the new favourite would rapidly surpass his patron in the affections of the king. He was successively made bishop of Lincoln, archbishop of York, and held, besides these, the see of Tournay in France. He was soon afterwards created cardinal, and legate a latere by Leo X., and his own sovereign advanced him to the chancellorship of England, and allowed him successively to hold the sees of Durham and Winchester. The influence which he possessed over Henry was founded on a profound knowledge of the character of the king, and the determination of making everything give way to the one object of pleasing his master. Henry was naturally fond of amusement, and

1 Supplication of Beggars. Fox, ii. 232.
2 Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*. Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biog.* vol. i.

Wolsey easily persuaded him to devote himself to its pursuit; well aware that the administration of business must thus fall into the hands of the favourite. In these two objects the cardinal seems to have been indefatigable: he led the monarch on from one pageant to another, and exerted himself so actively in managing the affairs of the country, that no transactions of importance should seem to be neglected. Of his talents as a statesman there can be no doubt: but his honesty has been questioned; and he has been accused of having consulted his own interests and pique against Charles V. in the later affairs of his administration. He had indeed no great reason to be pleased with the emperor, who had probably promised assistance, and held out hopes which he never intended to realize; but we need not seek for secret reasons in a matter which admits of an easier solution; the personal anger of Catharine, and of her family, will sufficiently account for the existence of such reports, without taking into account the degree of odium which an exalted station generally draws upon itself; while the true policy of England[1] will satisfactorily answer any arguments which may be drawn from the proceedings of the court of Henry when under the immediate direction of the cardinal.

§ 156. The anxiety with which Wolsey sought the popedom was excessive; and, in his eagerness to obtain it, he was perhaps betrayed into some steps which were hardly consistent with the interests of his country; but it should be remembered that Henry was scarcely less anxious than himself, and no one can greatly blame a minister who diligently promotes the earnest desires of his master, even when his own advancement is the object of their pursuit. The readiness with which Wolsey complied with all the wishes of the king, and the pains which he took to please him, produced a very injurious effect on the mind of that monarch himself. Henry possessed by nature considerable abilities, and his education had been carefully attended to, so that no young prince ever came to the throne with greater prospects of fulfilling the fond expectations of his people. These flattering appearances, however, were in a great degree destroyed by that want of restraint[2] of which he was the continual victim. Henry, for instance, was by temper and education inclined to show the most profound reverence for the church of Rome; yet, even in this, his self-will hurried him to contribute to the overthrow of an authority which he had himself defended (a).

(a) In 1521, Henry published a work against Luther, of which the title is, 'Assertio Septem Sacramentorum, adversus Martin. Lutherum, ædita ab invictissimo Angliæ et Franciæ Rege et Domino Hiberniæ Henrico ejus Nominis Octavo.' 4to. It was printed by Pynson, Lond.

[1] Burnet, part iii. 14.

[2] Caven. *Wols.* 543.

§ 157. The literary character of the monarch, as well as of the favourite, considerably promoted the advancement of sound learning in the kingdom;[1] both were munificent patrons; but the cardinal in particular, if his plans had been brought to perfection, would have left a standing and splendid monument of his greatness and his wisdom (a). Greek literature[2] was now beginning to flourish, and the study of the Scriptures became a favourite pursuit with those who engaged in it; the first patrons, therefore, of these learned bodies, who promoted its advancement, though the firm friends of the papacy, were, in fact, preparing the public mind for the reception of the Reformation (b). Thus Colet, too, who was a liberal promoter of the study of the Greek language, when he became dean of St. Paul's, read public lectures (c) in that cathedral on the epistles.[3] In this work he was frequently assisted by many of his learned friends, and carefully provided that the church should never be without a sermon on the Sunday. These innovations quickly brought him under the suspicion of heresy; but Archbishop Warham dismissed the charges brought against him; and he continued to preside over that body which he so richly benefited and adorned. The enemies of innovation thus quickly perceived the tendency of these proceedings, but the more enlightened members of the establishment could not overlook the necessity of

1521; it exists in MS. in the Vatican, and has been reprinted. Antwerp, 1522; Rome, 1543. The reprint, Lugduni, 1561, contains Henry's answer to Luther, and a preface. (See Strype's *Mem.* i. 51.) When presented to Leo X., it obtained for the king of England the title of Defender of the Faith, which had been previously borne by several of the kings of England.—Burnet, i.

(a) His plan for the foundation of Cardinal's College, now Christ Church, Oxford, was as follows.—Lord Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.* p. 146.

A dean and subdean.

60 superior canons, 40 inferior canons, } all to be engaged in study.

13 chaplains, 12 singing men, 16 choristers, } for the service of the chapel.

Public professors of the college and of the university; of divinity, canon law, civil law, medicine, liberal arts, and literæ humaniores.

Private lecturers or tutors, to read lectures in philosophy, logic, sophistry (rhetoric), and literæ humaniores.

4 censores morum et eruditionis.

3 bursars, together with inferior officers, in total numbers 186.

(b) It is worthy of remark (Fuller, v. 170), that the chief of those who for their talents or attainments were invited from Cambridge to become members of the cardinal's college in Oxford, were subsequently cast into prison on the suspicion of heresy. Frith suffered martyrdom; Cox was tutor to Edward VI. and was an exile; Tyndale, Taverner, and Goodman promoted the translation of the Bible. The offer was made to Cranmer, but he refused it. (Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 3.)

(c) Stafford read lectures on the Scriptures in Cambridge, 1524 (Strype's *Mem.* i. 74), being the first who substituted the text for the sentences. Latimer was one of his hearers.

[1] Strype's *Mem.* i. 52. [2] Knight's *Life of Colet*, 13. [3] Ibid. 59, &c.

endeavouring to introduce some improvements; for such was the general ignorance of the Scriptures at this period, that, as Erasmus tells us, the spurious Gospel of Nicodemus[1] was set up in the cathedral of Canterbury; and it was a rare thing to find a New Testament in any church. The re-establishment of sound learning was the only human remedy to such evils; and the art of printing, while it promoted most effectually this object, produced perhaps in this country its most beneficial effects in disseminating the opinions of the more enlightened among the mass of society (d). The kingdom was thus prepared to take advantage of those external events which Providence was about to bring forward, and in which the instruments were blindly working to produce an end the most opposite to their individual wishes (e). Henry VIII., the public advocate of the papacy, and who had been honoured with the title of Defender of the Faith, was to become the chief means of humbling the papal power; while Wolsey and the other patrons of learning were opening the eyes of the world to those abuses, of which no one exhibited a stronger instance than the cardinal himself (f). It may, perhaps, be asserted with truth that no one of these causes would by itself have brought about so important a change, but each contributed partially to this end, and their combination produced it.

§ 158. The event which put all these springs in motion was the divorce.[1] Catharine of Spain had been previously married to Arthur, the elder brother of Henry, and the marriage had in all probability been consummated; yet, on the death of the young prince of Wales, Henry VII., unwilling to send back the infanta and her dowry, had betrothed her to his second son. In order to accomplish this object, he had obtained a bull from Rome; but it appears that he had himself afterwards repented of the transaction, and that Henry VIII., when he became fourteen years of age, made a protestation against the connexion, though, when he ascended the throne, he was nevertheless persuaded by some of the council to marry his brother's widow.

(d) It is observed by Henry (in *Hist. Eng.* xii. 286) that the early growth of English literature, and the perfection of our language, is greatly owing to the popular nature of the first productions of the British press; so that while foreign printers were advancing the study of the classics, our own were rendering their native tongue pure and classical.

(e) There were at this time many persons brought before the ecclesiastical courts for heresy, particularly in Essex and London. (Strype's *Mem.* i. 113, &c.)

(f) No man perceived the necessity of reforming abuses more strongly than Wolsey (Strype's *Mem.* i. 72); he instituted a general legantine visitation for that purpose in 1523, 24, in which he was supported by Fox; but his purposes came to nothing.

1 Knight's *Life of Colet*, 64. Erasm. *Perigrinat. Rel.* ergo.
2 Burnet, book ii.

(A.D. 1527.) The king and queen had now lived together for eighteen years; she had borne him several children, all of whom except Mary had been taken off by early deaths; and the mind of Henry became scrupulous as to the legality of the connexion, and alarmed lest the threatenings of the Jewish law should be accomplished in his dying childless.[1] Wolsey, on the other hand, was accused by the friends of Catharine of having suggested these doubts to the mind of his sovereign, and it was said that he did so by means of Longland, the king's confessor: nor did his enemies scruple to assert that it was through his secret influence that the French ambassadors questioned the legitimacy of Mary, when her marriage with the duke of Orleans was in agitation.[2] These charges, however, appear to be unfounded; and it is even probable that the scruple about the marriage had strongly affected the mind of Henry before his affections were fixed on Anne Boleyn; but neither of these points is of much real importance at present, though they have been discussed as if the character of the Reformation depended on the principles which actuated those with whom it originated. Of the sincerity of Henry's religious scruples, and the real tenderness of his conscience, there can now remain no great difference of opinion; if all these particulars were established in his favour, it would probably produce no great change in our sentiments concerning him.

§ 159. The first proposals for the divorce were made to the court of Rome while Clement VII. was a close prisoner in the hands of the Imperialists, so that though his ears were open to the requests of the English messengers, yet, till his escape, nothing was done in furtherance of the king's desire: and before this time the matter had certainly so far advanced, that the dissolution of the marriage had become the great object of Henry's wishes.

In 1528, Campegio was sent to England finally to decide the question in conjunction with Cardinal Wolsey, and he brought with him a bull which was to confirm the sentence of the legates. This document, however, he was directed not to show to any one but the king; for Clement had still the greatest reason to dread a new rupture with the emperor, which any appearance of readiness on his part, in forwarding the divorce, might have produced; and he seems to have been in the greatest alarm till this bull was committed to the flames, since the policy which he adopted was of that intricate nature, which such a disclosure would have considerably disconcerted. Campegio made no haste in a journey from which he expected to reap little profit and much unpleasantness,

[1] Lev. xx. 21. [2] Burnet, i. Cavend. *Wols.* 428.

and after many delays arrived in this country; where, notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of Wolsey, he strictly adhered to his instructions concerning the bull. These causes so retarded all proceedings, that the court was not opened until May 31, 1529; and after some other delays, arising from the refusal of the queen to appear a second time before the legates, and her appeal to Rome, Campegio, at the moment when every one expected the sentence to be pronounced, adjourned the court from July 23 to October 1, as being vacation time in the Roman courts.

§ 160. In so doing he was probably aware of an avocation of the cause to Rome which had taken place a few days before the adjournment. The king, it may be supposed, was much irritated at this double dealing on the part of Clement, but he exhibited no outward marks of his displeasure, and even received the cardinals with apparent cordiality;[1] but the interview at Grantham was the last which Wolsey enjoyed. He was soon after deprived of his chancellorship, and subjected to a præmunire. The treatment which he now experienced was most cruel and unjust: for the legantine office, which was the pretended ground of this attack, had been exercised with the consent and approbation of the king; and if in compliance with the wishes of his master he had been guilty of some unjustifiable conduct, yet surely no act of which he was ever accused could be more unjustifiable than the condemnation to which he was exposed; and even in point of compliance he seems often to have tried to check[2] the madness of Henry's proceedings; nor could it be expected that the minister of such a tyrant could be very independent in his conduct.

§ 161. Wolsey quietly submitted to every severity, hoping by such compliance to soften down the feelings of his master, whose favour he expected to have regained, could he once have been readmitted into his presence. This, however, was prevented by the watchful zeal of his enemies at court, who from his long prosperity had become very numerous, and at the head of whom we must not forget to mention the lady who had now possession of the monarch's affections: he was sent, therefore, to his diocese of York, where he appears to have given universal satisfaction;[3] but he was subsequently removed on the charge of high treason, and died at Leicester Abbey in his way to London. His pride and ambition were neither apostolical nor Christian; but they are the vices of human nature, and were peculiarly those to which he was most exposed. For them he is amenable to the tribunal of God, and not to that earthly power which had led him into

[1] Cavend. *Wols.* 442, et passim. [2] Ibid. 543. [3] Burnet, p. iii.

them, and to which power he was in all appearance faithful to the last; and there must have been something fundamentally good in a man who could so attach his servants to his person.[1] The latter interviews between them and their master are quite pathetic: and the respect shown to him in the north, during the whole of his disgrace, speaks more highly for his general conduct[2] than volumes of panegyric, while the testimony of an iniquitous bill, which was brought in soon after, for cancelling the king's private debts,[3] proves most strongly the goodness of a minister who could raise the country into such a state of prosperity as is described in the preamble. After his fall, he showed the greatest signs of weakess and childish clinging to the hopes of re-obtaining the royal favour;[4] but on this object alone he had placed his affections; so that in reviewing his life one cannot help mournfully regretting that he never served his God with half the zeal he served his king; but while we leave the sinner to the mercy of the Almighty, we must not overlook the human greatness and superiority of the man.

§ 162. All progress in the divorce was now rendered nearly hopeless: the cause had been removed by a papal avocation into Italy, and notwithstanding the promises which were continually given to the English ambassadors, little expectation could be entertained that justice would be obtained in a place where so many conflicting interests must delay the final decision. The question was freed from this dilemma[5] by the sagacity of Cranmer (a), who, when his opinion was accidentally asked in private, suggested the idea of settling the dispute by reference to the opinions received from the several universities; and Henry no sooner heard of the plan than he adopted it. The means taken in order to procure a favourable answer must probably for ever remain a secret; but there appears to have been little or no bribery used, in comparison with what is generally represented. In Oxford and Cambridge it is likely that favour and influence were exerted, and the whole discussion seems to have been considered as a party question; but the interested prejudices of the ecclesiastical members of those societies were as capable of warping the opinions of the judges against the cause, as any court interests could have tended to promote it.

(a) See Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biog.* iii. 437, 3, where it is with some appearance of reason attributed rather to Wolsey; but, after all, the cardinal may previously have consulted the universities, and Cranmer have merely said, We shall never receive any decision, except through the universities.

1 Cavend. *Wols.* 456. 2 Ibid. 495, &c. 3 Burnet, i.
4 Cavend. *Wols.* 450, &c. 5 Burnet, i.

In the Sorbonne, though the royal influence was doubtless exerted in favour of the divorce,[1] yet the conduct of that body was certainly open to the charge of favouring the other side; through the force of party feeling: nor must it be forgotten that truth is as much obscured by prejudice as by any other cause; and we cannot doubt that the blindest churchman must have seen the tendency of such an appeal from the authority of the pope to the opinions of the learned. In England, it could be no secret that Anne would probably favour the reformers; and what circumstance could have conduced more strongly to dispose the mass of the clergy to promote the interests of Catharine?

§ 163. There is no reason to suppose that the influence exercised in France or England preponderated much on either side; in both, there was the interest of the court balanced against that of the church; yet in each of these countries it was decided that a marriage with a brother's widow was contrary to the law of God, and therefore null from the beginning (a). The same and corresponding answers were obtained from many other universities and learned individuals. The Protestant divines generally coincided in maintaining the illegality of the former marriage, but were some of them doubtful as to the propriety of a new connexion. In order to enforce these decisions with their full weight on the mind of Clement, a letter was addressed to him from England, which was signed by those chiefly who were immediately connected with the king; yet the fears by which the mind of the pope was biassed, made him continue that system of deceit which he had carried on from the beginning. The ready compliance of the clergy in this country may partly be accounted for, in consequence of their then lying under an unjust præmunire, for having acknowledged the legantine power of Wolsey, which Henry had personally authorized. In order to buy off this (1530), the convocation consented to a considerable subsidy; and, in the bill which granted it, the king's supremacy was asserted: it was, however, with much difficulty that this clause was passed, and so little with the good-will of the lower house, that after the acknowledgment, a proviso was inserted, *quantum per Christi legem licet.*

§ 164. The parliament at the same time objected to the constitutions framed by the clergy,[2] which fell heavily on the

(a) The reader will find a different account of the matter given in Lingard, vi. 224. The discussion is important as far as the characters of the individuals concerned are at issue, but of little consequence as to the question generally. Henry may appear more or less guilty; but his guilt affects not the Reformation. The Roman Catholic may reject him, but Protestants will hardly claim him as their own.

[1] Burnet, p. iii.

[2] Strype's *Mem.* i. 198.

laity, with regard to mortuaries, probate of wills, &c., and in a later session (1532) made complaints against the manner in which the ecclesiastical courts examined and tried delinquents; for when brought before them on no definite charges, and without accusers, they had no alternative but to abjure opinions which possibly they had never held, or to be proceeded against as heretics. But in consequence of some offence which the king conceived against the house for rejecting a bill about wards, this motion was not carried into a law till 1534. This session was also marked by the enactment of a law against annates, by which all persons were forbidden to pay their first-fruits to the see of Rome. These steps were probably taken merely to alarm that court; for, though Henry was determined to proceed, whatever might be the consequence, yet at this time he had probably no wish to produce an open rupture. In this autumn (1532) his marriage was solemnized with Anne Boleyn, and upon the death of Warham (August), the archbishopric was offered to Cranmer, whose modesty, as well as unwillingness to take the oaths to the pope, delayed for some time his consecration. These obstacles, however, were both overcome (March 30, 1533), and he was contented to swear true obedience to the pope, with the salvo of a protestation, that his so doing should not affect the duty which he owed to his God, his king, or country.

§ 165. The first act of his primacy was the declaration of the sentence of divorce, in conformity to the decision of convocation(a). Which act at this moment seemed rather misplaced; for the marriage with Catharine must have either been from the beginning illegal, and a formal divorce therefore unnecessary, or the connexion with Anne was nothing less than bigamy. The king himself continued to the very last anxious to preserve terms with Rome, and even sent messengers to justify his conduct. One great source of

(a) The texts of Scripture which bear on this question are Gen. xxxviii. 8, Deut. xxv. 5, which direct the brother of a man who died without an heir to raise up children to his brother; Levit. xviii. 16, which forbids a man to marry his brother's wife; 18, or two sisters; and Levit. xx. 21, which threatens that in that case they shall die childless; from whence it would appear, that the marriage was illegal, except for the purpose of preventing the extinction of a Jewish family. By the present law of England, the marriage might be set aside during the lives of both parties, 'ad reformandos mores,' but if not so set aside, it would be afterwards good in law, and the children legitimate. Calvin attempted to reconcile the difference between Deut. xxv. 5 and Levit. xviii. 16, by interpreting the word *brother* as a near kinsman, an extension of which it will undoubtedly admit, as in the instance of Boaz and Ruth; but to which it cannot be confined, when Gen. xxxviii. 8, and the case of the seven brethren mentioned in the Gospels, are considered. Second edition. This has been since changed, and the marriage is now, ipso facto, void.

delay in the process in Italy had arisen from the refusal of Henry to appear in person, or by proxy, when summoned before the pope; an act of submission which he declared to be contrary to the rights of an independent prince, and esteemed a species of personal indignity: at the same time the discussion was involved in greater difficulty, because the strength of the argument in favour of the illegality of the marriage depended on the total inadequacy of any papal dispensation to set aside the law of marriage established from the word of God, and this argument the pope would not allow to be brought forward in his presence. Yet all this might have been overlooked, and peace have been preserved by mutual concessions, had not the Imperial faction hurried on the pope to give a decision on the case, when he found that a messenger who was expected from England did not arrive. The French and English authorities who were in Rome (1534) had made strong remonstrances against such precipitation, and urged the possibility of the messenger's having been accidentally delayed; but this prudent advice was offered in vain; and the messenger who brought the necessary concessions (March 23) was met on his arrival by the rejoicings of the Imperialists, who were exulting in the victory which their cause had gained (b). Reconciliation was now too late, and the apparent indignity with which his sincere endeavours after peace had been treated rendered Henry more determined than ever to do away with the papal authority within the precincts of his dominions.

§ 166. The parliament was in every way willing to promote the views of Henry in opposition to the church of Rome, for it had already abrogated the papal supremacy, and established that of the king (a). (A.D. 1534.) Its other acts were, one concerning the punishment of heretics, in which the inquisitorial power of the bishops' court was destroyed, inasmuch as they could now only

(b) The correctness of this account, which is taken from Burnet, is controverted by Lingard (vi. 267, n. 153), on the ground, that the royal assent was granted March 30th to the bill which set aside the authority of the pope, when nothing could possibly have been known of the decision given on the 23rd. Henry had probably made up his mind to reject the authority of the pope before this, yet he might wish for the sanction of the court of Rome, with regard to his marriage, and have thought that the intimidation produced by these bills brought into parliament might not have been uninfluential in promoting a favourable issue. We can hardly expect consistency of conduct from such a man as Henry.

(a) The nature of the supremacy which Henry VIII. claimed to himself is distinctly marked in Tonstal's Letter to Pole. (Burnet, p. iii. *Records*, No. 52.) He states, That no man knew better than the king the difference between the duties of a Christian prince and spiritual persons. That he pretended not to the cure of souls, but to that authority which, while it vindicated his kingdom from a foreign and usurped power, would compel all persons within his dominions to conform to the laws of God.

proceed in open court, and by witnesses; and it was ordained that none were to be troubled for any of the pope's laws or canons (b): another, relating to the succession, in which the children of the king, by Anne Boleyn, were declared heirs to the throne; at the same time, those who oppugned this bill were adjudged traitors to the king; and an oath was framed for its observance, in which a clause was inserted, that the party swearing would bear true faith to no foreign authority or potentate, and deem any oath previously sworn to that effect as of no avail.

§ 167. This law was passed in a session during the spring (A.D. 1534), and though the oath was readily taken by the majority of the nation, Sir Thomas More, and Fisher bishop of Rochester, refused to do so, and were in consequence committed to the Tower. Fisher seems to have been a good man and a sincere papist, and was at this time very old and infirm; but he had not conducted himself with any great wisdom or prudence with respect to the

(b) The canon and civil law are by Blackstone (*Introduct.* § 3, iii.) ranked among the *leges non scriptæ*, because they are received in England from custom, and not from any intrinsic authority of their own: a point expressly declared in the statute 25 Hen. VIII. c. 21.

By the term *civil law* is generally understood the municipal law of the Roman empire, as arranged from the confused mass of laws, edicts, and imperial decrees; first, by private lawyers, then by Theodosius, A.D. 438; and, lastly, by Justinian, about 533. The Corpus Juris Civilis, as compiled under his auspices, consists of—

1. The Institutes, which contain the elements or first principles of the Roman law, in four books.

2. The Digests, or Pandects, in fifty books; containing the opinions and writings of eminent lawyers, digested in a systematic method.

3. A new Code, or Collection of Imperial Constitutions, in twelve books; the lapse of a whole century having rendered the former code of Theodosius imperfect.

4. The Novels, or New Constitutions, posterior in time to the other books, and amounting to a Supplement to the Code; containing new decrees of successive emperors, as new questions happened to arise.

It was these which were found about 1130, at Amalfi, in Italy.

The canon law is a body of Roman ecclesiastical law relative to such matters as that church either has, or pretends to have, the proper jurisdiction over. The Corpus Juris Canonici was compiled from the opinions of the Latin fathers, the decrees of general councils, and the decretal epistles and bulls of the holy see, by Gratian, an Italian monk, about 1151, and has received subsequent additions; it consists of,

1. Decreta Gratiani.

2. Decretalia Gregorii IX.

3. Liber Sextus Decretalium, and the Clementine Constitutions.

4. The Extravagants of John XXII. and his successors.

Besides these pontifical laws, there are national canons established in synods held under the authority of a Roman legate, and provincial canons established by synods held in the provinces of Canterbury or York.

By the statute 25 Hen. VIII. c. xix. and 2 Eliz. c. i. it was enacted that a review should be had of the canon law; and till such review should be made, all canons, constitutions, ordinances, and synodals provincial, being then already made, and not repugnant to the law of the land or the king's prerogative, should still be used and executed. And as no such review has yet been perfected, upon this statute now depends the authority of the canon law in England.

maid of Kent. Elizabeth Barton had pretended to revelations concerning the king's death, and, like many impostors, half deceiving, half deceived, had become the tool of some designing priests, who preached her up as a prophetess, and foretold the destruction of Henry. She and some of her accomplices were afterwards hanged, and then made a confession of the cheat; for which she justly blamed her spiritual guides, who fostered the imposition. Fisher had to a certain degree promoted these proceedings by his countenance, and probably believed in her inspiration. Sir Thomas More, however, had placed no confidence in her predictions.

It had originally been in contemplation to comprehend both these distinguished individuals in the bill of attainder by which the other persons suffered; but the declarations of Sir Thomas More,[1] and the fear of bringing the question before the house of lords, saved him from this unmerited imputation,[2] while Fisher's name was inserted in the bill, though no proceedings were instituted against him. Both these men were, therefore, the objects of the displeasure of the court when the affair of the oath took place; and More, seeing from the first that he could expect no mercy, made up his mind to suffer; for he was well aware of the importance which would be attached to the refusal of a man of his own high character, and of the effect which such an example must have in discrediting the party of his opponents. He is justly considered by the church of Rome as a martyr to her cause, and every one must allow him the credit of having laid down his life in firmly maintaining his sincere opinions.

§ 168. His character is singularly splendid. He had raised himself by his honest exertions as a lawyer, and in 1523 was elected speaker of the house of commons, where he was distinguished for his opposition to the illegal attempts of the king's ministers. On one occasion, upon the demand of a supply, Cardinal Wolsey wished to have received an answer before he left the house, but the members preserved an obstinate silence, till at last their speaker, on his knees, with many compliments,[3] so urged the privilege of the body, that the cardinal hastily retired in great anger. Upon the disgrace of Wolsey, More was made Lord Chancellor, being the first layman that ever arrived at that honour, and in this exalted station retained the same unblemished fame which had raised him to it. It is extraordinary that one who had in his writings expressed such liberal notions (a), should

(a) The Utopians allowed of no persecution for religious tenets, 264, and their priests had no temporal power, but merely animadverted upon the evil doers, and, if necessary, excommunicated them, 275. Sir T.

[1] Wordsworth's *E. B.* ii. 174. [2] Burnet, i. [3] Words. *E. B.* ii. 77.

have been himself a persecutor; but he gloried in withstanding heretics by his pen and power, and the blindness of the times prevented him from seeing the practical advantage of that liberty of which he understood the theory. He was tried on the act passed, November, 1534, which made those who refused to take the oath relative to the succession liable to the penalties of treason contained in the former bill. When condemned he received his sentence with that placid serenity which had always marked his life. He prayed that, as St. Stephen and St. Paul were now blessed saints, though one had been present, and consented to the death of the other, so he in like manner, and his judges, might hereafter meet in heaven, to their everlasting salvation (b). His playful disposition attended him to the scaffold, and he died in full hopes of a blessed eternity, with a pleasantry upon his lips. (1535.) The death of this wise and good man leaves an indelible stain on the character of Henry, who, out of self-will and pique, suffered his faithful servant to be murdered by the hands of an executioner. Had the writer of *Utopia* acted up to his professions and opinions he must have proved a merciful and unpersecuting papist, if he had not become a Protestant; and this was certainly the character of More after he ceased to be chancellor; for though so fixed in his sentiments, that he was ready to die for them, yet he never blamed those who acted on different principles. His apparent obstinacy might possibly have arisen from his not rightly understanding the nature of the king's supremacy. He had viewed the pope as his spiritual father, and when the title of supreme head of the church was transferred to Henry, he felt that this species of authority could not be vested in a temporal prince. He would have been willing to swear to the succession,[1] had the preamble which restricted the papal authority been separated from it; and Cranmer[2] was anxious that this concession should have been made to the sentiments of More (as well as to those of Fisher, who denied not that the king and parliament had a right to nominate a successor to the throne); but he had to deal with a monarch who ill brooked

More's *Utopia*, *Han.* 1613. 12mo. He denies ever having caused heretics to be beaten or ill treated, beyond being confined (*Works*, p. 901). But this must be taken in a very qualified sense. See Fox and Strype's *Mem.* i. 310, &c.

(b) This account is taken from a Life of Sir T. More, published in Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biog.* ii. 213, in which many interesting particulars of this good man are recorded. He is there stated to have been tried in Westminster-hall, and condemned on the testimony of Rich, the king's solicitor. If these anecdotes be correct, which I much doubt, they add much to the injustice of his death. But under the second bill there was no necessity for any witnesses at all. It was by that act treason not to take the oath, which he refused to do. He was beheaded July 6th, 1535.

[1] Words. *Eccl. Biog.* ii. 177.

[2] Strype's *Cranmer*, i. 39.

opposition,[1] and who, after the death of the chancellor, acknowledged the excellence of a servant whom his cruelty had destroyed.

§ 169. Fisher was detained in prison above a twelvemonth, and treated with a severity which nothing can excuse; for at the age of fourscore he was actually in want of both clothes and fire.[2] The same act of parliament under which More suffered terminated his misery, in consequence of his speaking against the supremacy. The execution took place June 22, 1535.[3] He was a learned and devout man; and it is more than probable that to him the two universities owe the foundation of the Margaret professorships of divinity, which were established by the king's grandmother, Margaret, countess of Richmond, to whom he was confessor; the colleges of St. John's and Christ's, Cambridge, are of the same foundation. The countenance which he gave to the Maid of Kent may render the soundness of his judgment very dubious: and even the severities used by him towards those who differed from him in opinion may be attributed to sincere, though mistaken motives; nor can we fail to respect the man who would never exchange his small bishopric of Rochester for more valuable preferment, or, to use his own expression, desert his first wife because she was poor.

§ 170. The clergy at this time seem to have become the objects of the hatred of their fellow-citizens; nor can this surprise us, if we consider, not only the cruelty which was exercised towards heretics, but the liability under which every one lay of being called before the bishops' courts, a tribunal of which the authority was almost unlimited till the passing of the bill for punishing heretics.[4]

The limits of the work will hardly allow us to enter on any detailed account of those who suffered in the cause; and as an abridgment of the history of their deaths must destroy all those minute traits which peculiarly interest and improve us in the history of martyrs, we must content ourselves with a mere notice of some of them. Bilney, a clergyman of Cambridge; Byfield, a monk; and Tewkesbury, a citizen of London, were severally burnt as relapsed heretics.[4] Bainham, a lawyer, was first whipped and tortured, and afterwards given over to the flames (a). The body of William Tracy was dug up and burnt, because in making his will he had consigned his soul to Christ without mentioning the saints or purgatory. Harding, Hewett, and Frith were subsequently

(a) There are some interesting particulars recorded of a visit paid by Latimer to Bainham, the night before the execution, his anxiety about his wife, and Latimer's consolation. Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* v. 372.

[1] Words. ii. 223. [2] Fuller, 192, § 12. [3] Ibid. 203, &c.
[4] See § 166.

also burnt. Frith was a young man of considerable note, who, from his character for learning and piety, was removed from Cambridge to the cardinal's college in Oxford. He wrote a book against the corporal presence, which was answered by Sir Thomas More; and while in confinement, and without books, he replied to his opponent. He had, moreover, impugned the doctrine of purgatory, against which the attacks had of late become frequent; for it is obvious that they who controverted the papal supremacy must either be prepared to destroy this appalling weapon of superstition, or have been contented to find themselves deserted by the mass of society, who would hardly bear patiently the thunders of the Vatican while they were labouring under the dread of those penal fires from which the pope could free them.

§ 171. [1]In the *Supplication of the Beggars* (a), a witty production by Simon Fish, of Gray's Inn, the source of the Roman superstitions is stated to be the belief in purgatory; and the remedy which the author recommends is not the enactment of new laws, but the disclosing of the hypocrisy of its votaries. The church, he argues, has been able by power or policy to obviate the effects of all laws, but that, by going to the root of the error, the evil might be easily eradicated. The other attacks are directed against the obvious vices of the clergy, which are very fully described. This work, by some accident, found its way into the hands of the king himself; but the wit which it contained saved the author from any harm. Another work, of nearly the same date, but which is a very superior production, is denominated the *Practice of Prelates* (b). In it the tyranny of the clergy is strongly painted. They are described as possessing in all their establishments gaols, and instruments of torture. He who was once within their keeping was never allowed to escape, lest he should convey to the world unseasonable reports of what he had there seen. The papal supremacy is attacked on the same grounds of Scripture as would now be employed, and with much perspicuity; the existence of purgatory is denied. It is stated, that in the universities they were not permitted to study the word of God till their minds had been perverted with some years' previous study, with which they were 'clere shutt out of the understandinge of Scripture;' that auricular confession was made the tool of political intrigue; and that Wolsey used Longland as a spy and instrument about the king. The reasoning is generally correct and sound, though there are some points in which we

(a) This work is printed at length in Fox.

(b) *The Practice of Papistical Prelates* made by William Tyndale, 1530, edited by Fox in *Tyndale's Works*, fol. 1573, reprinted in the *Works of the Reformers*.

[1] Fox, ii. 229, &c. Burnet, i.

should hardly now agree with the writer; but the spirit of the book is excellent, and the address, towards the end of the preface, to the true servants of Christ, not to resist, but to endure persecution, is quite apostolical.

§ 172. Such writings, when viewed in combination with the condition of public affairs, prove that the seeds of the Reformation were now securely sown. But there was still the utmost need of the fostering hand of God, to secure what he had planted against the rude assaults of superstition, and the vices incident to human nature. The papal supremacy was indeed suppressed, so that men might safely exercise their powers of reasoning, in disproving the grounds on which that authority was built. But the supremacy of Henry was little better, in point of freedom of discussion; for he by no means allowed to others that liberty of seeking the truth, which circumstances had induced him personally to adopt; but these great events, by exciting an universal sensation, had taught the people to reason for themselves, and to ground their own belief on the dictates of holy writ (a); and the discussions arising from the attacks of their enemies made it necessary for the church of Rome to argue, as well as to punish; and in this species of encounter the superior abilities of even Sir Thomas More could not conceal the weakness of the cause.

§ 173. Many of the remedies, too, to which the friends of the established religion had recourse, convinced men that their spiritual guides were not the ministers of good-will and peace; and the very necessity of rigorous persecution, while it proves the unsoundness of the cause, has always the tendency of more widely diffusing the tenets against which it is directed. How, moreover, can the world imagine that the doctrines of Christ form the belief of men who were ever anxious to destroy copies of the Scriptures? A very ludicrous instance of the inutility of such attempts is related of Tonstal, bishop of London, who, when in Flanders, took some pains to procure for the flames as many of Tyndale's New Testaments as he could. Tyndale was aware of some errors in the first edition, and gladly therefore allowed the bishop to purchase all the copies which were left, for the purpose of finding the necessary means for publishing a second, and more correct one. These, which were thus bought, were carried into England, and burnt in Cheapside; and when Constantine, who had assisted Tyndale, had brought over a large supply of the new edition, he was seized and

(a) It was an observation of Robert Whitgift, abbot of the black canons, at Wellow, near Grimsby, in Lincolnsuire, and uncle to the archbishop, that they and their religion could never continue; for that he had read the whole Scriptures over and over, but could never find therein that their religion was founded by God. Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biog.* iv. 318. *Whitgift's Life*, by Sir G. Paule.

examined before Sir Thomas More, who was particularly eager to discover those who had enabled them to undertake so expensive a work, and promised to show kindness in case this information were readily communicated. The discovery that Tonstal had most effectually befriended the publication naturally excited a great laugh.

§ 174. In reviewing the Reformation at this point of its history, the English Protestant cannot withhold the attribute of thanksgiving to the Author of all good, from whom this deliverance sprung, nor fail to remark its progress, so contrary to the expectations of human foresight. He will observe, that the chief mover of the Reformation, in this country, was a king brought up with a high respect and admiration for those doctrines which were combated by the reformers; who had personally embarked in their defence, and acquired the title of Defender of the Faith; which,[1] if the vicar of Croydon may be believed, he valued more than London, and twenty miles about it, and who retained his predilection for most of his opinions even to the end of his life: that one of the greatest patrons of literature from which the Reformation gained very important assistance, by enabling men to examine the basis on which the papal fabric was constructed, with his dying breath urged the king to beware of, and to reduce the Lutherans;[2] and that he again, who by his writings and severe activity fanned the flame of discussion which ultimately convinced the nation, laid down his life an honoured victim to that cause, which he had greatly, though unwillingly, contributed to overthrow: that the character of the pope, who by his intemperate and illegal haste in pronouncing the decision had made the breach incurable, was marked by caution rather than heat, so that he had before been particularly careful to avoid coming to extremities; and that the separation ultimately took place in consequence of the accidental delay of a messenger: who can observe all this, and not acknowledge the shortsighted policy of earthly designs and prospects; and if he rejoice in the Reformation which these events produced, can fail to thank that Almighty Power which setteth at nought the wisdom and prudence of man, and governeth the world according to those laws which most surely promote the interest of his creatures!

[1] *Practyce of Prelates*, fol. K. 4. Strype's *Mem.* i. 62.
[2] Cav. *Wolsey*, 543.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE DIVORCE OF HENRY VIII. TO THE END OF HIS REIGN, 1534—1547.

201. The commencement of the church of England; the authority of it vested in the crown; ecclesiastical commission. 202. Visitation of monasteries; causes of the dissolution of them. 203. Death of Anne Boleyn. 204. Bill of succession. 205. Convocation. Parties. 206. First Document of the church of England. 207. Proclamation for Reformation. 208. Henry summoned to Mantua by the Pope. 209. Pilgrimage of grace. 210. Reduced. 211. Dissolution of monasteries. 212. Surrenders of monasteries. 213. The Institution published. 214. The sacramentaries persecuted. 215. John Lambert tried and burnt. 216. Proclamation against the marriage of priests. 217. Law of the Six Articles. 218. Acts of Parliament. 219. Anne of Cleves; Cromwell's fall. 220. His character. 221. Divorce, and marriage with Catharine Howard; persecutions. 222. Execution of Catharine Howard. 223. Bonner's injunctions; acts of parliament. 224. Persecution at Windsor; English litany. 225. Anne Askew burnt. 226. Cranmer and the queen in danger. 227. Cruelty of Henry. 228. His character. 229. Points gained in the Reformation. 230. Evils still requiring reform. 231. Effect of the Reformation in Germany very small. 232. Intercourse between Henry and the German reformers.

§ 201. The existence of the church of England as a distinct body, and her final separation from Rome[a], may be dated from the period of the divorce. In the remaining part of this reign we shall

[a] The act which immediately caused the separation was the bull of Paul III. published in 1538 (Burnet, p. i. b. iii. *Rec.* No. 9); but the authority of the pope in England had been before done away with by the act (25 Henry VIII. c. 20), which forbade the procuring bulls or breves from Rome, or the payment of first-fruits or tenths (See § 103, and b). These payments had gradually grown up with the encroachments of the papal see (See Lingard, iv. 198). The origin of first-fruits has been referred to the presents which were made at consecration or ordination; and which, as they were regulated by the value of the benefice, insensibly grew to be rated at one year's income. On this supposition they would have been paid by the inferior clergy of the diocese to the bishop, and by the bishop himself to the pope: which seems generally to have been the case. In England, Pandulph, when bishop of Norwich (1222—1226), is said to have exacted, or to have obtained through the pope, this tax from his clergy, on the plea of the encumbrances with which he found himself burthened. The amount of the sums paid for first-fruits was often uncertain. Tenths were a tenth part of the yearly value of all benefices exacted by the pope from the clergy, a tithe of the tithe, in imitation of the same proportion paid by the Levites to the high priest. These were in England sanctioned by law (20 Edw. I.), when Pope Nicholas IV. granted them for six years to Edward I., under the pretence of his

trace her progress towards her present matured state, and observe the numerous difficulties which she encountered on the way.

In looking back at the events recorded in the last chapter, it is impossible to suppose that the steps towards reformation should have been acceptable to the great mass of the clergy, whose privileges were directly attacked; and the opposition of some of them, and secret practices of others, irritated Henry to exercise a severity which nothing can excuse. The bishops and universities readily took the oath of the king's supremacy (1535), which met with little resistance, except from the Franciscan friars (b). It was this refusal, or the discovery of the secret proceedings of the monks, which produced the general visitation of monasteries; for the carrying on of which, as well as of other reforms, Cromwell was created first vicar-general, and afterwards lord-vicegerent. One of the first points which fell under the cognizance of this newly-created power, was with regard to the authority from which the bishops derived their right of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The Roman church esteemed this as communicated from Christ through his vicar the pope, an idea which must give the bishops of Rome an influence over all the countries in Christendom, for which there is not the slightest foundation in Scripture; and Henry, therefore, wishing to put an end to this error, now suspended all the bishops from the use of their episcopal authority, during the visitation which he purposed to institute: and after a time the power of exercising it was restored by a commission to the following effect, which was granted to each of them on their petitioning for it: 'Since all authority, civil and ecclesiastical, flows from the crown, and since Cromwell, to whom the ecclesiastical part has been committed, is so occupied that he cannot fully

undertaking a crusade; but they had been long before paid, and indeed granted by Innocent IV. to Henry III., in 1253, for three years. The sums so due had been levied first by a valuation made in 1254, under the direction of Walter, bishop of Norwich, and therefore called sometimes the Norwich Taxation, and sometimes Pope Innocent's *Valor*; but upon the fresh grant made to Edward I. a new valuation took place (1288—1292), which is generally denominated Pope Nicholas's valuation, and is still used in estimating the value of livings in some colleges; a third valuation of a part of the province of York took place in 1318, in consequence of the invasion of the Scotch, entitled Nova Taxatio. By the 26th Henry VIII. c. 3, the first-fruits and tenths were both transferred to the crown, and a new valuation was made by commissions issued by the king under an act of Parliament. It has been questioned whether from the words of this act the crown has a right to frame a new valuation (See § 756, a). The words are, 'that the chancellor for the time being shall have power to direct commissions' for making the valuation, but the meaning of the act itself does not appear to look forward to above one valuation. This is called the valuation of the *Liber Regis* or *King's Book*.

(b) See an account of the cruel execution of several of these in Strype's *Mem.* i. 302, &c.

exercise it, we commit to you the licence of ordaining, proving wills, and using other ecclesiastical jurisdiction, besides those things which are committed to you by God in holy Scripture; and we allow you to hold this authority during our pleasure, as you must answer to God and to us.' It must be confessed that this commission seems rather to outstep the limits of that authority which God has committed to the civil magistrate (c); but in this case there was no opposition raised on the part of the bishops, excepting by Gardiner,[1] and when the suspension was taken off, they continued to perform the usual duties of their office; for the visitation was really directed against the monasteries.

§ 202. The king was probably influenced in this measure by the prospect of plundering these wealthy bodies, designing, perhaps, to have expended the money so raised in the construction of harbours, and the erection of new bishoprics; while Cranmer was equally eager for their dissolution, being fully aware that these establishments formed the great bulwarks of the church of Rome, and hoping that their property, turned into a new channel, would

(c) The original documents may be seen in Collier, vol. ii. *Rec.* No. 31, 41, and Burnet, vol. i. *Rec.* iii. No. 14, and vol. ii. *Rec.* No. 2, Strype's *Cranmer*, 1050. The discussion is one of much difficulty. The authority in question must have flowed either from the pope, the king, or the word of God; and as there is no direct injunction on the subject in the Scriptures, as the authority of the pope was laid aside, the bishop could claim his right of jurisdiction from the crown only. The difficulty, however, consists in confusing things in themselves distinct; the ministers of God's word must derive from him such authority as shall enable them to carry on a Christian church, independent of the civil magistrate; for there is no reason why such a body may not exist in a heathen country; but it does not necessarily follow that the same entire power must belong to them when the government shall have become Christian. The right of ordination, for instance, must belong to the church independently of the civil power; but a Christian government may still assign limits to the exercise of it. It is no infringement of the right of ordaining, to prevent a bishop from admitting candidates unless they possess certain qualifications. The law cannot say that the person so ordained shall not be a priest, but that he shall not hold church preferment, and at the same time it may punish the bishop for breaking the law of the land. The proving wills, &c., must belong to the civil magistrate alone; and a court of conscience, or ecclesiastical court, seems to be founded partly on the law of God, partly on that of man. If all ecclesiastical power were confined to ecclesiastical matters, the difficulty would cease to exist. But this can hardly be the case; the magistrate ought, perhaps, to govern the temporal concerns of the church entirely; but for his own convenience, and for the benefit of society, he has committed some portion of this power to churchmen, who exercise a mixed authority, derived from God, in part directly, in part through the civil magistrate. Much information on this subject may be found in the opinions delivered by the commissioners, 1540. See Burnet, *Hist. Ref.* i. B. iii. *Rec.* xxi. qu. 9, &c.

[1] Strype's *Mem.* i. 331.

substantially advance the cause of learning and religion. The instructions[1] given to the commissioners directed them to examine into the statutes of the several religious houses, and the manner in which they were observed; to inquire into the lives of the members; to enjoin the observance of certain general rules; and to see the king's supremacy was duly admitted.

Great abominations seem to have been discovered in some societies, which, together with the prospect of avoiding a storm now ready to fall on their heads, induced several convents to resign their charters; and in the session of parliament at the beginning of the next year, an act was passed which dissolved all monasteries of which the annual income was under 200*l.* (A.D. 1536.)

It is possible that greater abuses might have prevailed in these less extensive establishments, and that such laxity was produced by the freedom which a small number of persons must enjoy, when placed under their own superintendence; but it was easy to perceive that this alienation was but a step to the total dissolution of the monastic orders, and that the same avarice which had swallowed up the weaker bodies was only restrained from destroying the stronger by the want of power. The whole number of monasteries which was included under this bill was much increased by the manner in which their estates were let; for from the system of fines([a]), the annual income was generally reduced far below the

([a]) When an estate is let in this manner, it is done by the following process. The property is sold for a certain number of years (at present, according to the laws regulating church property generally, for twenty-one years), and the fine or purchase-money so paid belongs to the owner for the time being. But when seven years have elapsed, the purchaser of the property is allowed to renew his lease, or to re-purchase the property for seven fresh years, to be reckoned at the end of the fourteen years for which he is now possessed of it. This, by calculation, is worth from one and a quarter to one and a half year's income; and the original lessor, or the owner for the time being, is induced to grant such a fresh lease, from the immediate want of money, or from the uncertainty of his own life; since, if he were himself to die during the fourteen years, he would get nothing, and the whole benefit would accrue to his successor. Thus an estate worth 100*l.* per annum might originally have been sold for its then value, and when seven years were expired the lease might be renewed for 125*l.* or 150*l.*, making an average annual income of from 18*l.* to 22*l.* instead of 100*l.* The same process takes place when the property is let on lives. The estate is then originally sold for so long a time as three particular persons, whose names are inserted in the lease, shall either of them live; and when one of these dies, the holder of the property pays a fine, to be allowed to renew the bargain, and to substitute some fresh life in lieu of the one deceased. In former times much of the property of the kingdom was held on this tenure; but in modern days most private landowners have allowed these leases to run out, and have relet their estates at annual rents;

[1] Burnet, *P. i. Rec. B.* iii. No. 1.

real value of their property. These foundations are said to have amounted to the number of 375,[1] and to have yielded an income of 30,000*l.* per annum, besides a large sum arising from plate and jewels; but the mass of this wealth was quickly dissipated. And notwithstanding the erection of a court for the express purpose of augmenting the king's revenue (b), comparatively little advantage arose to the crown from these attacks on the property of the subject.

§ 203. The cause of the Reformation[2] met with a serious blow in the death of Anne Boleyn, who had uniformly exerted her influence in its favour, and was probably very instrumental in promoting the translation of the Bible now going forward. She had undoubtedly been guilty of indiscretion in the intimacy which she had used towards some of her male attendants; but her real crime consisted in her no longer possessing the love of Henry, who had transferred his affections to Lady Jane Seymour; and one of the strongest arguments in favour of her innocence consists in the nature of the court before which she was arraigned, and of the charges which were separately brought against her. She was first condemned for adultery, and then divorced on account of a precontract of marriage, which proved her never to have been the wife of the king. The evidence of her guilt would not have admitted of being brought forward openly, and she was tried in secret, condemned, and executed in the Tower, May 19.

Her marriage with the king was dissolved by a decision in the archbishop's court, and is said by Burnet to have been annulled in

but almost all the property of corporate bodies is still so leased. From which circumstance it is easy to see why the real income is much less than the nominal property. The original sale generally took place beyond the memory of man; and the bishop, the chapter, or the college, cannot afford to run the risk of the loss of the immediate fine, in the hopes of an advantage which their successors may probably reap; so that virtually most church property is mortgaged for fourteen years, in England; and in Ireland (from the custom of renewing every year, instead of every seven years), for twenty years. In most of such leases, however, there is also an annual rent reserved:—Thus, if an estate be worth 150*l.* per annum, the fine shall be set as if it were worth 100*l.* and the tenant be bound to pay 50*l.* annually for the support of the establishment. In estimating, therefore, the values of the property of these monasteries, the reserved rents may probably have alone entered into the calculation, and the fine have been overlooked, as not forming part of the income.

(b) The court of augmentations was established 27th Henry VIII. (Fuller, vi. 348), by act of parliament, consisting of a chancellor, and many other officers with high salaries, amounting to 7,249*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* They were appointed to survey and govern the property which fell into the hands of the crown, by the dissolution of monasteries; but as many of the estates were soon sold through the necessities of the king, the court was found to be unnecessarily expensive, was discontinued, and finally dissolved, 1° Mariæ, 1553.

[1] Fuller, vi. 312.

[2] Burnet, i.

consequence of a pre-contract between her and Lord Percy, which the queen acknowledged. The effect of this proceeding was to render the princess Elizabeth illegitimate; but it is supposed that Anne was induced to admit the existence of such a bar to the marriage, in hopes of conciliating the favour of the royal father towards her child; and it is probable, that her conduct in her last moments was influenced by the same views(a). Blame has been attached to Cranmer for his compliance in this instance; but upon the admission of the pre-contract, he had only to pronounce the sentence of the canon law; while the Reformation has been loaded with the obloquy attending the presumed guilt of its patrons; as if the cause must be bad which had been promoted by such unworthy instruments. For Henry, little can be said in excuse; yet he always treated Elizabeth with kindness; and Mary was now reconciled to him upon acknowledging the king's supremacy, renouncing the papal usurpations, and giving up all advantage which might personally arise to her from the jurisdiction of Rome.

§ 204. On the day after the execution of Anne, Henry married Jane, the daughter of Sir John Seymour; and in the parliament which met on the 8th of June, the act of succession passed, which, after conferring the inheritance of the crown on the children of the present marriage, left the king, in case there were none, at liberty to bestow the throne on whomsoever he pleased, either by letters patent or by his will. Nothing can more strongly mark the absolute sway which this monarch maintained over the parliament, than a power so vested in an individual, while the policy of the transaction equally demands our notice, for he kept both his daughters entirely dependent upon himself; and by enabling Mary to succeed to the kingdom, paved the way towards a reconciliation with the emperor, and through him with the court of Rome, if any future circumstances should dispose him to entertain the wish of doing so. It seems, indeed, that some overtures were about this time made by the pope; but two acts of parliament rendered the attempt perfectly nugatory; for the first subjected to a præmunire all emissaries of the papacy; the second destroyed all grants held under bulls, which were declared null and void; and

(a) Lingard, who wishes to establish the guilt of the queen, supposes that the previous criminal connexion of Henry with Mary, the eldest sister of Anne, formed the ground of the separation. No reason is assigned for the divorce in the original record of it; see Wilkins, *Con.* iii. 800; but the letter of the earl of Northumberland, May 13, in which he denies the existence of any pre-contract, at least proves that there was an idea of proceeding against her on this ground, and so strengthens the account given by Burnet. See also Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*; Wordsw. *Ecc. Biog* i. 363; Lord Herbert's *Life*, p. 195, comp. hist.

those whose property was on this tenure were directed to bring the grants into chancery, in order that they might be renewed by the archbishop of Canterbury, acting for the king.

§ 205. Whatever importance may be attached to the acts of this session of parliament, those of the convocation demand at least an equal portion of our attention. Alexander Alesse, a Scotch reformer, had fled his country not long after the persecution of Patrick Hamilton; and having been kindly received into Cromwell's house, was here introduced to the English clergy by the lord-vicegerent himself. When his opinion was requested, he argued strongly in favour of rejecting the five sacraments, and was answered by Stokesley, bishop of London, who exhibited much learning in the canon law; but Cranmer gave a satisfactory reply to his arguments, by adducing the authority of the word of God, and enforcing its superiority.

The parties into which the church was now divided were led by the two archbishops, and may be ranged in the following order:

CRANMER, archbp. of Canterbury.	LEE, archbp. of York.
GOODRICH, bishop of Ely.	STOKESLEY, bishop of London.
SHAXTON, bishop of Sarum.	TONSTAL, bishop of Durham.
LATIMER, bishop of Worcester.	GARDINER, bishop of Winchester.
FOX, bishop of Hereford.	LONGLAND, bishop of Lincoln.
HILSEY, bishop of Rochester.	SHERBURN, bishop of Chichester.
BARLOW, bishop of St. David's.	KITE, bishop of Carlisle.

After much discussion, certain articles, which had been submitted to them by the king, were agreed upon, and published by the royal authority; and as they may be deemed the first document of the faith of the church of England, they cannot be esteemed unworthy of peculiar notice; their general outline is as follows (a):—

§ 206. The Bible and the three creeds are laid down as the basis of our faith. Baptism is declared to be absolutely necessary; that is, that children dying unbaptized cannot be saved.

Penance, that is, repentance, is a sacrament, and necessary.

Confession to a priest is necessary and effectual.

The corporal presence is necessary to be believed.

Though justification depend on the merits of Christ, yet good works are necessary in order to obtain eternal life.

(a) They are printed in the *Formularies of Faith*, Oxford, 1825, § 271, a. and in Burnet and Fuller. They must be considered as a compromise of opinions between the two parties, rather than as expressing the entire sentiments of either. It is indeed obvious, that the doctrines of the Reformation had not at this time made any great progress; for in a protestation of the lower house, consisting of 67 articles (Fuller, v. 208, § 28), there is hardly a point in which the churches of Rome and England differ, in which the tenets of the latter are not reprobated.

With regard to ceremonies, it was ordered that images should be retained as examples to the people, but idolatry and the abuse of them was to be guarded against. Saints were to be honoured as examples of life and advancers of our prayers; and they were to be addressed with this view, but not worshipped. Many ceremonies, such as the use of holy-water, ashes, palms, &c., were to be retained as typical signs; and praying for the dead was enjoined, though the existence of purgatory is questioned. It should be observed, too, that no mention is here made of the other four sacraments, though the use of them is inculcated in several of the doctrinal works which were subsequently published during this reign. A royal proclamation was issued immediately after the publication of these articles, of which the following is an abstract.

§ 207. Thomas Cromwell, lord-vicegerent, directs the clergy[1] to observe all the laws which have been made against the papal supremacy, and to instruct their flocks, at least four times in the year, that the king under God is the supreme head of the church. To explain to the people the articles concerning faith and ceremonies, which had been lately put forth; and to persuade their parishioners to observe the ordinance for abolishing many of the holidays during harvest. To discountenance superstition, and preach that obedience to God's commandments, and works of charity, were more acceptable than pilgrimages, and the worshipping of relics. They were to set up Bibles in Latin and English in their churches, and encourage the people to read them; to see that the children within their cures were brought up honestly and religiously, and to teach them the Lord's prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Creed, in the mother-tongue. Wherever the incumbent was non-resident, he was to appoint a proper curate; and all the clergy are directed to lead decent and sober lives. Non-residents, on preferments worth twenty pounds, are to give one-fortieth of their stipend to the poor of the parish. Incumbents of preferments worth a hundred pounds per annum are to keep a scholar at the university; and so on for every hundred pounds: and in case of dilapidated buildings, one-fifth of the income was to be expended on repairs. We cannot help observing the sound sense and propriety of these injunctions.

§ 208. During the progress of the Reformation many appeals had been made to a general council; and Paul III., wishing to sanction his proceedings under the appearance of such an authority, yet having no desire that it should be independent of the influence of the papal throne, assembled one at Mantua. Before this tribunal

[1] Burnet, *P.* i. *B.* iii. *Rec.* No. 7. Corresponding injunctions were issued in 1538 (No. 11, D°.) which contain an order for keeping parish registers.

Henry was cited to appear; but when information of this summons was brought to the convocation by Fox, bishop of Hereford, that assembly protested against the measure, as more likely to gratify ambition and malice than to satisfy the ends of justice and truth. The king[1] also published his reasons against it, showing the absurdity of expecting a fair trial, when the pope, one of the parties, was to sit as judge, and the court itself was so situated that no Englishman could safely make his appearance at it. Reginald Pole, who was now resident at Padua, attacked the king in his writings; and his book *De Unione Ecclesiastica* ends by comparing Henry to Nebuchadnezzar, and praying the emperor to direct his arms against so heretical a Christian, rather than against the Turk.

§ 209. Some progress was made during this summer in the dissolution of monasteries; for besides those foundations which the liberality of parliament had already bestowed on the king, many abbots made voluntary surrenders of the establishments under their charge, to the commissioners of the augmentation office, in hopes of obtaining better terms and larger allowances for themselves, entertaining little doubts, that the rapacity which had swallowed up the smaller, would soon extend itself over all such ecclesiastical bodies. Many persons were thus deprived of all means of subsistence; for besides their actual retainers, monasteries were in the habit of feeding a large portion of the neighbouring poor, while the number of actual members ejected must have been considerable. It is not wonderful, then, that persons influenced by passion, as well as urged by necessity, should endeavour to raise disquiet against a government with which they had so little reason to be contented. The court had indeed used some methods for obviating these causes of complaint; thirty-one religious houses had been refounded, and much of the forfeited lands had been sold at very easy rates to the neighbouring gentry; but these innovations had produced a general discontent, and their effects were quickly manifested by a rebellion in Lincolnshire, which was, however, soon quieted by the conciliatory measures of the duke of Suffolk. This was followed by a much more formidable rising in the north; and the insurrection, from the religious turn which was given to it; and from their standards, consisting of representations of the five wounds of Christ, and of the cross, was denominated the pilgrimage of grace. As this event had been produced in a great measure by the clergy, the king issued a strong letter to his bishops,[2] enjoining the use of zeal and discretion in their own preaching, and ordering them to publish the articles

[1] Sleidan's *Hist. Ref.* 231.

[2] *Addenda*, ix. 360, vol. i. Burnet.

already set forth; they were also directed to take care that the inferior clergy did the same, and were not to allow any one within their dioceses to preach out of his own church, for whose honesty and judgment they could not answer.

§ 210. The direction of the military operations was committed to the duke of Norfolk, who, when he joined the earl of Shrewsbury, found the rebels so strong and desperate, that it was necessary to adopt the greatest caution. They were under the command of a gentleman of the name of Aske, who was well calculated for his office, and numbered among their ranks the archbishop of York, and Lord Darcy, who having been made prisoners at the capture of Pomfret Castle, had taken the oath of the party, viz., that their object was to preserve the king from low-born and pernicious counsellors, and to re-establish true religion. The rebels had already taken Hull and York, and advanced as far as Doncaster; but their further progress was stopped by the prudence of the duke of Norfolk, who, after many delays and much intercourse, obtained for them a general pardon. (A.D. 1537.) Yet discontent soon manifested itself again, and breaking out in a fresh northern rebellion, it was easily put down by the forces still under the command of the duke of Norfolk and Lord Shrewsbury, and the chief offenders were executed; amongst which number were comprehended Lords Darcy and Hussey, Aske, many gentlemen of consideration, and six abbots.[1]

§ 211. The suspicion that this rebellion had owed its origin and support chiefly to the encouragement of the clergy, undoubtedly hastened the suppression of religious houses; but their general dissolution arose from other causes, and would probably have taken place had these events never occurred. In order to prepare the way for this fresh attack on church property, a new visitation was set on foot, and the disorders discovered in these establishments were thrown open to the world; for as the visitors were charged with receiving bribes (a), they found it necessary to quiet unpleasant reports concerning their own ill conduct, by publishing such scandalous stories of the parties visited as fell within their observation.

The vicious lives and conversations of 'the religious,' as they were denominated,[2] were too notorious not to call forth the indignant

(a) There seem to be good grounds for this accusation: we have several offers of bribes to Cromwell himself: when Latimer wrote to him to pray that the priory of Malvern might be spared, he offered five hundred marks for the king's favour, and two hundred for that of the vicegerent (Strype's *Mem.* i. 399). So Sir Thomas Eliot offers him the first-fruits of such lands as should be granted (Ibid. 405). See also *Burnet*, vol. i. 224, fol., 8vo, 407.

[1] Fuller, 313. [2] Strype's *Ecc. Mem.* i. ch. 35. Fuller, 316, &c.

animadversions of their enemies; and, as might have been expected, the guilt of individuals entailed a great degree of infamy on the body in general. We have, however, so many authentic documents of their gross profligacy and superstitious knavery, that little doubt can be entertained of either their guilt, or the benefit which morals have received by the suppression of monasteries (b). But there were several exceptions to this extensive condemnation;[1] and in many of the convents visited by the commissioners, not only were real devotion and sound morality found to exist, but the liberal hospitality and charitable munificence of the members merited for them that love which was felt towards the monastic orders by a large portion of the community, particularly by the common people.

§ 212. Many abbots now tendered their resignations, influenced by various motives, as either their fears of the king predominated, or as they entertained views favourable to the Reformation; while others hoped, by conciliating the good-will of the ruling powers, to obtain for their societies new and more useful foundations. The benefit derived to the crown by these resignations fell infinitely below the amount at which it might probably have been calculated; for in many cases the establishments were found to be in a very dilapidated state. The several members of such foundations, foreseeing what was likely to happen, had been providing for the storm; and while they consulted their own personal interests, had neglected the common property, of which they expected so soon to be deprived. Several abbots were attainted of treason, for having converted the plate of their convents to the use of the rebels in the north, and on their conviction their abbeys were declared forfeited to the king. To most of the ecclesiastical persons now ejected annuities were assigned out of the revenues, which varied according to the nature of the foundations and the merits of the individuals. Religious frauds were in many places destroyed, shrines defaced, and relics taken away; so that the most effectual methods were adopted in order to wean the minds of the people from such superstitions.

§ 213. *The Bishops' Book*, or *The Godly and Pious Institution of a Christian Man*, was now first published;[2] it was afterwards printed in a more perfect form in 1543, when it was denominated *The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*, and,

(b) The Roman Catholics, on the other hand, accuse the visitors of great iniquity in their proceedings; of having first corrupted, and then punished the nuns whom they had debauched, and of having brought untrue accusations against those who had resisted their solicitations (Fuller, 315).

[1] Strype's *Ecc. Mem.* 393.

[2] Ibid. i. 485.

as put forth by royal authority, was called *The King's Book:* and since the two together form the chief documents from which the authorized opinions of the church of England during this reign can be derived, it will be necessary to examine them in detail; and the subject will more conveniently be deferred till the end of the chapter (a).[1]

§ 214. Thus far everything seems to have favoured the Reformation; but a new line of policy, which was adopted by Gardiner and the other friends of popery, appears to have created an alteration in the sentiments of the king, and thus to have given a considerable advantage to the cause which they advocated. This party had generally exhibited great outward compliance with the opinions and wishes of Henry; and by enlisting his vanity on their side, they now worked the ruin of many of their opponents, and provoked him to exercise much cruelty towards them. Among the reformers generally, there was no point on which the minds of many were so little settled as concerning the nature of the 'presence,' by which our Saviour's body is said to be present in the elements. Henry, in his book against Luther, of which he was particularly proud, had maintained the doctrine of the 'corporal presence,' and all the public acts of the church of England had declared for the same opinion. The subject itself is one of extreme delicacy, and the political relations of the kingdom rendered additional caution necessary; for if any person had been persecuted for tenets which they held in common with the Lutherans, this circumstance might have subjected the king to the remonstrances and anger of the princes of Germany: but towards the sacramentaries (a) he was fettered by none of these scruples; and they might be attacked under the vain expectation of reducing all men to the same opinions in religion, or in order to vindicate the infallibility of that supremacy of which he deprived the pope, by assuming it as his own prerogative.

§ 215. (A.D. 1538). John Lambert (a), while chaplain to the English company at Antwerp, had, by his acquaintance with Frith

(a) It may not be amiss to remark, that there were two books known by each of these names. A declaration against the papal supremacy in 1536, in consequence of Pole's book on *Ecclesiastical Union*, is called also the Bishops' Book, and one published in 1533, *De Differentia Regiæ et Ecclesiasticæ Potestatis*, the King's (Strype's *Cranmer*, 75, vol. i.).

There is, too, considerable confusion about this book in Burnet, who is generally ignorant concerning printed books, and makes a confusion between the *Institution* and *Erudition*.

(a) The sacramentaries denied the corporal presence of Christ in the eucharist (see § 313).

(a) His real name was Nicholson: he adopted this for the sake of concealment, in consequence of having been before in trouble about religion (Strype's *Cranmer*, i. 92).

[1] See Appendix B.

and Tyndale, advanced in those religious opinions which he had originally derived from Bilney. Sir Thomas More had directed the Antwerp merchants to dismiss him from their service; and on his return to England he escaped persecution only by the death of Archbishop Warham. He now kept a school in London, and having advanced some opinions concerning the corporal presence, in consequence of a sermon preached by Dr. Taylor, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, he was brought before Cranmer, and unfortunately appealed to the king. Gardiner seized the opportunity, which was thus afforded him, of exasperating the royal theologian against heterodox opinions, and a public trial was appointed to take place in Westminster Hall. It requires but little sagacity to determine how a disputation carried on between persons so differently circumstanced was likely to terminate. On the one side sat the king, surrounded with his bishops, at once disputants and judges; on the other, an heretical schoolmaster, supported only by a conviction of the truth, and reasoning on a topic wherein the learned have differed, and concerning which pious Christians have disagreed. The poor man was after a time silenced, and on this conviction sentenced to be burnt (b). At the execution, in Smithfield, after his legs were consumed his body remained alive, and was at length put into the fire by the halberts of the civil officers, while his last words were, 'None but Christ, none but Christ.' The king was as much pleased with the affair as the party who duly magnified it, and they now began to obtain a considerable influence at court.

§ 216. One of the first effects of their success[1] was the issuing a proclamation which reprobated the marriage of priests without 'a common consent of his highness and the realm,' and prohibited those who ventured to marry, or retain their wives openly, from the performance of any sacred office, under pain of losing all their ecclesiastical privileges; but we may observe that the document was so worded as to screen Cranmer from any danger, whose wife

(b) Cranmer, unfortunately, on this occasion, argued against Lambert, in favour of the corporal presence. He was at this time a believer in transubstantiation, an error which he did not reject till 1546, in consequence of a conference with Ridley (Strype's *Cranmer*, i. 96). It has been asserted that Cranmer successively held the doctrines of the Romanist, the Lutheran, and the Calvinist, on this point (Laurence, *Bamp. Lect.* 16 and 202 (10).) But this he positively denied in his examination before Martin (Fox). The mistake probably arose from his publishing the catechism of Justus Jonas in English, in 1548, which might be supposed to contain the opinions of the Lutherans (Oxford edit. 208). But the point is there treated of so generally, that though the Lutheran doctrine appears to be maintained, yet neither of the other parties need be much offended at it. (See also § 280, a.)

[1] Strype's *Cranmer*, i. 98.

was at this time living secretly with him; while it held out the prospect of a change in the law respecting the celibacy of the clergy; and Bishop Ponet, or whoever else was the author of the Defence of Priests' Marriage, assures us, that the king intended to grant this liberty, but was hindered by the advice of certain counsellors, who pretended that his sanction to such an innovation would occasion offence among the people.

§ 217. It is not improbable that the unwillingness exhibited by the Protestant party,[1] to allow the king to dispose of all the church property, might have contributed to increase his inclination in favour of their opponents; for, in a committee of the parliament ([a]) which now sat (A.D. 1539), the parties were so balanced that neither side could hope to carry matters entirely according to their wishes; and, after eleven days' useless discussion, the duke of Norfolk, the great patron of the papal opinions, proposed for their consideration Six Articles, to the following effect:—

1st. [2]That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, but under these forms the natural body and blood of Christ are present.

2nd. That communion, in both kinds, is not necessary to salvation to all persons, by the law of God; but that both the flesh and blood of Christ are together in each of the kinds.

3rd. That priests, after the order of priesthood, may not marry by the law of God.

4th. That vows of chastity ought to be observed by the law of God.

5th. That the use of private masses ought to be continued, which, as it is agreeable to God's law, so men receive great benefit thereby.

6th. That auricular confession is expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the church.

Cranmer argued against the admission of them with all the eloquence and force of which he was possessed; but the king himself publicly advocated their adoption, and spoke in their favour,[3] so that the enemies of the Reformation were finally successful, and the law of the Six Articles passed. The penalties affixed by this bill were cruel and severe. He who wrote or spoke against the first of these articles was to be punished by being burnt; if he controverted any of the others, by perpetual imprisonment; but if the opposition were wilful, and he preached against them, he was

([a]) In this parliament, writs were issued to the mitred abbots: it met April 28th. Strype says (*Mem.* i. 542) that the same questions were agitated in convocation, and decided in the same manner.

1 Strype's *Cranmer*, i. 103.
2 Speed, 780, 31 Henry VIII. c. 4.
3 Strype's *Cranmer*, i. 104.

liable to be condemned to death. The punishment affixed to the non-observance of religious chastity was, for the first offence, the loss of benefice, as well as goods and chattels; for the second, death. This clause was said to have been inserted by Cromwell, that the severity of the act might be felt by both parties.

§ 218. Another act passed for the suppression of all monasteries; and though, in this session, eighteen abbots were present in the house of lords, yet no protestation was recorded. The object of this bill was, in reality, to legalize the previous surrenders, and no additional steps were taken in consequence of it. This was followed by one for the erection of more bishoprics (a), and another, which gave to the king's proclamations, under certain limitations, the force of law.

It is extraordinary that the proceedings which followed the passing the act of the Six Articles affected Cranmer in a very trifling degree, though he had openly opposed them, and at the king's desire had written a treatise against them: yet such was the love and confidence which Henry entertained towards the archbishop, that he would never even receive an accusation against him. The archbishop sent his wife into Germany privately, and continued in the performance of his ecclesiastical duties. He disliked several of the articles, and abhorred the severity of the act: but his opinions were not now diametrically contrary to the first article, and he complied. Latimer and Shaxton, on the other hand, esteemed it contradictory to the word of God, and conscientiously resigned their sees.

One point, however, was gained to the cause of the Reformation; a proclamation was issued for the printing of the Bible, which at the same time allowed the free use of it to individuals.

§ 219. The death of Jane Seymour had left the king a widower in October 14, 1537, and though the birth of Edward had provided him with an heir to the crown, it was not probable that a man of his temperament should remain long in this solitary condition. He had heard much of the beauty of Anne of Cleves; and Cromwell was well pleased to promote a match which was so likely to prove beneficial to the cause of the Reformation. When the king and the minister were both in favour of the marriage, it is natural that advantageous reports concerning everything connected with it should predominate, and that the charms of a future queen should be described in favourable colours. The disappointment, therefore, of Henry was the greater, when he beheld his destined bride; and

(a) N.B. Westminster was erected, 1540; Chester, Gloucester, Oxford, Peterborough, 1541; Bristol in 1542. Henry had many plans for erecting more (*Mem.* ii. No. 106). One scheme is given in Strype, wherein the number amounts to twenty.

though he was married to her (Jan. 6th, 1540), yet this consort seems never to have possessed the slightest portion of his affection. The fall of Cromwell was probably owing to this circumstance; for though the outward appearance of favour was continued, and though he sat in this parliament as lord-vicegerent, yet on June 13th he was arrested by the duke of Norfolk, and sent to the Tower. His fate was instantly decided, for few wished to save him; and no one, excepting Cranmer, ventured to plead his cause. He was condemned by an act of attainder, on some very extraordinary evidence of having threatened the king's life, and the sentence was put in execution on July 28.

§ 220. Thus fell one great instrument of the Reformation,[1] whose talents had raised him to the highest station attainable by a subject, and whose fall was more owing to the changeful disposition of his master than to any fault of his own. His exaltation from the lowest rank of life had exposed him to the envy and hatred of the noble and powerful, while the papal party looked on him as the great enemy of their cause. Deprived, therefore, through this unfortunate marriage, of the favour of the king, on which alone he could depend for support, and particularly obnoxious to those towards whom the affections of Henry were at this moment directed, he felt the unjust force of an attainder, where he was unable to answer for himself, and of which unfortunately he had introduced the precedent.[2] Nothing of any serious nature was laid to his charge, from whence it may fairly be inferred that no such evidence could be adduced; for had it existed, there was nothing to hinder its production. His great merit, independent of his own industry and abilities, consisted in bringing forward men on account of their talent rather than interest.[3]

§ 221. This was the first step towards the dissolution of the objectionable marriage, which was afterwards brought before the convocation, and annulled on the plea that the king's consent to it had not been inward and full, a circumstance which was absolutely required to make the sacrament complete, and upon the further ground that the marriage had never been consummated. This decision, however absurd in itself, seems to have perfectly satisfied the princess, who was contented to be treated as a sister, and to reside in England on a pension of three thousand pounds a year. She wrote to her brother, the duke of Cleves, signifying her full concurrence in all these proceedings.

The king was married immediately after to Catharine Howard, an event which gave additional power to the papal cause, for she was niece to the duke of Norfolk, whom every one regarded

[1] Burnet, i. [2] See § 227. [3] Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* i. 562.

as the chief patron of that party. Add to which, that those Protestants, who had previously shared the favour of this variable monarch, were now in too much danger for themselves to come forward in the defence of others, so that the attainder of Barnes for heresy passed without any opposition, and he was burnt in Smithfield, without even knowing the grounds on which he was condemned. He had indeed preached at St. Paul's Cross against Gardiner, but this offence had apparently been forgiven: and Barnes, as well as Jerome and Gerard, who suffered with him, had, after a conference with the king, renounced errors which they probably never entertained. But this could not save them; the spirit of persecution was now let loose, and its effects were felt by many of the advocates of the Gospel.

It is the observation of Lord Herbert,[1] that 'these punishments did but advance their religion:' and 'it was thought they had some assistance from above, it being impossible, otherwise, that they should so rejoice in the midst of their torments, and triumph over the most cruel death.' The cruelty of the king, however, was not confined to the reformers; on the same day an equal number of Roman Catholics were executed for denying the supremacy.

§ 222. (A.D. 1541.) No one had now any very material influence over the mind of Henry; and the cause of the Reformation met with different success, according to accidental circumstances, and the changing opinions of the king. In May the Bible was printed, and ordered to be set up in all churches. This was not in itself any very important step, for the same injunction had been before made; but every proclamation of this sort increased the facility of access to the word of God; and wherever the Bible is in the hands of the mass of the people, their teachers cannot long impose on them the doctrines of men instead of the commandments of God.

(A.D. 1542.) The discovery of the former ill life of the queen led to the attainder of herself and her accomplices; and an enactment was made(a), not more remarkable for its severity than folly; as if laws could provide for female chastity, while the conduct of the other sex tended to overthrow the bulwarks of the sacred institution of marriage.

An attempt was made in convocation to suppress the English Bible, against which great objections were raised, on the grounds

(a) It was enacted, that if the king were about to marry a woman whom he esteemed a maid, and she, not being so, did not reveal it, that she should be adjudged guilty of treason; and that any other persons who were conscious of the same, and concealed it, should be esteemed guilty of misprision of treason.

[1] *Life of King Henry*, p. 226.

of its incorrectness; and Gardiner presented a list of words which did not admit of translation (ᵇ). But Cranmer, knowing that the correction of inaccuracies would proceed but slowly in the hands of those who were adverse to the general distribution of any translation at all, used his influence with the king; and, to the great displeasure of the clergy, the examination of the Bible was referred to the universities.

§ 223. In the injunctions which were now set forth by Bonner, for the diocese of London,[1] and which probably correspond with those of other bishops of the same period, there are many good directions given to the clergy, with respect to their own lives and the performance of the pastoral duties; and they are particularly forbidden to allow any one to preach in their cures, who had not been licensed by the bishop or the king.[2] The evil which might thus have arisen to their flocks from the want of preachers was obviated, as far as possible, by a set of homilies now published; a useful step in a period of so much irritation, and calculated to calm the angry passions, which so greatly injured the cause of true religion (ᵃ). During these troublous times such of the clergy as were licensed to preach were so frequently attacked on account of their expressions, that many adopted the custom of writing their sermons, which has since generally prevailed.

(A.D. 1543.) An act was passed during the early part of this year, of a very mixed and heterogeneous character, which is said by Burnet (ᵇ)[3] to have been framed by Cranmer, and yet had a tendency to suppress the use of the Bible. It contains internal evidence of the conflicting interests and divided power which belonged to the two parties in the kingdom, and strongly marks the distracted state of religion at this period. It favoured the Protestant, by ordaining that spiritual persons should not be burnt for heresy till after the third conviction; that lay persons should in that case be subjected only to the loss of their goods and chattels, and to perpetual imprisonment; and that all parties,

(ᵇ) They consist of about one hundred, of which the great mass are perfectly capable of being translated without any loss of meaning. In some few cases, the original words are retained in our present translation; as Tetrarch, Synagogue, Gentile, Pagan, Parable, &c. See Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* p. 238; Lewis, 145, &c.

(ᵃ) Of these there is an imperfect copy in the Bodleian; the title is, '*The Epistles and Gospels, with a brief postel upon the same*,' &c. It is recognised by Richard Taverner, and printed, *cum privilegio*, by Richard Bankes. The copy in Lord Spencer's library has the date of 1540, but the title appears not to be exactly the same.

(ᵇ) It should, however, be observed, that Burnet is, with regard to this act, more than ordinarily inaccurate.

[1] Burnet, *P.* i. *B.* iii. *Coll.* No. 26.
[2] Burnet, i. 317, fol. 575, 8vo.
[3] Burnet, i. 321, fol. 583, 8vo. Lewis, 148.

when accused, should possess the privilege of vindicating themselves by witnesses. On the other hand, Tyndale's translation of the Old and New Testament[1] was prohibited, and as there was no Bible printed which did not contain some part of this version, it was almost impossible for any one to be free from danger, if he possessed a printed copy of the Scriptures. At the same time the free use of the Bible itself was confined to persons of a certain rank, while others were restricted to the Primer, and such other books as had been or should be set forth by his majesty since 1540. Two provisos, however, did in reality confer on the king the power of doing what he pleased; for the act of the Six Articles was declared to be still in force, and the king was permitted to alter any part of this act. Subsequent events soon proved how insufficient these enactments were, as a safeguard against the bigotry of the bishops and the religious tyranny of the throne.

This was followed by another more important step,[2] the revision and republication of the *Institution of a Christian Man*, which now appeared under the title of the *Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of any Christian Man*, and was denominated the King's (c) Book, as being put forth by royal authority.

§ 224. Catharine Parr, whom the king married in July, was a secret friend of the new doctrines: but her influence was not sufficient to guard some unfortunate men against a persecution which took place at Windsor,[3] where there existed a small society of favourers of the Reformation. Four of them were brought before a jury, composed of tenants of the church, and being convicted of heresy, on frivolous pretences, three of them were burnt. In consequence of some evidence which transpired at this trial, a plot was formed against certain members of the royal household; but the framers of it were convicted of perjury, and suffered for that crime. These accusations did not end here; for Cranmer himself was secretly attacked;[4] and Henry, who bore him a sincere love, suffered the project to be carried so far as to discover the authors of this accusation against the archbishop: and they were many of them persons to whom his grace had shown much kindness; yet he took no further notice of their ingratitude, than to require of them repentance, and a confession of their fault;[5] for no one was ever better acquainted with the precepts or practice of forgiving injuries than Cranmer.

(A.D. 1544.) Before the expedition against France in which

(c) See Appendix B. § 271, &c.

[1] Lewis, 148. [2] Strype's *Ecc. Mem.* i. 284. [3] Fox, ii. 468.
[4] Strype's *Cranmer*, i. c. xxvi. [5] Strype, 174.

Boulogne was taken, a litany in English had been published, which corresponds with our present one in almost every particular, except that the invocation of saints and angels was still retained, and there was a petition against the tyranny of the pope. To this work psalms and private devotions were added; and in the preface, the utility of private prayer in the mother tongue is particularly insisted on. The correct notion also of Christ's presence in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, seems to be delivered, in an explanation of the Lord's Prayer, as a paraphrase to the fourth petition(a). In the following year (1545), a collection of prayers was published, which was formed by the new queen herself.

§ 225. Several reformers were about this time advanced to the bench, so that the party among the heads of the church, which was more immediately connected with Cranmer, acquired considerable strength. Holgate was made archbishop of York, Kitching supplied his place at Llandaff, Heath was translated to Worcester, Holbeach became bishop of Rochester, Sampson went to Lichfield and Coventry, and Day succeeded him at Chichester.

In the parliament of this year, all chapels, chantries, and fraternities were given to the king, under which titles the universities conceived that they might possibly be comprehended; but on a representation made to the king, he confirmed them in their privileges. The answer which the king made to the speaker, when he presented these bills, breathes nothing but good sense and moderation; advising the people to lay aside that virulence which had been shown on religious subjects, exhorting them to live peaceably, to further and advance all useful instruction, to have charity one towards another, and to love and serve God. After such expressions as these it is wonderful that in the next year (1546) the same man should exercise a violent and unjust persecution against his fellow-creatures, who were at least harmless, however erroneous in their opinions he might esteem them. Shaxton had been for some time a prisoner in the counter in Bread-street, and was accused of having denied the corporal presence; for this he was condemned to the stake; but he confessed his error, recanted, and preached a sermon at the execution of Anne Askew, who was soon after burnt in Smithfield. It was suspected that this gentlewoman was favoured by certain ladies at court, with

(a) The words are, 'The lively bread of the blessed body of our Saviour Jesu Christ, and the sacred cup of the precious and blessed blood, which was shed for us on the cross;' not as he is in heaven, but as he was on the cross, and therefore as a type or memorial of a past event (Burnet, i. 330, fol. 8vo. 600; iii. 668, fol. 8vo. 283). Strype says he never saw the book; and Burnet's account of books must always be taken with great caution. I do not know whence the words are taken. They do not occur in Marshall's or any other Primer, that I am acquainted with; nor in the Bishops', or King's Book.

many of whom she was acquainted; so that Chancellor Wriothesley, who was a vehement persecutor of the reformers, hoped to have obtained some information from her with reference to this point; but having endured the rack,[1] which the chancellor is said to have inflicted on her himself, she confessed nothing, and suffered with three others under the act of the Six Articles.

§ 226. On this occasion, too, the same attack was directed against Cranmer;[2] and Henry, to try how far the malice of his enemies would go, allowed him to be summoned before the council, having beforehand provided him with his own signet, in order that he might appeal to the royal judgment. When he was about to be brought before this prejudiced tribunal, he was treated with so much disrespect, that though a member of the council which was to examine him, he was suffered to remain some time standing in the lobby among the footmen and messengers. For this disgraceful piece of neglect, Henry very severely rebuked his council, and strongly testified the affection which he bore towards his most faithful servant. The queen also was in very imminent peril from a conspiracy formed against her; her prudence, and a fortunate discovery with respect to this plot, enabled her to preserve herself. Gardiner had spoken to her prejudice, in consequence of her frequently disputing on religious topics with the king; and when he had excited the suspicions of his majesty, Henry agreed that she should be apprehended and examined; which were but other names under which total ruin was concealed. By the carelessness of the chancellor, the queen became possessed of a paper containing an account of these projected steps. She soon after introduced the subject of divinity, while in conversation with her husband; and when he hinted at her having opinions of her own, she parried the blow, and said, that if in conversation she had assumed more upon herself than became her sex and station, it was but to entice him to a subject on which she obtained so much information.

§ 227. The execution of the earl of Surrey (Jan. 19, 1547) may be considered as the last act of this reign; for though the attainder of the duke of Norfolk was subsequent, yet the death of the king (Jan. 27) himself, prevented the execution of the sentence. It was remarkable at once for cruelty and injustice, and affords another instance of the danger of admitting a trial, where the parties are not suffered to confront the witnesses who are brought against them. This evil example was set in the case of those who were attainted with the marchioness of Exeter and countess of Salisbury; in which case Cromwell consulted the judges, who

[1] Fox, ii. 488.

[2] N B. Strype, xxviii. places this two years earlier. See § 224.

answered, That it was a dangerous question, that the parliament, which should be an example to other courts, ought carefully to observe the strictest justice; but that as it was itself supreme, whatever it decided must be the law: the precedent was followed in many other cases, and Cromwell himself fell by it. The number of persons who were executed in this reign was very considerable(a); for independent of those who fell in the cause of religion, the king himself was sanguinary towards those who were about him; and excepting in the case of Cranmer, he seems to have instantly forgotten the services of men on whom he had bestowed his confidence; and no sooner did they become the objects of suspicion, than they experienced the selfish severity of their master. He appears indeed to have been sensible of the merits of his ministers, and few kings have been more fortunate in this particular; but the good opinion which he entertained of them was no security against a change in his affections, and this was generally followed by persecution from their political opponents, and ended in a tragical fall.

§ 228. Henry possessed considerable natural abilities, and these had been improved by study; so that in point of understanding, few monarchs seem to have been better calculated for the performance of an important part; the sentiments of his heart appear to have been originally noble and generous, yet all these qualities were destroyed, or rendered pernicious, by the want of self-restraint of which he was the victim. Possessed of power at an early age, and unfettered by any constitutional restrictions, he soon found that his own will was law; and where this point was or might be questioned, he bore down all semblance of opposition by the severity of his measures (a). Wolsey was the early minister of his pleasures, as well as the guide of his political conduct; and the secret by which he ruled his self-willed pupil was by making him unable to govern himself. The flattery of applauding churchmen prevented him from being contented with the character of a learned theologian, to which he had much claim, and transformed him into a bigoted dogmatist. And yet to the last he possessed great liberality

(a) And for testimonies in this kind, some urge two queens, one cardinal (*in procinctu* at least), or two (for Pole was condemned though absent); dukes, marquises, earls, and earls' sons, twelve; barons, and knights, eighteen; abbots, priors, monks, and priests, seventy-seven; of the more common sort, between one religion and another, huge multitudes (Lord Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.* 267). The countess of Salisbury was mother to Cardinal Pole; and her execution, two years after her attainder, has left an indelible stain on the character of Henry.

(a) If it be asked how Henry became possessed of power to do this, it must be remembered that the crown and the church had destroyed the power of the aristocracy, so that when the church was humbled, the king stood alone.

of sentiment, where he was not irritated by having his vanity offended; but whenever he was contradicted in matters of religion, or when his own desires were thwarted, he became ungovernable and cruel: on such occasions he overruled justice, and proved himself a capricious tyrant, in spite of all the estimable qualities with which nature had bountifully supplied him. But even his very vices were by the providence of God made the instruments of beneficial results: his desire to divorce Catharine destroyed the papal power in England: his tyranny, and the influence which he exercised over his subjects, enabled him to dissolve the monastic establishments; a power which must have impeded every step towards reformation, had they been continued in existence; and with regard to their destruction, if he had been troubled with a very scrupulous conscience, he would never have resorted to the means by which he accomplished this stupendous work. Had all the property thus taken from the patrimony of the church been vested in the crown, it would have rendered it independent of parliamentary grants, and have furnished the means of continuing a tyranny, as injurious perhaps to the country as that of a foreign power, balanced by the royal authority: but the profusion of the king, and the rapacity of his court, entirely freed the country from any danger on this head, and ultimately threw the wealth, which their forefathers had so grossly misapplied, into the hands of individuals, who are the safest guardians of the public property.

§ 229. It may be convenient, in this part of the history, to mark the points which had been gained in the Reformation, as well as to enumerate such particulars as still wanted alteration.

The power of the papacy in England was for the time annihilated, not merely by legislative enactments—for acts of parliament had always proved inadequate to curb an authority which set law at defiance—not merely by taking away the wealth of the supporters of so monstrous a scheme of oppression, but by breaking the charm which had given energy to the whole, by weakening the force on which this machine depended for its motion. The superstitions of the church of Rome had been attacked in their very origin, and many of the more gross of her idolatries had been put down by the civil power; but the method which had been most successfully adopted was that of allowing the people to think and judge for themselves. The Bible and the three Creeds had been declared to be the rule of faith; the use of the Bible had been granted to the people, and they were directed to read the word of God, and to learn from it their duty towards Him and their neighbour. The wealth of the monastic orders was taken from the former possessors most unjustly; but they were legitimately deprived of the real source of their riches, when the notion of

purgatory was discountenanced, and when in the instructions delivered to the people no mention was made of this doctrine, from whence the influence of the church of Rome is derived. The translation of the Bible was authorized by the government; copies of it were distributed throughout the kingdom; and the Litany was published in the mother tongue. The people had now, then, the means of instruction; and to the rising generation these blessings were insured by the injunction that the children in every parish should be instructed in the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Belief, and that these elementary subjects should be fully explained to them by their spiritual guides.

§ 230. But the act of the Six Articles was still in force. Still was it a capital offence to deny the corporal presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper: the cup was still denied to the laity; and unnecessary and compulsatory restraint was imposed on the marriage of the clergy; and those who had taken vows of chastity were still obliged by law to continue in their single state. To this, perhaps, as individuals, they had no right to object; but to the body politic, a forced celibacy is apt to become a state of real licentiousness (a). The use of private masses was continued, the necessity of auricular confession was still sanctioned, and the Latin language still used in the mass. The power of the ecclesiastical courts was still continued, and the nature of such tribunals was most oppressive to the subject. It was not that they armed themselves against vice and immorality, or were formidable to the evil doer; but their processes were so indefinite, that no one could esteem himself secure against the sentence of such a court: and those churchmen who possessed any authority under these jurisdictions were enabled to exercise oppression to an unlimited amount, since they could enforce by civil penalties the spiritual decisions of the church. Confession put the clergy in possession of the secrets of society, and continued an influence, injurious even if exercised on Christian principles; which makes one man the keeper, and not the adviser of another's conscience; which deprives the laity of that sense of personal responsibility to God which a future judgment will require; which makes the priesthood, in their desire to guide the actions of their flock, convert religion into an *opus operatum*, and change Christianity into a system in which the unimportant devices

(a) As a confirmation of this assertion, the reader may not be displeased at seeing an answer of Mr. T. Lawney to the duke of Norfolk, upon the passing of the act of the Six Articles: 'O, my Lawney (said his grace to his old chaplain, knowing him of old much to favour priests' matrimony), whether may priests now have wives or no?—If it please your grace (replied he), I cannot well tell whether priests may have wives or no: but well I wot, and am sure of it, for all your act, that wives will have priests' (Strype's *Cranmer*, c. viii. p. 49).

of men are more regarded than the love and the fear of God, that love which gives obedience its charm, and renders our imperfect performances acceptable at the throne of grace.

§ 231. If it be asked what effect the Reformation in Germany had on that in England, and why so little notice has been taken of the events which were passing there, it must be answered in excuse, that the limits of the work necessarily confine our researches to those topics which affected our own church, and that the history of the foreign churches scarcely comes under this denomination during the reign of Henry VIII. If we except that secret influence which the alterations in religion, which then took place, must have had on the minds of any people, who were at all connected with them, these foreign changes probably little retarded or advanced the corresponding steps, with the details of which we have been engaged. The dispute between Henry and Luther had alienated the good-will of the monarch from those proceedings, which he himself was about so soon to imitate; and the opinions concerning the divorce expressed by many of the German divines (viz., that though the marriage were unlawful, they did not approve of the divorce), had not tended to conciliate him. Yet when he was embarked in an opposition to the authority and power of Rome, the common interests of both parties naturally disposed each of them to connect themselves with the other.

§ 232. After the publication of the confession of Augsburg in 1530,[1] the Protestant princes assembled at Smalcalde wrote in 1531 to the kings of France and England,[2] with the view of obviating the ill effects which false reports, concerning what had been done in Germany, might have produced in the good opinions of those sovereigns. Henry sent them a very civil and characteristic answer, in which he acknowledges the necessity of some reformation, expresses his anxiety for it, and his wish that a general council might be assembled, but points out the danger of admitting such violent remedies as some levellers had desired to introduce.

In 1535, Fox, Heath, and Barnes were sent ambassadors to Smalcalde,[3] where proposals were made to them by the Protestant princes, that the king should approve the confession of Augsburg, and become the patron or defender of a league established for its support; that they should endeavour to promote the calling of a council, which might be really free, and there advocate their doctrines; that they should oppose the authority of the pope; should engage in certain conditions of mutual defence; and when matters were more advanced, should send a learned embassy to England. Henry agreed to most of these terms (1536), but was

[1] See it in the *Sylloge Confessionum.*
[2] Strype's *Mem.* i. 348.
[3] Sleidan, 145.

probably rather disposed to receive an embassy of divines, in order that they might alter their own confessions according to his advice, than inclined to model his own faith in unison with their decisions. He was, however, particularly anxious that Melancthon might visit him in England.

In March, 1538, the Protestants met at Brunswick,[1] and Henry sent C. Mount there, to learn their object in meeting, and to discover whether they were likely to send the embassy and Melancthon. They on their part wished to learn his objections to the Augsburg confession, but gave a commission to their agents now sent to discuss these topics with the English divines. Burgrat and his colleagues had much communication on the subject, and probably agreed better with Cromwell and Cranmer, than with the sentiments of the king himself. The discussion was ended by a letter[2] addressed by them to Henry, in which they object to three points—the denial of the cup to the laity—the continuance of private masses—and the celibacy of the clergy. An answer was sent them in the name of the king, drawn up by Tonstal, bishop of Durham, who defends each of these particulars. Melancthon wrote to Henry early the next year in remonstrance, and the German orators were again sent to renew the conference[3] (1539); but the act of the Six Articles was passed soon after, and subsequently no real progress was made in the Reformation during the reign. Whatever effect, therefore, might be produced by this connexion, in the next reign, we can hardly trace any benefit arising from it in the present.

[1] Lord Herbert's *Life*, 213.
[2] Strype's *Mem.* i. 526.
[3] Burnet, i. Addenda, No. vii.

DATES RELATIVE TO THE DISSOLUTION OF MONASTERIES.

1535. The visitation of monasteries began in October.—Burnet, 184, fol.
Nov. 13. The first resignations are dated this day.—Burnet, Rec. iii. No. 3.

1536. Before April 14, the act for the dissolution of the smaller monasteries passed.—Burnet, 194, fol.

1537. A new visitation of monasteries.—Burnet, 235, fol.

1539. An act legalizing the dissolution of monasteries, and granting them to the king.—Burnet, 260, fol.

1540. *April* 22. The knights of St. John of Jerusalem suppressed.—Burnet, 275, fol.

1545. Colleges and chantries given to the king. The universities are confirmed.—Burnet, 338, fol.

APPENDIX A. TO CHAPTER V.

ON THE DISSOLUTION OF MONASTERIES.

241. Questions to be discussed. 242. Monasteries, originally beneficial to society. 243. Benefits of sanctuary. 244. Monasteries practically beneficial. 245. Architecture. Books. Trades. 246. Monasteries, by degrees, become less useful. 247. Are favoured by the people. The effect of celibacy with respect to them. 248. Monasteries overturned by Henry's rapacity. Plans for employing this wealth. 249. Education for diplomacy. 250 Impropriations. 251. General education. 252. Property more valuable by distribution. 253. Evils felt at the dissolution of monasteries. 254. The transfer of property ultimately produced good. 255. Much evil was produced at the time. 256. Libraries were destroyed. 257. Labourers unemployed. 258. Amount and effects of this transfer of property. 259. The ultimate result, beneficial. Benefits of a church establishment.

§ 241. The dissolution of the monastic establishments in this country forms so striking a feature in the reformation of the church, that the subject seems to claim a more full and distinct discussion than has been already given to it.

The whole question, perhaps, belongs to the civil, rather than the ecclesiastical historian, as affecting in a greater degree the temporal, than the spiritual concerns of the country; but in our happy constitution the interests of the church and the state are so vitally blended, that any event which considerably affects the one cannot fail to be of great importance to the other.

In this case, it is indeed possible that the monasteries might have been retained, and the original objects of the foundations have been complied with, under such modifications as were admitted into our colleges; the Reformation might, on this supposition, have proceeded as it did; and the same preponderance of property have been retained in the hands of ecclesiastical persons, without preventing those changes which took place in the doctrine and discipline of the church. But it may be useful to inquire what portion of these alterations is in any way due to the transfer of property itself, and whether, without it, these changes would have taken place at all. And again, whether, if the property had been retained in mortmain, and appropriated to other general purposes, the body politic would, or would not, have been benefited; in short, to see the effect which monasteries had on England,

and to trace the political alterations which their dissolution has produced.

§ 242. In reviewing the earlier periods of our history, we shall probably be compelled to admit the utility of monastic societies. While the country was a prey to barbarism, and the ravages of war were continually overturning every approach to security, the veneration paid to religious houses must have tended to soften and humanize the mind, as well as to form a barrier against the actual destruction of property.

Among the Saxons, the introduction of Christianity was accompanied by these establishments, which polished the rude institutions of the inhabitants of England, while the religion itself contributed more effectually to the same end, by working on the hearts of the individual converts. When, then, the Danes commenced their system of plunder, the monasteries, which had become numerous, formed the chief points against which their attacks were directed. Superstitious hatred might, it is true, have guided the invaders to the places dedicated to the worship of a God whom they despised; but the frequent recurrence of the same sacrilege arose, more probably, from avarice; and these pirates learnt, by experience, that the habitations of the monks contained the riches, as well as the religion of the country; while the feeble efforts which were generally made in their defence promoted the recurrence of the same aggressions.

§ 243. The conversion of the Danes to Christianity restored, in some degree, the dilapidated monasteries, and re-established them in their ancient rights and privileges; a step which would hardly have been taken, unless the idea of utility had been connected with such foundations; for the very privileges, which afterwards became so injurious to society, were then of material advantage to it; and when the want of law and civilization armed the hand of every man against all who offended him, the reverence which was paid to the rights of sanctuary provided a powerful remedy against the violence of passion (a). In all this we may trace a strong resemblance to the institutions of the early Greeks, among whom the same evils were guarded against, by provisions corresponding in many respects. The Conquest was so far from rendering these safeguards unnecessary, that the power of the clergy, particularly of the monastic orders, formed a most salutary check on the ferocious tyranny of the barons; and the terrors with which the church was armed by its property, as well as the influence of the

(a) By Alfred's laws, it appears that asylum was only afforded in the sanctuary for a time appointed by law, and varying, according to the circumstances, from three to more nights. See Johnson's *Canons*, A.D. 877, § 2, &c.

court of Rome, not only prevented acts of aggression, but proved a continual restraint on men who needed every check which might retain them within the bounds of civilized intercourse, and the humanities of life.

§ 244. Every lay fief, held upon the tenure of military service, was, in reality, a premium upon war. In invasion, it formed the prize towards which the soldier looked: in seasons of tranquillity, it provided the soil on which fresh troops might be raised, either for the defence of the kingdom or the extension of conquest. All ecclesiastical property, on the other hand, tended to promote the cultivation of peace: it was the price paid by the public to those who fostered the arts, and who possessed the only learning of which the nation could boast. The object for which such donations were made, was, it is true, superstitious, but their ordinary effects must have been, in some degree, beneficial; for mankind would otherwise have more quickly seen through the delusion on which such foundations rest; and would never have continued to promote establishments which not only employed a large portion of the wealth of the kingdom, but of which the practical tendency must have been daily brought before their eyes.

§ 245. English architecture may be said to owe its origin to ecclesiastical bodies, not only because they required extensive places of worship for their use, and were possessed of wealth adequate to their construction, but the designs and execution of the work itself were frequently furnished by the members of monastic fraternities. The whole of the book learning of the country was in their hands; and to this they added those arts which are connected with ornamenting MSS., artificial penmanship, and minute painting and gilding for illuminations. Their talents were also often directed to objects of more obvious and immediate use; for they frequently superintended certain species of manufactures within their walls, and converted the raw materials with which their lands furnished them into articles ready for the market. In all this, the sanctity which was attached to the religious body answered the great end of all political institutions, the security of property: and at a period when every other tenure was uncertain, religion, deformed as it was in many respects, provided a safeguard against violence, which enabled the monastic orders to cultivate the substantial good of the country.

§ 246. Society in the different stages through which it passes, requires changes of institutions corresponding with the advancement of civilization, or the progress of the arts. Chartered companies, for instance, may have enabled a number of persons to engage in trades, and to enter into speculations, to which individually they might have been unequal; but, when the commerce

has long been in existence, the regulations of such a company may become injurious to the further improvement of it. The same observations will apply, probably, to establishments calculated to foster civilization; and thus the prevalence of the monastic orders may have prevented those improvements in manufactures and moral habits, which their existence originally promoted. As the law became strong enough to protect the innocent, sanctuaries which had previously answered this purpose, furnished an asylum for the guilty only, and counteracted the force of legal authority, in aid of which they had been established. For a time, the arts flourished within such foundations; but the very nature of them precluded that healthful activity which constitutes the wealth of a nation, and can alone continue to diffuse throughout a country the advantages of real information. In these bodies, on the contrary, the road to honour and preferment was so confined by the prejudices of the ruling powers, that they contributed little to the dissemination of general knowledge. The countless multitudes who by the increasing superstition of the times were admitted into the religious orders became a burden to the state, inasmuch as their pursuits were directed to objects little beneficial to mankind. The number of teachers who can be employed to advantage must soon be limited by the population of a country; the services of religion are supplied by a comparatively small number of functionaries; and learning, if confined to the walls of a convent, and not brought forward by competition or applied to the purposes of general life, will soon degenerate into trifling and superficial pedantry, and be sought no further than as it may deceive the vulgar. In the very manufactures which were exercised under the superintendence of the monks, the accidental advantages which they possessed enabled them to create monopolies; and their power and influence in procuring a market stood in the way of that freedom of trade, which is the only sure basis of internal prosperity.

§ 247. These establishments, then, had in their origin been most useful to the nation; but as the alteration of circumstances made them less necessary, the influence of superstition produced a continued increase to their numbers, while their augmented power still added in an alarming degree to the extent of the evil. It was in vain to expect a remedy from new laws; for the effect of every enactment will invariably become paralyzed, whenever it acts against the immediate interests of the ruling part of society. The nobility could not be restrained from contributing to the support of foundations, where their children received their education, and where the younger branches of the family found a ready asylum, when the resources of the paternal estate were inadequate to their support. To the rest of the kingdom, the power of

the church formed as it were a barrier against the tyranny of the great; and the lands of monasteries were generally let on terms so advantageous, that the tenant found his duty and interest combined in the defence of his ecclesiastical lord. The policy of the church of Rome kept this enormous body as distinct as possible from the rest of the nation; and celibacy, by which this end was principally effected, though it exposed the clergy to various temptations, and lowered them in general esteem, could not fail to direct all their energies to the glory and augmentation of that society to which they belonged (a).

§ 248. The ostensible plea on which this property had been acquired, chiefly depended on a false idea of a state of purgatory; and if the majority of the clergy were sincere in such a belief (a point which we can hardly doubt), these innovations (a), which must have at once alarmed the consciences and the worldly interests of so large a number of persons, could hardly have been introduced without the application of much external force. It seems probable, then, that unless the rapacity of Henry and his courtiers had previously scattered the wealth, and thus destroyed

(a) The following Table will give some general idea of the number of religious houses founded in each reign. (Tanner's *Notitia*, p. viii.)

	Reigned Years.	Monasteries Founded.	p.a.	Colleges in the Universities.
William I.	20	45	2,25	
William II.	13	29	2,41	
Henry I.	35	143	4,08	
Stephen	18	146	8,11	
Henry II.	34	163	4,79	
Richard I.	9	52	5,77	
John	17	81	4,76	
Henry III.	56	211	4,78	3
Edward I.	34	107	3,01	1
Edward II.	19	42	2,21	3
Edward III.	50	74	1,48	5
Richard II.	22	21	1,	1
Henry IV.	13	12	0,92	
Henry V.	9	4	0,44	
Henry VI.	38	33	0,86	5
Edward IV.	22	15	0,68	1
Edward V.				
Richard III.	2			
Henry VII.	23	few		2
Henry VIII.	37			6
		1,178		27

(a) It may be observed, that the transfer of property from one religious purpose to another was not now introduced (Collier, i. 650). In 1414, all alien priories not conventual were dissolved by an act of parliament; many colleges owe much of their wealth to this source, before the time of Wolsey (Tanner, *Notitia*, xxxiii. &c.), whose liberality of foundation chiefly consisted in suppressing monasteries to found a college to his own honour.

much of the worldly power of the church, the Reformation would hardly have taken place at this time. It was avarice which led them to make this attack on the property; but in attempting to defend their conduct, they examined the grounds on which these foundations were laid, and soon found the instability of a building which had neither sound reason in its favour, nor the revealed word of God for its support. Had this step never taken place, we might still have been blessed with the Reformation; but it would probably have been delayed, or have been effected with a violence which might have swept away with it many of our most valuable institutions.

It was the wish of many of the reformers, that the wealth of the suppressed monasteries might have been applied to some useful endowments; and the scheme is in itself so plausible, that few can have thought much on the history of the Reformation, without having sketched out some ideal plan which might have employed a portion at least of these large revenues. What was done in this way, viz. the erection of six bishoprics, and the foundation of fifteen chapters (ᵇ), several hospitals, and the two colleges (ᶜ) which are the glory of our sister universities, so strongly plead in favour of such an application, that to maintain a contrary hypothesis may seem to be an affectation of paradox, if indeed it be not chargeable with ingratitude in one who has passed the best years of his life within one of these establishments, and derived from that connexion the means of performing the greater part of that little good which he has been able to do in his generation.

§ 249. Henry certainly intended to have supplied many of the wants of the nation from this fund; but through the facility with which he granted it away, he defeated his own designs (ᵃ). Some of it was employed in the construction and improvement of harbours; but I have not been able to ascertain what portion of it was thus expended. It was the wish of Sir Nicholas Bacon,[1] that some provision should have been made for the education of youth, for the purposes of diplomacy, and that they should thus have been prepared for serving their country among foreign nations. But it

(ᵇ) Bristol, Canterbury, Carlisle, Chester, Durham, Ely, Gloucester, Norwich, Peterborough, Rochester, Westminster, Winchester, Windsor, Worcester, Wolverhampton; the annual value of these was rated at less than 6,000*l.* (Speed).

(ᶜ) Trinity College, Cambridge, and Christ Church, Oxford.

(ᵃ) Henry, with all the wealth which passed through his hands, was so improvident, that before the end of his reign, he had recourse to that dishonest and most impolitic measure of debasing his coin (Camden's *Elizabeth*, p. 49).

[1] Burnet, i. 269.

may well be doubted whether liberal instruction on general principles be not the most useful preparation for every line of life, and whether the early direction to a peculiar branch of study has not the tendency of confining the views of the student. Be this as it may, the sum thus expended would have been small, and the difficulty of the question at issue depends on the extent of the wealth so to have been applied.

§ 250. There is, however, one point which every well-wisher to the church must deplore, I mean the continuance of those impropriations which had transferred much of the property of the secular clergy into the hands of the monastic orders. While the society so endowed, furnished the parish with a spiritual pastor, there was some plea for the transfer of the income from the individual to the body of which he was the representative; but when the whole establishment was granted to a layman, the impropriation ought to have been restored to the person who had the cure of souls. The want of this arrangement so obviously just, has been of infinite injury to the country, by rendering many pieces of preferment inadequate (a) to support a clergyman in that rank of life in which he has been placed by society. This evil is now very sensibly diminished by the liberality of the crown, and by grants from parliament; but its existence has been one cause of the prevalence of pluralities, while for a long time it contributed to make the body less respected in the eyes of the world; for it must never be forgotten that mankind will judge by external circumstances, that a poor establishment will naturally be subject to contempt, and that men who are despised will often, by ceasing to respect themselves, become really despicable.

§ 251. But to recur to the question at issue. If it be asked, whether the property so seized might have been employed in a way more beneficial to the nation? it must be confessed, that in some points it most certainly might; but as a whole, it has probably fallen into hands in which the greatest advantage has been derived from it. We are not speaking of the justice of its application, but of its ultimate utility. Some of it might have been applied to promote education, particularly if we look to the northern parts of England; but real education is more truly promoted by exciting general activity through the division of property, than by any other means; by assisting those who are otherwise destined for learned professions, and thus enabling them to receive an education supe-

(a) It may not be amiss here to observe, that the stipend of the secular clergy was itself lessened by the Reformation, as much of the pay of the curate depended on what he obtained by saying masses for the poor, and on different small fees which the various offices of the church of Rome greatly multiplied. All personal tithes gradually ceased to be paid after the Reformation.

rior to that which their own pecuniary resources would supply. Where the expense of a classical education is wholly provided for the indigent, the youth whose lot was cast in a lower sphere of life is forced up into an unnatural competition with his superiors. For the aid of talent and genius, when found among the lowest ranks of life, charitable foundations are a national blessing; but surely in this point we abound; and though some of the wealth in question might have been advantageously turned into this channel, yet we are speaking of the enormous revenues of the church which were then dissipated, and which were much larger than these objects could require. In academical establishments much was accomplished by Henry, so that as far as the universities are concerned, the south of England has rather reason to be thankful for what has been done, than to repine that this branch was less extensive. This observation, however, cannot be extended to the northern counties; and in these, a place of academical education seems a great desideratum, particularly for the clergy, as the general poverty of the benefices will not allow those who are candidates for them to incur the ordinary expences of either of the present universities(a).

§ 252. The blessings which have flowed from the London hospitals seem clearly to prove, that much might have been usefully applied to similar purposes in other parts of the kingdom; but public munificence has amply supplied this want, and no one can doubt that where such places of relief owe their origin and support to subscriptions, they possess a greater likelihood of promoting the end for which they are destined. The question does not simply resolve itself into the discussion, whether such and such sums might not have been beneficially employed in education and charity; but whether the consequences of the distribution of property have not converted a larger sum to these very purposes, and provided that all the money thus employed should be more properly applied. Landed property belonging to bodies corporate is generally much less really productive, than the same quantity in the hands of an individual. The temporary nature of the tenure on both sides prevents any very strenuous exertions towards improvement; neither are willing to forego present advantage for the sake of future gain; so that the property itself becomes more valuable by the change of masters, while the growing wants of increasing prosperity will turn as much wealth into the course of education and charity as would have been employed in it upon the other scheme; add to which, that the supply of an open competition is not only more sure to be adequate to the demand, but the

(a) This was written some time before the splendid plan of the church of Durham was published to the world.

very freedom of it prevents the lethargy of repletion, under which wealthy bodies are but too apt to suffer.

§ 253. The estates, of which the church was deprived, were thrown into the hands of those who could not be entitled to them upon any plea; and while at the moment the nation was the loser, the court favourite alone derived advantage from the spoil. The poor were robbed of the rude hospitality with which the monasteries abounded; they were no longer provided with the same number of spiritual guides, who, with all their imperfections, must at least have equalled in point of information their lay contemporaries, and who, by being scattered through the country, must have furnished employment to a large portion of the lower orders. The farmer lost a kind and indulgent landlord, whose place was frequently supplied by a griping spendthrift; at the hospitable board which his own farm supplied, he was always a welcome guest, whenever he chose to partake of the liberality of the convent; the new proprietor, under whom he held, was occupied with the affairs of the nation and the court; and was scarcely known to him, but as the receiver of his hard-earned rents. The higher orders, who were not directly benefited by the plunder, felt the want of corrodies for their old servants (a), and were often distressed in providing for younger children, who would have been otherwise destined for the church.

§ 254. With all this in their favour, it seems wonderful that monasteries could have been overthrown with so much ease and rapidity; and for this difficulty we shall hardly find a solution, unless we consider the arbitrary power of Henry, and how much the clergy had made themselves the objects of hatred among the people by their vices, their superstition, and their tyrannical persecutions. As it was, the change produced a most formidable rebellion; and if the people could have foreseen the extent of the evil which this transfer of property was likely to produce, they would have resisted any such alteration: but fortunately they did not: for had their resistance been effectual the country would in all probability have been injured as to its true interests. Those who had become thus easily possessed of property were in the course of time forced to part with their ill-acquired wealth; and it is an observation worthy of attention, that few families really profited by church lands (a). This effect need not be attributed to the immediate vengeance of Heaven (for the land of laymen may be as truly dedicated to God as that of the church), but arose from this principle, that the rapacious are generally prodigal; and that however property may be

(a) The founder, or his representative, had generally a reserved right of quartering a certain number of persons on the convent.

(a) See Spelman on *Sacrilege*.

divided for a time, the industrious and virtuous will sooner or later become its possessors. And thus, before the expiration of many years, the spoils of the church were thrown into those hands in which they would produce the greatest good to the body politic.

§ 255. But the immediate effect was not at all that of promoting the welfare of this land. It was not the quiet transfer of wealth, accompanied by activity and prudence; but the forced dissolution of the right of property, and attended with waste and destruction. The tenants of the monastery were in many cases deprived of their leases, and the rents forced up to an unprecedented height. Those persons who possessed reserved rents on the lands of religious houses found such difficulty in obtaining their rights, when the property fell into the hands of the king, or a powerful subject, that they were often obliged to relinquish the claim; and where, as was frequently the case, the family of the founder had retained legally, or by tacit consent, the right of presentation to the preferments, the new owners of the soil deprived them of their privilege. Attempts were indeed made to obviate these evils; but who shall be bold enough to presume to set limits to violence, when the first principles of justice are destroyed? Or who shall check the rapacity of plunder, when the rights of property are systematically disregarded?

§ 256. Barbarism seems to have joined hand in hand with avarice in the work of destruction; the moveable parts of religious houses were quickly carried off and sold, and the dismantled building left to the pitiless ravages of time, a lasting monument of how much the Reformation cost us! The contents, as well as the fabric, suffered in the storm; the libraries were left to the ignorant possessor of the soil, or pillaged for the sake of the parchment and paper which they contained; so that the loss of English history is beyond conception; for the monks were the only historians of the times,[1] and in almost every monastery a record was kept, not only of the transactions of the society, but the political events of the period were regularly inserted; and when we have passed beyond, comparatively speaking, modern times, the monastic chronicles form the only documents for history.

§ 257. The improvements in agriculture did not of course keep pace with the alteration in the state of property; and the holders of large estates, in order to obtain the highest rents, found it necessary to convert much of their land into pasture. This circumstance reduced the ancient cultivators of the soil to a miserable state of precarious existence, and greatly promoted vagrancy and disorders, for which succeeding legislators in vain sought a remedy, till the establishment of the poor laws, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth,

[1] Fuller, 334.

connected the prosperity of the lower orders with the interests of the landlord. By the dispersion of so much property, many individuals were forced to earn their bread by labour, who would otherwise have wasted their lives in sloth and inactivity; but the mass of persons who were thus driven to exertion were not provided by education for cultivating any higher branches of even manual labour, and the nation found itself over-burdened with agricultural workmen at a time when the population did not amount to one-half its present numbers.

§ 258. We may easily conceive that this must have been the case, when we consider the amount of the sum transferred, which, according to Speed, was not less than an income of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, scarcely if at all below that of all the other church property (a). In our own days we have experienced

(a) There is much difficulty in forming an accurate estimate of the value of the property so transferred; but in the absence of substantial information, some readers may be pleased with having even an approximation to the real sum placed before them, and will excuse the author for presenting such data as are within his reach, defective as they are. Speed says, Henry transferred 161,109*l.* 9*s.* 7½*d.* to temporal uses.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
According to his abstract of dissolved monasteries they amounted to 1,100 in number, and their value was per annum...	171,312	4	3¼
Among these, I believe that several cathedrals are enumerated (Canterbury, Durham, Ely, Gloucester, Westminster, Winchester, Worcester), the income of which amounted to...	13,828	8	7¾
Reducing the sum total of the suppressed monasteries to...	157,483	15	7½
Subsequent foundations:—			
Five bishoprics: Bristol, Chester, Gloucester, Oxford, Peterborough, at the value in the king's book...	1,858	11	6
Westminster at the same average...	371	14	3½
Sixteen chapters (the stalls) including Christ Church, Oxford (Speed)	5,942	8	2
	8,172	18	11½
Leaving, independent of Trinity, Cambridge, and the London hospitals	149,311	1	8

The approximation to the value of the other church preferment, at the same date, is as follows:—

8,331 benefices (in Speed)	£108,182	6	3
Bishoprics and stalls (at one-eighth of this)... ...	13,522	15	0
	£121,705	1	3

(The one-eighth is taken as an approximation to the present proportion.)

Mr. Nasmith, in his edition of Tanner's *Notitia*, has given us from the *Liber Regis*, and other sources (Lingard, vi. Note E. p. 503), as accurate an account as can be expected of the annual revenue of all the monastic houses. The result is the following. (N.B. This must regard the larger monasteries only.)

the stagnation and distress produced by the change from a state of war to peace, and an alteration in the value of money, together with the want of employment which such causes have occasioned, and this accompanied with no violence, and taking place at a moment when the diffusion of knowledge had opened every avenue for adventure. We may conceive, then, a forcible transfer of property, not relatively less than what the church at present possesses in this kingdom, at a period when the employment of resources was little understood, and when the religion, with the rites of which these establishments were connected, was one which occupied many individuals in its services, and those of every different rank in society, and we shall be able to form some idea of the evils and difficulties with which this change was for the time attended. The acts by which it was brought about were undoubtedly legal, for they were sanctioned by the parliament; and the supreme body in a kingdom must have the right (b) to dispose of the property of any of its members; but the dissolution was carried on in opposition to every principle of sound policy, with a spirit which nothing can justify, and produced effects at the moment highly prejudicial to society.

§ 259. The ultimate result was unquestionably beneficial; for it turned all this wealth from a channel in which it was giving

No. of Houses.	Orders.	Revenue.
186	Benedictines	£65,877 14 0
20	Cluniacs	4,972 9 2½
9	Carthusians	2,947 15 4½
101	Cistercians	18,691 12 6
173	Austins	33,027 1 11
32	Premonstratensians	4,807 14 1
25	Gilbertins	2,421 13 9
3	Fontevraud Nuns	825 8 6½
3	Minoresses	548 10 6
1	Bridgettines	1,731 8 9¾
2	Bonhommes	859 5 11¾
	Knights Hospitalars	5,394 6 5½
	Friars	809 11 8¾
Larger M. 555		142,914 12 9¼
Smaller 375	with a clear revenue of	30,000 0 0
930		172,914 12 9¼

(Fuller, p. 312.)

This result, drawn from sources totally different from the former, is sufficiently near to show that no very considerable error has been committed in the investigation.

(b) The word *right* is used in its extreme sense. They have a power which no authority in England can contradict. The law does, under certain circumstances, deprive an individual of his property (as in cases of treason); it occasionally forces him to sell it. The question in reality is one of policy; but sound policy and justice are the same thing. It is in this sense that the parliament have the disposal of the revenues of the church.

birth to little activity, either of mind or body, into the hands of private possessors, who are of all people the most likely to promote the prosperity of the community. It is indeed probable that a larger portion might have been employed with advantage on hospitals and places of education, but that this sum ought not to have been considerable; and there can be little doubt that England would have been richer had the impropriations been restored (a). I mention this, because I believe that the value of a proper provision for the parochial clergy is often not understood, and often misrepresented. Had we never heard of such an establishment, and did we first meet in some Utopian scheme with such a project as the following, we should probably hardly imagine anything more perfect. That in every small district of the country a certain quantity of property was set apart, in order that some individual of the community, selected from any class, might be educated in a superior manner, and appointed to the superintendence of the spiritual and temporal wants of this little community; that he was furnished with a residence among them, and with the means of relieving the poor; and that all this was provided by a grant from the landed property of the country, made so long ago that it existed before any tenure at present on record. I imagine that if this plan were thus offered to our notice, no one would doubt of its utility or wisdom; and if in practice it be found less pure than it seems in theory, if the least promising of his sons be selected by the lay proprietor to hold the family living, if large preferments be given to unworthy persons, it should not be forgotten that, directly or indirectly, the laity are the patrons of the great mass of preferment in this country. Nor ought we to overlook this fact also, that a large portion of the livings of England are inadequate to repay the actual expenses of such a liberal education as is generally bestowed on the clergy of this land.

It would be absurd to expect, that a body possessed of such power and wealth as has been granted to ecclesiastical persons should be free from numerous assaults, in a country where free discussion on every subject is allowed; but it cannot be inconsistent with toleration, which is the glory of our church, or with charity, which characterizes our religion, to pray, that the attacks of our enemies may induce the church to remedy the evils which exist among us; and that those who are ignorant enough to revile our establishment may be convinced of their error by the benefits which they shall receive from their spiritual guides.

(a) See some good observations on the ill effects of impropriations in Speaker Williams's speech, January 15, 1563 (Strype's *Ann.* i. 437); and in the rough draught of a reformation in ecclesiastical law, under the head of Better Providing for the Poorer Clergy, impropriations are said to be *radix omnium malorum* (Strype's *Ann.* i. 479).

APPENDIX B. TO CHAP. V.

STATE OF RELIGIOUS OPINIONS IN THE CHURCH AT THE END OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

271. Three works published by authority. 272. The arrangement of the Thirty-nine Articles followed. 273. The Trinity. 274. Standard of faith. 275, 276. Points of faith referring to individual Christians. 277. Points referring to the church. 278. The Seven Sacraments. 279. Penance; Orders; Confirmation; Extreme Unction. 280. Lord's Supper; Matrimony. 281. Traditions; supremacy of the king. 282. Observations. 283. Points still wanting reformation.

§ 271. THIS abstract is made from works put forth by authority, which are in number three:

I. *Articles devised by the Kinges Highnes Majestie, to stablyshe Christen quietnes and unitie amonge us*—1536.

II. *The Institution of a Christian Man*, &c. 1537. This was dedicated by the bishops to the king, and is therefore called the *Bishops' Book*.

III. *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man, set forth by the King's Majesty of England*, &c. 1543. This was addressed by the king to his people, and is therefore called the *King's Book* (a).

It seems to be the generally received opinion (b), that the

(a) The three have been of late printed in one volume, under the direction of the late bishop of Oxford (Dr. Lloyd), at the university press, and are thus placed within the reach of every student in theology. They are entitled *Formularies of Faith*, put forth by authority during the reign of Henry VIII. 8vo, Oxford, 1825. In these observations, No. II. is called the *Institution*, III. the *Erudition*. In the preface to the *Three Primers*, printed 1834, by my late friend Dr. Burton, Reg. Prof. of Div., Oxf., he shows that many parts of William Marshall's *Primer*, 1535, have been introduced into the *Institution*, No. II.

(b) Probably among those who had access to the Scriptures, the opinions of the reformed church were gaining ground. The king had made a great and hasty political step, which was likely to introduce doctrinal changes, to which he had no inclination, and therefore retraced those steps which he had apparently taken (Burnet, i. 274, 286, and *Rec.* No. 21, fo.). In 1540, between the dates of these publications, two commissions had been appointed, one for the examination of the doctrines, the other, of the ceremonies of the church. The first sent in numerous answers concerning the sacraments, their number, nature, and efficacy; Confirmation, and the use of Chrism therein; the nature of Ordination, and the difference between Bishops and Priests; Confession and Excommunication, and Extreme Unction. These contain a fund of information. The other committee drew up a Rationale of the Church Service (Strype, *E. M.* ii. *Rec.* 109), a sort of explanation of the meaning of

doctrines of the Church of England were retrograde during the period in which these treatises were written; so that we might expect to find the last of the three the least distant from the tenets of the Roman church; and these expectations upon examination are in some degree realized. With regard to the two latter works, which in all material points are the same, it will be useful to specify the most marked differences as we proceed in discussing the general contents of the latter, which was the standard of faith when Henry died.

§ 272. The *Articles* themselves are in a great measure inserted verbatim, or nearly so, into the *Institution*, and from thence copied into the *Erudition*; but in one case, in which a material alteration is observable, it consists of the introduction of opinions which are less at variance with the doctrines of our church. In the exposition of the honour to be paid to saints, the Christian is in the *Articles*, 1536, directed to address them as advancers of our prayers to Christ, the only Mediator; whereas what is said in the latter tracts[1] places the intercession of the saints in heaven[2] on the same ground as that of the ministers of Christ's church on earth (a). The very dates, indeed, would lead us to expect no great difference between the first two works, though the change of opinion indicated by the passing of the act of the Six Articles, in 1539, might direct us to look for it between the *Institution* and the *Erudition*.

The order which it will be desirable to adopt in the following investigation is probably that of the Thirty-nine Articles of our own church; for the student in divinity will thus more readily discover the points in which we disagree. The tract itself is arranged on a totally different principle. It explains successively

the ceremonies used in the church of Rome (Collier, ii. 191); but it does not appear that any use was ever made of this (Strype indeed supposes (i. 546), that it was quashed by Cranmer), unless it served to direct those who made some alteration in the service book, 'Portiforium secundum usum Sarum noviter impressum, et a plurimis purgatum mendis. In quo nomen Romano Pontifici ascriptum omittitur, una cum aliis, quæ christianissimo nostri Regis Statuto repugnant. Excussum Londini per Edvardum Whytchurch, 1541.'

(a) With regard to Good Works there is perhaps a slight alteration (99, 372), in which the *Erudition* is nearer to the church of England; and an expression of the 'merits' of the saints being conveyed to the whole body of Christians, in the *Institution* (52 and 58), which is left out in the *Erudition*. The power of priestly absolution is more strongly marked in the *Institution* (98, 260), and the unlearned are in the *Erudition* directed to say the Paternoster in their mother tongue (335). There is also an excellent tract on Freewill in the *Erudition* (359), which does not exist in the other; as to the particulars wherein the *Erudition* had gone back towards the see of Rome, see § 263.

[1] *Formularies*, 14.

[2] Ibid. 70, 237.

the Creed, the Seven Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, and finishes with the exposition of certain articles on Freewill, Justification, Good Works, and the praying for souls departed. The elementary nature of the subject-matter explained, prevents, on many points, any great difference of opinion; and the difficulty which necessarily exists in marking the shades of progressive alterations must be pleaded in excuse, if in any particulars these distinctions should appear to be incorrectly laid down in the following pages(b).

§ 273. I.—V. In the first division of the Thirty-nine Articles, there is of course no material difference, as the church of Rome holds the doctrine of the Trinity in common with the Church of England.

§ 274. VI.—VIII. In the second division, wherein the basis or groundwork of our faith is marked out, the *Erudition* coincides, in fact, to a great degree, with the church of England, though in principle it differs from it most widely.[1] As a standard of faith, it admits the whole body and canon of the Bible[2] (*i.e.* the Apocrypha and all), the three Creeds, the decisions of the first four councils, and directs that the interpretation of the word of God shall take place according to the meaning of the words of Scripture, and as the holy and approved doctors of the church do agreeably intreat and defend.[3] The church of England neglects not the assistance of the holy fathers in the interpretation of Scripture; it merely rejects the authority of such interpretation, and receives the Creeds, not upon tradition, but because they do agree with the Bible.

The authority of the moral law is established in the adoption of the Decalogue as a rule of conduct; and in the rejection of the ceremonial ritual, all Christian churches agree. There is, however, one observation which is worthy of attention, in which it is asserted that the fourth commandment does not now pertain to Christians, though Christians are bound by it to the observance of the Sunday, and other holidays appointed by the church.[4] It is not indeed very clear what is meant to be conveyed by this exposition; for if it only refers to the change in the day of the week, the alteration has been admitted since the times of the apostles, but, as it now stands, it might certainly be extended to a length which few Christians would be willing to admit.

(b) The doctrines of the church of England are not here stated, since they may be found by consulting the Thirty-nine Articles, which, as they are printed in the Prayer Book, must be within the reach of every reader.

1 *Form.* 5, 61, 227.
2 Ibid. 324, 160, 210, 375.
3 Ibid. 227, 61.
4 Ibid. 306, 142.

§ 275. IX.—XVIII. In the third class of articles, in which points of faith referring to individual Christians are treated of, it will be necessary to examine each separate article.

IX. The doctrine of original sin is fully admitted,[1] though the exposition of it, in the *Institution*, is much more precise and copious,[2] in declaring the corruption of man's heart always abiding in him.

X. Freewill[3] is fully explained in an excellent little tract at the end of the *Erudition*, in which the positions correspond with our present article: I cannot help recommending it to the attention of my readers, particularly the concluding paragraph: 'All men be also to be monished, and chiefly preachers,[4] that in this high matter, they, looking on both sides, so attemper and moderate themselves, that neither they so preach the grace of God, that they take away thereby freewill, nor, on the other side, so extol freewill, that injury be done to the grace of God.'

XI. Justification is attributed to the free mercy and grace of God, through Jesus Christ, as its final and efficient cause;[5] and repentance, or penance, and a lively faith, are declared to be necessary to our receiving of the same: but on this point the *Institution* is more clear.[6] It asserts that the justification of mankind[7] could not be brought to pass by any works of our own, but by faith in the name and power of Jesu Christ, and by the gifts and graces of his holy Spirit. That our acceptance hereafter will take place,[8] not through works of righteousness which we shall have done, but by the only grace, goodness, and mercy of God, and by and for the redemption which is in Christ Jesus.

XII. Although rather more efficacy may be attributed to good works than in our Article,[9] yet the total inability of man to do anything pleasing to God of his own power is distinctly and clearly declared.[10]

XIII. XIV. Of works before justification, and of supererogation(ª), nothing is said; for though it be asserted in the *Institution*,[11] that the graces and merits of the church shall be applied to every member, yet the words do not necessarily imply any idea of supererogation. In these articles, XII.—XIV., the *Erudition* is the nearest to the opinions of our church.

§ 276. XV. The universal sinfulness of man is frequently

(ª) They are indirectly rejected, when it is said, 'By good works we mean not the superstitious works of men's own invention' (*F.* 370), wherein many called religious have trusted.

1 *Form.* 331, 363, 169. 2 Ibid. 171. 3 Ibid 359. 4 Ibid. 362.
5 Ibid. 368. 6 See § 283. 7 *Form.* 36. 8 Ibid. 60.
9 Ibid. 99. 10 Ibid. 372. 11 Ibid. 53.

implied; the efficacy of Christ's offering, as it were, assumes his freedom from sin; and the doctrine itself is distinctly asserted.[1]

XVI. The general efficacy of repentance, through Christ, pervades the whole of what is said on penance; and that the justified may fall, and rise again to newness of life, is asserted.[2]

XVII. In the doctrine of predestination, there is a difference between the two tracts; neither of them asserts it in that distinct manner in which it is contained in this article,[3] but the *Institution* admits the principle; the *Erudition* teaches it not, because it is not clearly taught in Scripture and the doctors.[4] The universality of the offer of grace and redemption is stated,[5] so that it is the fault of men themselves that they reject and resist grace.

XVIII. The article of obtaining salvation only through Christ is implied, though not asserted *totidem verbis*.[6]

On this class of articles, then, we may observe, that the doctrines here established nearly resemble those of our own church, though in some particulars the propositions are not advanced with that uncompromising distinctness of attributing all to God's mercy, without the intervention of man's works, which a further study of the subject dictated. Whatever was vitally important on these subjects is asserted; but the writer often seems to attribute an importance to man's own co-operation in his justification, which he subsequently modifies, so as to give the whole glory to God;[7] yet the fear of admitting Antinomian laxity, in establishing Christian faith, must plead a substantial excuse for those who had not yet practically learnt, that good works do spring out, necessarily, of a true and lively faith.

§ 277. In the fourth division of the articles, it will probably be advisable to continue the same method of examining them.

XIX.—XXI. The doctrines contained in the nineteenth article[8] are, to a certain degree, in accordance with those expressed in the *Erudition*, excepting that the breach with the church of Rome is, in the Thirty-nine Articles, distinctly brought forward; whereas the framer of the *Erudition* wished, if possible, to have preserved a communion with her, as far as was consistent with his ideas of the truth. There is, therefore, no mention of the errors of the church of Rome in matters of faith;[9] for while the independence of each national church is asserted, it is added, that a diversity of rites does not destroy the unity of the whole. The remaining positions of these articles are not touched upon; for at this time no doubt was entertained of the authority of the church

1 *Form.* 65, 67, 232. 2 Ibid. 367. 3 Ibid. 53, 52.
4 Ibid. 224. 5 Ibid. 360, 365. 6 Ibid. 36, 363.
7 Ibid. 368, 371, 2. 8 Ibid. 245, 55. 9 Ibid. 247.

(*i.e.* the king) to ordain what she pleased, and nothing is said of general councils.

XXII. The people are directed to abstain from reasoning on purgatory,[1] inasmuch as the state of the dead is uncertain, and pardons from Rome are called abuses, and unequivocally rejected; but prayers for the dead, masses and exequies for the whole Christian community of the quick and dead, are denominated charitable works, and approved of. In the remaining part of the article, the *Erudition* speaks a language at total variance with our church. Images are allowed of as books for the unlearned,[2] and no objection is made to adoration or prayer made before images, provided it be addressed to God. The invocation of saints,[3] that is, the asking for their prayers, is approved of, as corresponding with a request of a similar nature, addressed to the ministers of God's word,[4] or a faithful Christian brother who was still on earth.

XXIII. XXIV. Concerning ministering in the congregation, there was, at that time, no difference of opinion; and excepting in the translation of the Litany in the King's Primer, the use of the Latin service had not been altered.

§ 278. XXV. The *Erudition* still retains the use of the seven sacraments(a); but it must not be forgotten, that this question is, in a great degree, merely concerning the name, for, at the same time, it makes a distinction as to the necessity of the sacraments, and qualifies what it says about them, so as to be much less distant from the church of England, than might be supposed at first sight.[5] The three necessary sacraments are, Baptism, Penance, and the Lord's Supper. The other four are, as divine institutions, called *sacraments*, but are not binding, of necessity, on every one. The minister of the church of England would say, that baptism, repentance, and the Lord's Supper, were necessary for all men, though he would esteem repentance merely as a Christian state of mind, and totally different from the other two; and he would acknowledge that the other four were, when divested of some superstitious non-essentials, religious observances, which the church of England has done well in retaining among her services. Whether we denominate any or all of them *sacraments*, must be

(a) This part of the *Erudition* differs considerably in point of form and arrangement from the *Institution*, but the doctrines do not seem to be materially altered. According to Burnet (Rec. No. 21, book iii.), the whole subject had been examined with great care by a committee of divines, whose answers upon each head are severally recorded, and strongly mark the judicious caution with which this work was carried on.

1 *Form.* 375, 211.
2 Ibid. 299, 137.
3 Ibid. 237, 70.
4 See § 272.
5 *Form.* 293, 129.

allowed to be a question of human prudence. The term, properly speaking, is not used in Scripture, and if μυστήριον [1] be applied in an ecclesiastical sense, as equivalent to sacrament, it is given to matrimony alone. The question really is, whether the difference of being instituted by Christ himself, personally, constitutes such a distinction as to warrant the church in affixing a separate name. In this, the *Erudition* differs from the church of England.

In baptism, the only difference which exists,[2] consists in retaining the use of the chrism.

§ 279. It should be observed concerning penance, or its almost equivalent term repentance,[3] that the sacramental part consists in the absolution given by the priest; and that absolution pronounced authoritatively to an individual, unless it be accompanied by confession, or at least a declaration of the grounds of confidence in the penitent, is but a mockery of religion. When, therefore, I have stated what my own idea of the doctrine of the church of England is on this point (for I believe that many men, equally good judges of the subject, might differ from me herein), I shall proceed to point out the differences which the *Erudition* exhibits.

In order that sinners may be made partakers of the only remedy for sin, the death and merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,[4] the conviction of sin within ourselves, and the humble acknowledgment of it to God, is absolutely necessary; for which purpose, the confessing our transgressions to our brethren, particularly to the ministers of God's word, is frequently useful; and in cases where the mind is troubled, the special declaration of God's merciful pardon to the individual may beneficially be made by those to whom 'the word of God' (*i.e.* 'the keys of the kingdom of heaven') hath authoritatively been intrusted.

The church of Rome would, I believe, say, that the confession and absolution were, humanly speaking, absolutely necessary for salvation. The medium which the *Erudition* observes is this; contrition would send the penitent to the priest,[5] he would confess his sins, submit himself to discipline, as a part of the satisfaction for them, in order to show his willingness to return to God; always understanding that the real and whole satisfaction depended on the merits of Christ, while what he did himself was but the fruit of a contrite heart; and that upon this he would receive absolution authoritatively pronounced. At the same time the confession to the priest is said to be commanded by the church from its utility;[6] and the universal efficacy of repentance, even

[1] Ephes. v. 32. [2] *Form.* 292, 127. [3] Ibid. 257.
[4] Service of the Visitation of the Sick; and Exhortation to the Lord's Supper.
[5] *Form.* 259. [6] Ibid. 261.

without absolution (in the absence of a priest), or of good works (provided there be no time for the sinner to perform them), is fully declared.

On this view of the subject, it is evident that the *Erudition* is much nearer to the church of Rome than to ourselves, and the point is of much more importance than it appears at first sight; for though in practice our church may too much neglect confession, and the consequent exercise of the priestly authority, yet the opposite extreme is far more dangerous, as it converts the priesthood into the judges, not the guides of the people; since the undue influence of the Roman Catholic clergy over their flocks does in reality hinge on the necessity of absolution in ordinary cases.

The question concerning Orders, between the church of England and the church of Rome, regards chiefly the name, whether or no they shall be called a sacrament; but on this subject there is a point which requires observation, as the *Institution* and *Erudition* differ from both,[1] in declaring that there are only two orders mentioned in Scripture, those of deacons or ministers, and of priests or bishops; and the *Institution*[2] seems to speak of bishops as a human appointment, in the same manner as the jurisdiction of archbishops, metropolitans, &c. over bishops, is declared to be an arrangement made by men: the papal supremacy is totally rejected, and kings are exhorted to reduce it.

In Confirmation, which was still called a sacrament, the use of the chrism was retained.[3]

Extreme unction was so called, as being the last unction used by the church; the others are given at Baptism and Confirmation; but if we except the anointing, nothing is said of this sacrament which a Protestant might not adopt with regard to our corresponding service, the Visitation of the Sick.

§ 280. XXVIII.—XXXI. The *Erudition* retains the whole of the doctrine of transubstantiaton (a),[4] and the denial of the cup to the laity. It allows, too, of the utility of masses[5] performed for the universal congregation of Christian people quick and dead.

With regard to matrimony, the difference between the churches

(a) In the Articles and *Institution*, the corporal presence is spoken of in such general terms as might be used by a Lutheran, as well as a Roman Catholic (*Form.* p. 100). This, however, could hardly have arisen from any change of opinion, but must be attributed to the obscurity of the subject, or at most to a desire to draw, as near as possible, to the Lutherans; while the distinct assertion of this doctrine in the *Erudition* may have arisen from the persecution against the sacramentaries which had since taken place.

[1] *Form.* 281, 105. [2] Ibid. 118. [3] Ibid. 290, 95.
[4] Ibid. 263, 5. [5] Ibid. 376.

of Rome and England is merely as to the name. We call it a religious rite, confirming the civil contract, they a sacrament.

XXXII. Of the celibacy of the clergy nothing is said in the *Institution*, and it is only indirectly mentioned in the *Erudition*;[1] but we must remember, that in the meantime it had become a part of the law of the land, by the enactment of the act of the Six Articles.

§ 281. XXXIV. The doctrine concerning traditions and ceremonies is nearly the same as ours—viz., that it is not necessary that they should be the same in every place, and that they cannot be correct if contrary to the word of God.[2] Of the two next Articles of course nothing could be said, as the Homilies and Ordination Service were not then put forth.

XXXVII. The king's supremacy is frequently and strongly enforced,[3] and it is curious to remark how much more this is attended to in the *King's Book* than it is in the *Bishops'*; at the same time the authority of the see of Rome is frequently declared to be usurped. In the remaining articles we do not differ from the church of Rome. And on those subjects on which nothing is said in the formularies, the mention of the articles referring to them has been omitted.

§ 282. In estimating the steps, then, which our church had advanced at this period, we cannot but observe that in point of doctrine very little had been effected. In that class of our articles which pertain to the salvation of the individual, there is a very marked agreement with the tenets of our church. But it must not be forgotten that the Roman Catholic differs more from the Protestant as to the means whereby the convert may be made partaker of the blessings of God's grace, than as to the source from which that grace and mercy flow; so that the general positions of both correspond much more nearly than is commonly supposed. The acknowledgment of the helplessness of man without the aid of God is common to us both; nor do either deny that there is no remission of sins or salvation but through Jesus Christ. As to the ordinary means of obtaining this grace, the *Erudition* coincides more with the church of Rome than with ourselves; and the only real point gained is the denial of the papal infallibility, a doctrine which prevents investigation, and hangs like a dead weight on every improvement or reform which religion or prudence would desire to introduce. It forms a barrier without an outlet, but which God enabled his servants to break down through the ambition and evil passions of Henry VIII.; and when this was once done, even in those points in which the tenets of popery were concerned, and in which Cranmer was prevented from

[1] *Form.* 293. [2] Ibid. 246, 56. [3] Ibid. 286, 120, 304, 310, 311.

expressing his genuine opinions, the principle is often in fact surrendered, while the name is retained, and many portions of those doctrines, which had been found by experience to be productive of evil, are mitigated and explained away.

§ 283. At the end of the fifth chapter a brief account was given of those points wherein the church still needed reform, and it may be useful here to state some of the particulars in which the Reformation had gone backward between the periods at which these two tracts were published. The advances which had been made may be seen § 272, and note (a).

With regard to transubstantiation, the point introduced was the statement that 'the substance of the bread and wine do not remain after consecration;'[1] a question of fact which, like the miracles performed by our Saviour, must be judged by the senses.

The cup, too, was denied to the laity.[2]

The expression of praying for the 'quick and the dead'[3] is introduced; there was no change, excepting in the use of the words.

Many ceremonies are specified, about which nothing is said in the *Institution*. 'As the hallowing of the font, of the chalice, of the corporace, of the altar, and other like exorcisms and benedictions.'[4] In speaking of justification by faith, the *Erudition* calls God 'the principal cause and chief worker of this justification in us,'[5] but 'it pleaseth the high wisdom of God that man' shall be also 'a worker by his free consent and obedience to the same.' Expressions which are indeed afterwards qualified.

To these we must add the compulsatory celibacy of the clergy.

Upon the whole, then, we must conclude that in doctrinal points the church had gone backward, and that the discussions which had taken place, and the examinations of the several subjects, had been outbalanced by the influence of the Roman Catholic party, and the passions and prejudices of the king.

[1] *Form.* 2 3. [2] Ibid. 265. [3] Ibid. 375.
[4] Ibid. 310. [5] Ibid. 364.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI., FROM 1547 to 1553.

301. Lord Hartford protector. 302. Images pulled down. 303. Cause which retarded the Reformation. 304. Royal visitation. 305. Homilies. 306. Gardiner and Bonner. 307. Acts of Parliament. 308. Communion service. 309. Confession. 310. Gardiner imprisoned; Cranmer's Catechism. 311. Celibacy of the clergy. 312. Acts of Parliament; the attainder of the admiral. 313. Transubstantiation; consubstantiation; doctrine of the church of England. 314. Disputations on transubstantiation. 315. Anabaptists. 316. New liturgy. 317. Risings among the people. 318. Bonner deprived. 319. Fall of the protector; ordination service. 320. Gardiner deprived. 321. Hooper; nonconformity. 322. Review of the Common Prayer. 323. Ridley's visitation. 324. Foreign churches, and foreigners in England. 325. The forty-two articles. 326 King's preachers. 327. Mary refused the use of the mass. 328. Character of the protector. 329. Acts of Parliament. 330. Poverty of the church. 331. See of Durham dissolved. 332. Edward's three foundations in London. 333. Lady Jane Grey. 334. Character of Edward. 335. State of the church. 336. Erastianism of the church of England. 337. Opinions of Cranmer. 338. His plan of reforming: the civil power finally established the alterations. 339. The commissions of the bishops, and conduct of Cranmer. 340. He saved episcopacy. 341. Documents of the church of England of Lutheran origin. 342. Wisdom with which the documents of our church were drawn up.

§ 301 (a). Edward VI., who was in his tenth year (Jan. 28, 1547) when the death of Henry VIII. called him to the throne, was by his father's will placed under the guidance of a council, the several members of which were invested with equal powers; but the preponderating influence of Edward Seymour, earl of Hartford, and maternal uncle to the king, who was created duke of Somerset, soon enabled that nobleman to acquire a decided superiority over his colleagues, and to obtain for himself the chief authority in the kingdom, under the title of protector. The retiring disposition of Cranmer made him less inclined to interfere in temporal affairs, and Wriothesley, by putting the court of chancery in commission, in order that he might attend to the concerns of the state, gave such an advantage to his political opponents, that they deprived him of the seals, and granted the protector letters-patent, by which he afterwards held his office. This circumstance was favourable to

(a) Burnet is throughout this chapter and the next the chief authority, but it is unnecessary to mark every reference.

the cause of the Reformation, for the political connexions and interests of his family, as well as his own inclinations, led him to favour this side of the question, and to co-operate with Cranmer in promoting its advancement.

§ 302. The advocates of reform at this moment not only had to contend against their open enemies, the friends of the old superstition, but were equally endangered by the injudicious zeal of their own hasty and unthinking allies; who, without waiting for authority, began to remove images, and make other alterations, which caused an unnecessary irritation among the Roman Catholics, and were calculated to raise up a spirit of innovation in the reforming multitude. Some persons, therefore, who had been engaged in these transactions, were brought before the council and severely reprimanded, but no punishment was inflicted on them, through the interference of such members of that board as were convinced of the impropriety of retaining images in places where religious worship was carried on. Cranmer indeed was so thoroughly sensible of the injurious tendency of this practice, that he was anxious at once to remove them entirely; and the populace, probably aware of the wishes of those in authority, ventured to commence the work of destruction. But Gardiner, on the contrary, still continued to maintain their utility, and wrote for this purpose to the duke of Somerset and Ridley, so that the question was brought under discussion; and whenever this is the case, it may always be hoped that truth will ultimately prevail.

§ 303. Another circumstance led to the examination of masses for the dead, in which the result coincided with that in the present case. Henry VIII. had left considerable property to the church of Windsor for the purpose of obtaining annually for his soul a certain number of masses and obits, acting, in this case, as many a sinner has done before him: he practically denied, by the whole tenor of his conduct, his belief in purgatory; yet, at his death, his last will testified that he still retained it: he destroyed the institutions which had been erected solely in consequence of this superstition, and so tried to persuade others that the idea of it was groundless, yet proved by his bequest that he still entertained a hope that it was true.

The progress of the Reformation, however, was by no means so rapid as might have been expected. The people in the larger towns, indeed, began by degrees to open their eyes to the corruptions of the church of Rome; but when, at the dissolution of the monasteries, provision was made for each of the monks, payable till such time as they were furnished with benefices, the surest step was taken to continue the diffusion of the old opinions. By this enactment it became the interest of the court of augmenta-

tions, and of those who had purchased monastic property subject to the payment of an income to the old members of the previous establishment, to take every means that these persons might be introduced into fresh preferments. Men, therefore, whose prejudices almost necessarily led them to dislike the Reformation, were thus scattered everywhere as instructors of the people, and every vacant benefice to which a cure of souls was attached, and which therefore was not tenable by a layman (a), was given to some ejected monk, and the guidance of the parish committed to one who was most likely to mislead them with regard to the Reformation. Add to which, that the poverty of the church not only prevented men of liberal education from entering into holy orders, and thus curtailed the number of ministers, but rendered such as served the poorer parishes of necessity friendly to doctrines (b) from which they had derived their chief support: while the stock of information possessed by the clergy was generally insufficient to direct them to the truth, or to point out the superstitious and injurious tendency of the religious opinions which they professed.

§ 304. In this posture of affairs, it would have been impolitic to leave the cause of the Reformation to the tranquil effects of increasing light and knowledge; its adversaries were widely spread, and invested with much power to oppose the progress of any such principles of amendment; and Cranmer, therefore, wisely determined to use the authority and influence which he possessed, in order to advance the cause which he had so much at heart.

(September 1st.) The act of parliament which had given the force of laws to the proclamations of Henry VIII. had continued the same prerogative to the counsellors of his son, while under age, and on this authority a royal visitation for ecclesiastical matters was appointed. In addition to the injunctions given to the late visitors, curates were directed, in those now published,[1] to take down all images which had been abused by false devotion, and to avoid such customs as tended to superstition; but the people were forbidden to interfere in any such matter. A greater strictness in the observance of the Sabbath was enjoined, and the ministry were ordered to renew and increase their zeal and activity, in

(a) Burnet, ii. 7, says that it was ordinary at that time for laymen to hold preferments without cure of souls. Protector Somerset had six good prebends promised to him, two of these being afterwards converted into a deanery and treasurership. Lord Cromwell had been dean of Wells. Sir Thomas Smith, who was in deacon's orders, though living as a layman, was dean of Carlisle (Strype's *Life*, p. 31).

(b) A large portion of the income of a curate depends, in Roman Catholic countries, on the fees which are paid him for the performance of masses and other rites connected with the service of the church.

[1] Sparrow's *Collection of Articles*, &c.

preaching within their own churches, in reading the portions of Scripture (a) appointed for the service, and in performing their other sacred duties.

§ 305. In order to supply the deficiency of preachers, the first book of homilies was published in July,[1] and began to fix the standard of the faith of the church of England as it is now established. To assist the unlearned in the interpretation of Scripture, it was ordained that the Paraphrase of Erasmus (a) should be set up in every parish church: at the same time the petition for the dead in the bidding prayer (b) was altered to nearly its present form, and severe penalties imposed on simoniacal presentations. In the injunctions transmitted to the bishops, they were directed not only to preach themselves, but to take care that their chaplains also did so, and to admit none into orders who were not qualified for the office, and willing and able to perform their clerical duties, particularly that of preaching.

§ 306. The success which attended the arms of the protector in Scotland gave his party, and the friends of the Reformation, such a superiority as enabled them to proceed with vigour in putting these injunctions in force. We can hardly now be aware of the political necessity which might then have existed, for using severity towards those who did not assent to these alterations and injunctions, though of the general impropriety of such an attempt there can be little doubt. The mass of the clergy had been admitted to their benefices as members of the church of Rome, and their unwillingness, therefore, to change their creed, could never form a just ground for temporal punishment. Bonner and Gardiner were the chief objects of this persecution, the former of whom was committed to the Fleet prison for a short time, notwithstanding the submission which was forced upon him; but Gardiner remained there for a longer period; and his whole conduct on this occasion exhibits him in more favourable colours than at any other period of his history; his letter to Sir J. Godsave is very much what the

(a) In 1542 it had been ordered that a chapter out of the New Testament should be read at morning and evening service, on Sundays and holydays, and that, when the New Testament was finished, they should go through the Old (Strype's *Mem.* i. 580).

(a) The Paraphrase of Erasmus on the Gospels and Acts was translated into English chiefly by Nicholas Udal, under the patronage of the queen dowager, and published in 1547; the translation of the rest was printed in 1549, and again in 1552 (Strype's *Mem.* II. i. 45).

(b) The bidding prayer is that used before sermon, wherein the preacher directs his hearers to pray. The term comes from *bede*, a Saxon word, signifying a prayer, which is retained in the English word, 'bid.' Old forms of this prayer may be found in Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* i. Coll. No. 37. Burnet, ii. No. 8. iii. No. 29. Collier, ii. No. 54. The one in present use is in the 55th Canon, 1603.

[1] See § 412.

remonstrance of a bishop should be on such an occasion. He professes himself ready to suffer rather than to admit anything contrary to his conscience, and signifies his determination not to surrender the liberties of the subject, without petitioning against a proceeding sanctioned by the regal authority alone: his chief objection was directed against the third homily, on the Salvation of Mankind, because it excluded charity from the work of justification; nor was he satisfied with the Paraphrase of Erasmus, of which he said, that the English translation contained many additional errors beyond those exhibited in the Latin. A letter which he addressed to the protector on his return from Scotland breathed the same strain, and complained that he had now been detained seven weeks in the Fleet prison without servants or attendants, and contrary to law and justice. But this was as ineffectual as the last, and he remained a prisoner while the parliament sat, a severity which must probably be attributed to Cranmer, and can hardly be justified. It appears indeed to have produced some sort of remonstrance from the Lady Mary, who always expressed it as her opinion, that the affairs of religion should remain in the condition in which her father left them, till her brother was of age to judge for himself; a position generally advanced and maintained by the friends of that party.

§ 307. However tyrannical these proceedings of the council may appear, there seems no reason for accusing that body of any design of establishing an undue authority; for the first acts which were passed in the parliament assembled in the autumn revoked most of the severe laws enacted towards the end of the last reign. In this number were comprehended those concerning treason and Lollardies; that of the Six Articles, as well as the particular one under which they had been acting, and which gave the force of law to the royal proclamation. This was followed by another act on the Communion, in which severe censures were imposed on those who ridiculed the mass: but it was ordained that the laity should receive in both kinds, and that no private masses should be celebrated; a most important step in the cause of Reformation, for it cut at the root of most of the superstitions, and made the people view religion as a concern of their own, and not as an *opus operatum*, which might be left to the priest without any co-operation on the part of the congregation. Some acts were also passed relating to the temporal affairs of the church. By one law which now passed, it was ordained that bishops should in future be appointed by letters-patent, and not by a *congé d'élire* (a), and that all processes

(a) The difference of these two forms is as follows: Bishoprics are in theory elective by the several chapters of the cathedral churches. The *congé d'élire* signifies the vacancy to the chapter, enjoins them

relating to matters not purely spiritual should be carried on in the name of the king; an enactment which took away all controlling power from the ecclesiastical courts themselves, and compelled them to punish any neglect of their orders by excommunication; so that this sacred and awful process is frequently degraded by being used without any adequate reason, and in cases where there may be no moral offence. The nomination of the bishops virtually made little difference, as to ecclesiastical appointments, but with respect to the other part of the bill, either too little or too much was done. No causes, not purely spiritual, should have been left to the cognizance of these courts, unless some temporal power had at the same time been conceded to them: and this mistake has created an odium against these tribunals, which the church cannot remedy, and which originates in the heterogeneous nature of their composition. The lands belonging to chantries were now given to the crown, much against the wishes of Cranmer, who hoped, by continuing them till the king became of age, to have preserved a large fund for the future benefit of the poorer clergy. In the first draft of this bill the words ran, 'chantries, hospitals, fraternities, and colleges;' and as these expressions might have been so interpreted as to take in the universities, much exertion was made by those who understood the value of establishments for education,[1] and a clause inserted to prevent their being comprehended under these general terms.

§ 308. (A.D. 1548.) The new year commenced with several very important steps in the reformation of religious matters. Directions were issued for the removal of all images, as well as the suppression of many superstitious ceremonies; a proclamation was made against 'the abuse of churches,'[2] which were exposed to many indignities, and made the scenes of riot and confusion; and severe threats held out against those who ventured to run before the civil authority in the abolition of such points as were still sanctioned by the law of the land. In order to prepare the way for the formation of the Book of Common Prayer, a committee was appointed to examine the services, who, on account of the pressing need of

to elect a bishop, and names a given person whose election would be agreeable to the king. If the chapter were to refuse the person so nominated, they would incur a præmunire, as trying to curtail the royal prerogative. Letters-patent nominated the bishop to the performance of all episcopal offices, which he was to perform in the king's name. In both these cases the spiritual dignity was conferred by the consecration which took place subsequently; so that in neither does the sovereign interfere with the priestly offices, any more than the lay patron of a living does with the ordination of a candidate whom he nominates to it.

[1] Strype's *Life of Smith*, 29, Cheke.

[2] Strype's *Cranmer*, 251.

some alteration in the mass, commenced with the Communion Service, by proposing questions on the nature of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, to which the several members were required to send in their respective answers; and though many documents of this description were destroyed in the days of Queen Mary, yet this is preserved, and is curious, as marking the care and anxiety used in drawing up this necessary and invaluable work. It is printed in the Collection of Records of the History of the Reformation, No. 25. The points in which their sentiments differ from the church of England are, that most of them still retained a belief in transubstantiation, that they approved of masses satisfactory, and of praying for the dead, and that many of them objected to the use of the vulgar tongue for the whole of the ceremony, though they consented to the reading and explaining the Gospel in English.

§ 309. The Communion Service, which was published on March the 8th,[1] does not essentially differ from the one now in use, and in its composition Cranmer appears to have made no unnecessary alterations, but to have retained whatever was innocent in the service of the mass: the work itself indeed appears to be an intermediate step between the old and the new offices; for such parts of it only were in English as more particularly related to the general communicant; while the rest, even the consecration of the elements, was not translated.

In the exhortation, read the day before the celebration of the communion,[2] the people are allowed to use or to abstain from auricular confession, and warned against entertaining uncharitable opinions with regard to those who differed from themselves in this particular. The evils and abuses arising from this custom had so alienated the minds of most men from it, that it was readily dispensed with; but it has proved a misfortune to our church, that the tide of opinion has carried us too far towards the opposite extreme. The Scriptures never speak of confession as obligatory in such a sense as the injunctions of the church of Rome had ordained. Confession to a priest is nowhere mentioned as absolutely necessary; but reason, as well as the word of God, strongly points out, that to acknowledge our faults, especially to one vested with spiritual authority over us, must be a most effectual means of restraining us from the commission of sin; and wherever the congregation has been scandalized by our transgressions, surely a public avowal of our errors must prove an obvious method of making all the retribution which we can, not to God, but to offended society; nor can we doubt that the Almighty will accept such an outward

[1] Sparrow's *Coll.* 13. [2] Ibid. 18.

act of humiliation. This was in all probability the whole extent of the penance of the early church; but the power with which private confession invested the priest, together with the profit to the ecclesiastical body with which absolution was gradually accompanied, transformed that which was instituted for the glory of God, and the salvation of mankind, into an engine of papal authority. The indulgences offered in the *Hours after the Use of Sarum*, the book of devotions then generally adopted in England, would move at once our derision and pity for an age which could admit such absurdities, did not the proffered pardons now hanging in foreign Roman Catholic churches convince us that the spiritual safety of the people can never be ensured by any state of civilization, whenever the holy Scriptures are practically not the standard by which men measure their duties, and the groundwork on which they found their reliance.

In the church of England the confession of particular sins is recommended in the Exhortation to the Sacrament, and the Visitation of the Sick; but so little are we accustomed to this most scriptural duty, that these recommendations are frequently unknown and generally neglected, while scarcely a vestige remains of ecclesiastical law for the restraint of vice; and though the punishment of many offences has been wisely transferred to the courts of common law, yet the laxity which prevails with regard to numerous breaches of the law of God may be well esteemed a deficiency in our national duty.

§ 310. About the middle of this year Gardiner fell into fresh troubles. The point in which he probably offended the ruling powers was by denying, as far as he dared, the supremacy of the council. But the friends of the Reformation do not seem to have acted with that spirit of forbearance which befitted so good a cause, and the want of which contributed to excite the spirit of personal hostility with which the reign of Mary was disgraced, and which fell with tenfold severity on the heads of the reformers. The protector appointed Gardiner to preach before the king, and wished to have compelled him to adopt in his sermon certain notes written with the king's own hand; but, with a proper spirit of independence, the bishop of Winchester declined taking notice of this interference, and upon this he was imprisoned. About the same time Cranmer put forth his Catechism. This work was translated from a German Catechism, used in Nuremburg, through the medium of a Latin version made by Justus Jonas, and is probably due to the labours of some of the chaplains of the archbishop. It is not improbable that the Latin version was brought into England by Justus Jonas the younger, when he was driven from his own country through the severity with which the Interim was imposed,

and hospitably received, among other confessors, by Cranmer. On this supposition we may attribute the Latin version to Justus Jonas the father, a man of much celebrity among the German reformers. The English translation is generally made with much closeness, but in some instances new matter has been introduced into the text(a).

§ 311. (Nov. 24.) In the parliament which was assembled during the autumn a bill was brought in to enable the clergy to marry; it passed through the commons without any great opposition, but in the lords met with such delays, that it did not receive the royal assent till the spring of the next year. The question at issue was really divisible into two heads: first, whether any law of God enjoined celibacy in the clergy; and, secondly, whether the clergy were themselves bound by any oath voluntarily taken, and which could not be dispensed with. With regard to the first of these, there is no difficulty; for I believe that the church of Rome pretends to no higher authority than that of ancient custom, sanctioned by the enactments of the church; and against this, the examples of the apostles and the primitive church are so strong, that the ecclesiastical advantages to be derived from the celibacy of the clergy must form its only tenable ground of support: and here the evils of forcing human beings in this particular have been so strongly experienced as to overbalance, in the opinions of moderate reasoners, all the benefits which may result from a single life among the priesthood when undertaken in a voluntary manner. With respect to the second particular, it appears that the secular clergy were under no vow of living single; for even the vow of chastity, which existed in the Ordination Service of the foreign churches, formed no part of that used in England; and had it been so, chastity is probably more safely guarded by marriage than by abstinence. At the same time, there is so great a semblance of self-devotion in abstaining from the innocent pleasures of life for the sake of religion, that it is no wonder if the abolition of celibacy among the ministers of religion were frequently objected to the reformers. But, on the other hand, its practical results, and the judgment of such men as Ponet, Parker, Ridley, and Redmayne, who argued in favour of the marriage of the clergy, though some of them abstained from it themselves, serve strongly to convince us of the superior wisdom of Almighty God, who has so formed the laws by which the universe is directed, that we exercise the soundest human policy when our institutions approach the nearest to the dictates of his revealed word.

(a) See Burton's preface to Cranmer's Catechism, which has been printed together with the Latin of Justus Jonas, Oxford, 1839. The date in the preface of Justus Jonas's dedication is Feb. 11, 1539.

§ 312. (Jan. 15, 1549.) In the act which passed confirming the use of the Liturgy[1] a clause was inserted which allowed the use of psalms or hymns taken out of the Bible, and the singing of psalms became a marked characteristic of the favourers of the Reformation: many, therefore, were now translated and composed: and it is no small reflection on the poetical talent or piety of our church, that the collection of psalms made soon after this period has been allowed to continue the best which we possess in an authorized form (a).

Another act enjoined the eating of fish on those days of fasting which had been appointed by the Roman Catholic church. The object of this enactment was declared to be the support of the fisheries, and not any religious difference which existed as to the species of food used; and though we may laugh at the framers of an absurd law, we cannot but deplore one practical evil arising from such injudicious interference; for mankind have of course seen through the folly of the ordinance, and with its neglect have neglected also the sacred duty of real fasting, which is placed in so ridiculous a light.

The attainder of Sir Thomas Seymour produced little effect on the Reformation, except by bringing some degree of obloquy on two of its friends: on Cranmer, for signing a death-warrant, from which it was thought that his office might have screened him; and on the protector, who was unjustly said to have given up his brother too easily, though it appears that he had long used all the means in his power to prevent the catastrophe towards which the ambition of the admiral was unceasingly hurrying him.

(a) The authority possessed by the old version depends on a clause in an act of which the words are, 'Provided always, that it shall be lawful for all men, as well in churches, chapels, oratories, or other places, to use openly any psalm or prayer taken out of the Bible at any due time, not letting or omitting thereby the service or any part thereof mentioned in the said book' (2, 3. Edward VI. c. i. vii.): expressions which equally apply to any other version. But it may still be doubted, whether even this is not repealed by the last clause of the act of uniformity of Elizabeth. The custom of introducing psalmody into the church service had been for some time established among Protestants abroad, and was early brought into England, and this act seems merely to have given a legal sanction to the custom. Th. Sternhold translated fifty-one psalms into metre, which were published in 1549, and the remainder of them were completed during the reign of Mary, by John Hopkins and other exiles, whose initials are generally affixed to them. W. W., William Whittingham, afterwards dean of Durham; W. K., William Kethe; N., Norton; M., Markant; R. W., Robert Wisdom; D. (qu. Dr.) Cox translated the Lord's Prayer. There are several other initials, with the authors' names of which I am unacquainted; T. C., T. B., E. G., T. N., J. P.; several of these are affixed to the early editions only.

[1] Strype's *E. M.* II. i. 136.

§ 313. An ecclesiastical visitation was appointed early in this year, in order to suppress many superstitious observances which still continued to be used. No difficulty was found in gaining outward compliance with the commands of the government, but it was impossible to eradicate instantaneously prejudices and customs which had long been prevalent in the country, and to which the vulgar, from their ignorance, had attached the notion of religion. The exertions of the reformers, however, were not confined to these minor objects alone; steps were taken for the establishment of the doctrine, as well as discipline of the church, which rendered it necessary that the chief articles of faith should be gradually examined. No opinion was entertained with so much earnestness on the part of the common people and the priesthood as that of transubstantiation; its friends regarded the suppression of it as depriving them of their chief spiritual hope, and the clergy foresaw in its destruction the overthrow of much of their authority. Without entering into a discussion of the question, it may perhaps lead to clearness, if the several opinions entertained on this subject be briefly stated.

The church of Rome holds the doctrine of transubstantiation; that is, that after consecration the elements of bread and wine no longer remain, but that a perfect body of our Saviour is given to each individual receiving the consecrated wafer, and that the same body which was offered on the cross; so that a miracle is constantly repeated, of which the senses of the party receiving are not a test.

The Lutheran church holds the doctrine of consubstantiation(a); that is, that the body of Christ is so with the bread, or in the bread,[1] that it is actually eaten with the bread; and whatsoever motion or action the bread hath, the body of Christ has the same; so that the body of Christ may truly be said to be borne, given, received, eaten, when the bread is borne, given, received, or eaten; that is, *This is my body.*

The doctrine of the church of England is, that the bread and wine are outward and visible signs of the body and blood of Christ, which body and blood are received and eaten in a heavenly or spiritual manner by the faithful in the Lord's Supper (b).

(a) The Lutherans are also called Ubiquitarians, from maintaining the ubiquity of Christ's body. Brentius is said to have first brought the doctrine into especial notice, and a formulary of faith, of which it forms a leading article, was composed at Berg, in 1577. See Broughton's *Dict. of all Religions.*

(b) It is highly probable, that soon after the consultation of Cranmer and Ridley on the subject of transubstantiation (Todd, *Introd.* vii. *to Cranmer on the Sacrament*), the

[1] Burnet, *P.* iii. b. IV. No. 1.

§ 314. Cranmer wrote on the subject, and was answered by Gardiner; and disputations were this year held in Oxford and Cambridge, and again in the next at Cambridge. In the former, Dr. Smith challenged his successor in the divinity chair, Peter Martyr, to a public disputation; but as they were not prepared to argue on the same grounds, the one wishing to confine the discussion to Scripture terms, while the other trusted to his school divinity, the matter was deferred till the arrival of certain commissioners from London; and in the mean season, Smith having fallen into trouble, either on account of a tumult now raised, or on some other grounds, made concessions to Cranmer, and fled the kingdom. But the disputation subsequently took place on the following heads:

In the eucharist there is no transubstantiation.

In the bread and wine Christ is not corporally present.

The body and blood of Christ are united to the bread and wine sacramentally.

At Cambridge, the theses which were summed up by Ridley were,

Transubstantiation cannot be proved from the direct words of Scripture, nor be necessarily collected from it; nor is it confirmed from the early fathers.

In the eucharist, no other sacrifice is made than the remembrance of Christ's death and thanksgiving.

And here it must not be forgotten, that the cause of the Reformation was greatly promoted by the exertions of certain learned foreigners,[1] who were encouraged to visit England by the friends and promoters of true religion; and who repaid the debt of gratitude, which they incurred, by being extremely useful in the advancement of sound learning and Christian truth. Peter Alexander was first received into the family of Cranmer, and then obtained preferment from him. Fagius was placed at Cambridge, where he soon died, and was succeeded by Tremellius; and Bucer taught divinity, and Cavelarius, Hebrew, at the same university. Peter Martyr was established at Oxford, as we have just seen, and the disputations which have been mentioned were in each university maintained by these alien teachers.

§ 315. These discussions appear to have been carried on with great propriety; and it is much to be lamented that the other

archbishop caused an English translation of the book of Bertram the priest, concerning the body and blood of Christ, to be published. Two editions were printed in 1548 and 1549; reprints of this work are common. See § 16, b. It is highly satisfactory to observe how entirely this author agrees with the doctrines of the church of England.

[1] Strype's *Mem.* II. i. 321, &c.

proceedings of this period were not marked with the same moderation. Complaints had been brought to the council of the prevalence of anabaptists, who propagated most pernicious doctrines, and who frequently combined much criminality of life with their erroneous opinions: but with this sect, unfortunately, other persons were often confounded, whose only fault consisted in entertaining sentiments concerning the efficacy of infant baptism at variance with the received practice of the Christian church. To check the progress of these opinions, a commission was appointed; and though the members of it generally used kindness and persuasion, yet in the case of Joan Bocher of Kent, a woman apparently more fit for a madhouse than the crown of martyrdom, they delivered her over to the secular power, and she was burnt during the next year (a). There was considerable difficulty in persuading Edward to consent to this severity, and it was only on the strong remonstrances of Cranmer that he was induced to sign the warrant. The act was performed by him with tears in his eyes, and with an appeal to the archbishop, that at the day of judgment he must answer for having procured the signature (b). This proceeding gave great and just offence to the world, and was used as an argument to justify the necessity of capital punishments, in matters of faith, by the persecutors of the next reign; who in the sufferings of the father of our Reformation have often traced the retribution of Divine justice on one, who, in these instances, as well as those during the life of Henry, cannot be excused even by his friends. The same severity was used in 1551 towards George Van Pare, a Dutch anabaptist.

§ 316. The event which must principally attract the notice of the friends of the Reformation during this year is the introduction of the English Liturgy. The book now published differed in some respects from that which is in use at present, and the differences may be found in another part of this work.[1] In the execution of the whole production much forbearance was exhibited; nothing was changed excepting where necessity dictated it; and in matters indifferent, the previous misapplication of an innocent ceremony was not admitted as a sufficient reason for rejecting it altogether.

(a) She was burnt for denying that our Saviour took the flesh of the Virgin Mary (Strype's *Mem.* II. i. 335).

(b) It is probable that the account here given is incorrect. Mr. Bruce, in his Biographical notice of Roger Hutchinson, pp. iv. v. clearly shows that the details as given by Foxe could not be true, for the king's signature was not necessary for her execution. If the story had been known in the days of Queen Mary, it would, in all probability, have been brought forward against Archbishop Cranmer. The only supposition on which it can be admitted is, that it was an anecdote incorrectly related, after the death of Mary.

[1] § 743, b.

One great point gained by the adoption of this work consisted in the rejection of a multitude of saints, to whom, by degrees, all the merits of our Redeemer had been transferred,[1] and petitions addressed, which to the eye of a Protestant appear almost blasphemous, when directed to a creature. The translation of the public services, too, was a most important step; for the use of the Latin language had probably been closely connected with the continuance of those errors which it concealed from the notice of the vulgar. It had been originally a natural process, from the admiration of the saint or martyr, to pray that the supplicant might be enabled to imitate his virtues, and from thence, in an age of darkness, to address the prayer to the beatified being himself; but in the sixteenth century it was an act of interest and prejudice to continue the pious fraud, and of wisdom to conceal the grossness of the error, under the mystery of a dead language. One argument used in its favour is curious.[2] The inscription on our Saviour's cross has been limited to three languages, and to these, therefore, the service of the church ought to be confined; a method of arguing at present not very intelligible. The book was framed in 1548, the act which sanctioned it was passed early in the spring, and ordained that it should be used after Whitsuntide.

§ 317. The questions of infant baptism and predestination caused no small inconvenience to the church, by the diversity of opinion which they excited among the friends of religion, and the scandal which the mistaken adoption of the latter produced in the lives of some who imagined themselves to belong to the number of the elect. Indeed, a general dissoluteness of morals seems to have prevailed; for the people were at once freed from the restrictions imposed by the authority of the ecclesiastical courts, and had not yet reaped the advantages of the moral restraint of religious education, of which the fruits must necessarily be slow. The oppression, too, which the transfer of so large a portion of property had occasioned, began to be severely felt. The new possessors of the soil frequently turned out the old cultivators, and converted the land into pasture, which was found to be much more profitable from the increasing trade of the kingdom in wool. The ejected labourers, in their own minds, connected these proceedings with the change in religion, and risings among the people were very general during the summer. Most of these were easily suppressed; but in the west, and in Norfolk, they became formidable. The men of Devonshire and Cornwall besieged Exeter (a), which was with

(a) The raising of the siege of Exeter is still celebrated in that city on the 6th of August, which is denominated the Jesuits' day, from the leaders who guided the besiegers.

[1] Burnet, *P.* ii. No. 29.

[2] Burnet, ii. 58, fol. 139, 8vo.

difficulty relieved by Lord Russell, who completely dispersed their forces, and put an end to the rebellion by the execution of the ringleaders. During the height of their prosperity, they ventured to propose terms to the government, and demanded the virtual restitution of popery. To each article of this document distinct answers were sent by Cranmer, which are printed at length by Strype, and the tenth is too curious to be omitted;[1] they insisted in it, that the Bible should be called in, since the clergy could not otherwise easily confute heretics.

The rebels in Norfolk were dispersed, after some bloodshed, by the earl of Warwick; and the protector, who had from the first favoured the cause of the commons, and in so doing incurred considerable odium among the nobility, proclaimed a general pardon with very few exceptions, though contrary to the wishes of many members of the council.

§ 318. (Oct. 1st.) During the autumn Bonner was deprived of his bishopric: he had uniformly complied with the injunctions which were sent him: but as he was, with good reason, suspected of favouring the opposite side of the question, he was summoned before the council, and ordered to preach at St. Paul's Cross. The topic on which he was particularly directed to dwell, was the power of the king while a minor; and he was ordered to declare that the acts of the council were nowise less binding than those of a monarch of age. When the time of his preaching had arrived, he omitted this subject entirely, and turned his discourse to the question of the corporal presence; and upon this he was cited before a commission appointed by the king; and after much useless altercation, in which he was needlessly insolent to the court, he was imprisoned and deprived. The excuse which he made for himself was, that in consequence of his notes having fallen down, he had forgotten that part of his sermon in which he meant to have touched on this head; and though this excuse was probably false, yet the treatment of him cannot but appear severe, even supposing the deprivation to have been legal in itself. It is sometimes maintained that the deprivation took place in virtue of his holding his bishopric during the king's pleasure, in consequence of a commission which all the bishops took out at the beginning of the reign,[2] and in which the clause *durante bene placito* exists. This document, however, seems merely to regard the exercise of his episcopal functions, and in which, certainly, he is limited to the pleasure of the king; but the words can hardly extend to the bishopric itself. The sentence of deprivation too, is passed on the plea of the omission in the sermon.

[1] *Life of Cranmer*, Ap. 40.

[2] Burnet, *P.* ii. No. 2.

§ 319. (Oct. 14.) The fall and imprisonment of the protector was hailed by the Roman Catholic party as the triumph of their cause; yet their exultation was of short duration; for the earl of Warwick (afterwards duke of Northumberland), who had been the chief instrument in bringing it about, finding the young king entirely disposed towards the Reformation, immediately joined that party; and Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, baffled in all his projects, retired from court, and soon after died.

(A.D. 1550.) With the view of counteracting an opinion which generally prevailed, that the old service was now to be renewed, all the books connected with it were ordered to be delivered to persons appointed by the king, for the purpose of being destroyed; and strict injunctions were given for the regular use of the Common Prayer.

A committee[1] of twelve persons was also appointed to prepare a new Ordination Service, one of whom was Heath, bishop of Worcester; and upon his refusal to consent to the proposed alterations, he was committed to the Fleet prison: so little were the principles of liberty, of either conscience or person, then understood. The form then adopted is, with very little alteration, the one at present in use. In its formation, the ceremonies which had by degrees been introduced into the church of Rome were omitted, while an addition was made of certain questions addressed to the candidates themselves, forming altogether one of the most beautiful and impressive services of our church.

§ 320. The continuance of Gardiner's imprisonment had for two years deprived the see of Winchester of its bishop, and after the fall of the protector, when in the fulness of his joy he expected a speedy release, he found himself exposed to increased severity. Two sets of articles were proposed to him for subscription, the latter of which he refused to sign, as he did not approve of their contents; maintaining that his signature could not be fairly required while his person was not at liberty; and upon this, permission was refused him to walk in certain galleries in the Tower, with which he had been previously indulged. In this state he remained till the next year, when he was deprived of his bishopric by a commission issued by the king (April 18), nominally for his obstinacy in refusing to acknowledge his fault about preaching,[2] but really on account of his attachment to the old superstitions; for his whole conduct, like that of the greatest part of the friends of the church of Rome, consisted in opposing the measures of the Reformation, till they were passed into laws, and then entirely complying with them; and whatever we may think of the sincerity

[1] See § 744.

[2] See § 310.

of such proceedings, no one can doubt that the punishment inflicted on men so acting was contrary to common justice, and therefore to sound and Christian policy.

§ 321. A difficulty now occurred, arising from an opposite party in the church; for when Hooper was appointed to the see of Gloucester, he refused to be consecrated in the episcopal habits (a); and though Cranmer and Ridley argued against the soundness of such scruples, and consulted Bucer on the subject, who, as well P. Martyr, expressed his opinion in favour of conformity, yet Hooper could not till the next spring be prevailed on to give way; and even then he did so with a reservation that he should not be obliged to wear these supposed relics of popery, except on public occasions. The dispute was an unfortunate one, being the first of a series which for many years agitated our church; but on a calm examination of the subject, at a period when it is to be hoped that such indifferent matters may be viewed without prejudice, it must be granted that though the distinction of ecclesiastical dress appears in itself to be useful, yet it may seem, too, that the policy of the government would have been wiser had they left Hooper to his own conscientious scruples, and found some other divine, who, without possessing less sincerity, was not so strongly bent on following his own opinion in trifles. Obedience to general rules, in points in themselves indifferent, is of more consequence, and the neglect of it ought to be considered as a matter of conscience far more important than the disinclination of an individual to the use of any dress which the authority of the church has established. Whether it were judicious in those who regulated these particulars to adopt this or that vestment, is a question which admits of fair discussion; but whether an individual minister is to conform to the orders of the church, is one on which a difference of sentiment cannot for a moment be entertained. It may be prudent on some occasions to overlook minutiæ of this sort; but if the question be brought to a point, the governors and governed should remember that obedience to constituted authority, provided that what is commanded be in no wise contrary to the revealed law of God, is a fundamental article of the Christian code.

§ 322. About the end of this year, or the beginning of the next, a review was made of the Common Prayer, in which Bucer was much consulted. The objections which he made were numerous, and applied especially to the praying for the dead, exorcising the devil, to some of the expressions in the sacramental service, and of the ceremonies at baptism, to the anointing the sick, together with many minor points; and it is curious to observe that most of the

(a) It should be remembered that the chimere was then generally made of some coloured material, and that the cope was still used.

particulars which he mentioned are altered in our present service. At the same time he wished that a change should be made in the ecclesiastical habits, and many obvious deficiencies supplied, as the want of frequent communion and more active ministers. As a new year's gift, he sent Edward a book written by himself, entitled, *De Regno Christi Constituendo*; in which he points out many evils which stood in need of reformation, and in consequence of which Germany was then suffering. He chiefly complains of the want of ecclesiastical discipline, and urges the young monarch to exert himself with the clergy. This work appears to have had considerable effect on the king; for he began a treatise of his own, on the reform of abuses,[1] which, though in all appearance the performance of a boy, abounds with many just observations.

§ 323. Upon the deprivation of Bonner, the see had continued vacant about five months (a), till Ridley, a man in every respect suited to so great a charge, was made bishop of London and Westminster; the sees being now consolidated, and Thirlby removed to Norwich. In the visitation of his diocese, the chief care of Ridley (b) was directed against the remnants of superstition, which were still retained by the clergy and the people, and in which they had been fostered, if not supported, by Bonner; as well as against unauthorized preaching and expounding of holy writ. At the same time the altars were everywhere converted into communion tables, since the name and form probably contributed to the continuance of the idea of an expiatory sacrifice offered by the priest. This order of the bishop's was during the autumn confirmed by a letter from the council, and, by the same authority, a stop put to the custom of preaching on week-days, which had been established in many parishes; and was found to be inconvenient, in consequence of leading people away from their accustomed places of worship, and exciting a spirit of rivalry among the preachers, which was at this moment especially productive of confusion in the church.

§ 324. The difficulties against which the Reformation had to contend on the Continent[2] created a great influx of strangers into England, and by the friendly interference of Cranmer and others, congregations were established in London, under the general superintendence of John A'Lasco, a Polish nobleman, who had been driven from his country for the sake of his religion, and

(a) Bonner was deprived Oct. 1, 1549. Ridley appointed bishop of London and Westminster, Feb. 24, 1550. The visitation before June 26. See § 318.

(b) See his injunctions in Sparrow's *Collections*, p. 33. They contain many questions relative to the general life and conversation of the clergy.

[1] Remains of Edward VI., No. 2, 54, fol. 98, 8vo.
[2] Strype's *Cranmer*, II. xxii. 335.

become a preacher of the Gospel. Much favour was shown them by the council, and a church assigned for their use, where, during this reign, they greatly flourished, notwithstanding the internal feuds into which they fell. A'Lasco preached before the Germans; but there was also an Italian, as well as a French congregation, to which several immunities were granted. There was a church of strangers, too, from Strasburg,[1] under Valerandus Pollanus, established at Glastonbury, who made use of a liturgy of their own, not very different from that of the reformed churches of France.

England also furnished an asylum to many learned men whose labours were transferred to this country in consequence of the misfortunes of their own, and the liberal reception which was here afforded them. This praise is chiefly due to Cranmer,[2] who on all occasions proved a most kind patron to those who were persecuted for religion, and endeavoured to induce well educated friends of the Reformation to take up their abode in England, by the pensions and employments bestowed on them. To this source we owe the assistance which our church derived from Bucer, Fagius, Peter Martyr, and Ochin, who, among many others, partook of the bounty of the archbishop, and became the ornaments and instructors of the two universities.[3] Cranmer seems also to have entertained the hope of bringing all the Protestant churches to a community of faith, by forming a council in England, to which deputies should be sent from the rest, and who might publish such articles of belief as were received by all; and for this purpose he had some communication with Melancthon and Calvin; but the troubles with which he was himself soon after oppressed put an entire stop to the project(a).

§ 325. (A.D. 1551.) It was in all probability during this year that the Reformers were employed in drawing up the Forty-two Articles, which were published the next; and though Ridley might have assisted the archbishop, as well as some others, yet there is

(a) The project of establishing an authoritative standard of faith by a general congress of reformed divines (Laurence's *Bamp. Lect.* 219) had long been a favourite idea with Melancthon. We find him thus alluding to it in the year 1542: 'Quod autem sæpe optavi, ut aliquando authoritate seu regum, seu aliorum piorum principum, convocati viri docti de controversiis omnibus libere colloquerentur, et relinquerent posteris firmam et perspicuam doctrinam, idem adhuc opto.' Preface to his Works. Epistolæ, Londin., p. 147.

The project, therefore, probably did not begin with Cranmer; he corresponded with Melancthon on the subject in 1548, and with Calvin in 1551; but the difficulties were so great that it was abandoned, and the archbishop began to prepare a formulary for the use of the church of England.

[1] Strype's *Mem.* II. i. 378. [2] Strype's *Cranmer*, II. xxii. 335, &c.
[3] Ibid. III. xxiii. 573, xxiv. xxv. &c.

every reason to believe that they are really the work of Cranmer, and this indeed he seems to have acknowledged in an examination in the reign of Mary.[1] They resemble so closely the Thirty-nine Articles of our church that it will hardly be worth while to state the minor differences which have been subsequently introduced, as the subject itself must be resumed in the history of the reign of Elizabeth.[2] One thing, however, should be observed, that there is no historical evidence to confirm an idea not unfrequently entertained, viz., that they were drawn up for the sake of promoting peace and tranquillity, and as a compromise of opinion rather than a standard of faith. We shall perceive in them a desire to avoid curious and unprofitable questions, as well as to leave disputed points to the judgment of the individual; and undoubtedly several of the articles are so framed that conscientious persons, holding different sentiments, may safely subscribe to them;[3] but latitude of interpretation, which is suited to the weak and doubtful, cannot be granted to those whose decided sentiments are at variance with the plain and grammatical sense of the formularies of our church.

§ 326. Among the next objects which engaged the attention of the governors of the church were certain alterations in the Common Prayer Book, the details of which are given in their proper place.[4] They consisted chiefly in the omission of superstitious rites which had been continued in the first Liturgy. The Ordination Service, too, was now added, and the whole, thus amended, differs very little from the one at present in use.

In order that the Reformation might be introduced into the hearts of the people, as well as the institutions of the church, six eminent preachers were appointed among his majesty's chaplains in ordinary, two of whom were to reside at court, while the other four made a progress through the country, and, as far as possible, supplied the want of preaching clergymen, a deficiency which was then strongly felt.

§ 327. The use of the mass within her own house had, during the whole of this period, been allowed to the princess Mary, through the connivance of the government and the anxious interference of the emperor, but it was now determined by the council to withdraw this indulgence. Edward, indeed, had always shown a great dislike to its continuance, and had at one time assented to it at the request of Cranmer and Ridley, with tears in his eyes; but the government having now become more fixed, the influence of the emperor had less weight, and they proceeded against one of her chaplains for saying the mass, and confined him in the Tower. The chancellor, with certain others, was sent to try to convince

[1] Strype's *Cranmer*, II. xxvii.
[2] See § 481.
[3] Burnet, ii. 129.
[4] See § 745.

her royal highness of her errors, and she appears to have been rather obstinate in her unwillingness to listen to any arguments on the Protestant side of the question, and in refusing to hear Ridley preach. But who can wonder that a continuance of unkind treatment should have confirmed the prejudices and closed the ears of one who, in her own person and that of her mother, had suffered so much from the friends of the Reformation? Who can wonder that human feelings of resentment should have been mingled with a mistaken notion of her duty, and exercised when power was placed in her hands?

§ 328. The fall of the duke of Somerset and his execution (A.D. 1552) produced no great effect on the Reformation; he had proved, during his power, a firm and zealous patron of those who promoted it, and his advice and example had co-operated to fix the love of pure and simple Christianity so strongly in his nephew's mind, that his loss was in this particular scarcely felt. There can be little doubt of the injustice of his condemnation, and less with regard to the severity of its execution. His dying speech was full of Christian fortitude and resignation, and casts reflections on no one; but the opinions of the world long attributed his death to the duke of Northumberland; and when, in the beginning of the next reign, that nobleman was led to the scaffold, he was reproached as having been the author of this cruel measure. The virtues of the protector, however conspicuous, were not unmingled with faults. In his greatness he was kind and affable, in his misfortunes always dignified. His military undertakings were generally successful; and while he exhibited himself the undaunted advocate of the oppressed, he ever proved that he was faithful and upright in his transactions. His love for the Reformation had been constant and sincere; but he gained far too great a portion of church property to be deemed disinterested in the share which he had in the destruction of ecclesiastical bodies; nor has the severity which he used towards his brother escaped the censure of historians. In order to alienate the mind of his nephew, many false representations of his criminality seem to have been made, and during the period after his condemnation great pains were taken to keep the attention of the young king engaged in such amusements as should prevent his thinking of the fate of his uncle.

§ 329. Several bills passed during this session of parliament which were important to the church.[1] One confirmed the alterations which had been made in the Common Prayer Book, and directed ecclesiastical persons to enforce, by severe censures, the attendance on the new service. A second enjoined the observance

[1] Burnet, ii. 145.

of such holydays as were retained in the calendar, and ordained that the people should abstain from flesh on fast-days and the Fridays and Saturdays in Lent, but allowance was made for a greater laxity with regard to particular cases; and it was soon found that the exception became the general rule. A third declared the marriage of the clergy to be legal to all intents and purposes; for though this liberty had been conceded by the act passed in 1549,[1] yet the prejudices of the people had set so decided a mark on such of the clergy as took advantage of this allowance, that the children had been considered illegitimate: they were enabled by this act to inherit according to law. Another bill was brought in against simoniacal contracts, but it never received the royal assent; and an attempt made to attaint Tonstal, bishop of Durham, was thrown out in the commons, as they would not hear of it unless his accusers might be heard face to face. The duke of Northumberland found this parliament so little suited to his views, that he determined to dissolve it and call another.

§ 330. The plan of reform for ecclesiastical courts was this year renewed. It had at first been put into the hands of thirty-two persons, but this number was now diminished to eight, who were to prepare the matter for the larger committee. The chief part of what was done seems to have been the work of Cranmer: it was translated into Latin by Dr. Haddon and Sir John Cheke; but during this reign it was never given to the public, nor were any steps taken towards establishing it as law. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth it was printed, but has remained to the present day in the same unauthorized condition: the consideration of it during the history of that period will for many reasons be most convenient.[2]

The church had been so profusely robbed of its temporalities, under the idea that its former wealth had produced the greatest part of its previous corruptions, or more probably to gratify the cravings of a corrupt court, that its members were reduced to the greatest misery, and forced to support themselves by the most degrading employments.* They not only became tailors and carpenters, but some of them kept even alehouses; and under these circumstances it was impossible that many persons should be educated for the ministry.[3] The church of England probably stands alone, in later times, as exhibiting instances of ecclesiastical offices unprovided with any temporal support: some of our livings have no endowments, and owe all their emoluments to periods subsequent to the Reformation. Nor were these spoliations confined to the lower offices in the establishment; the bishopric of

[1] See § 311. [2] See § 435, a. [3] Burnet, ii. 154.

Gloucester was entirely suppressed, and Hooper, who had been first consecrated bishop of that see, and subsequently held the see of Worcester together with it, was now called bishop of Worcester alone; and in other cases, during the vacancies of the bishoprics, their manors and property were frequently taken from them; so that to the present day nearly one-half of our bishoprics are left with incomes scarcely adequate to the situation in the world which is attached to the episcopal dignity(a).

§ 331. (A.D. 1553.) In the new parliament, two tenths and two fifteenths, with one subsidy(a) for two years, were granted to the king; and the clergy taxed themselves six shillings in the pound on their benefices. The bishopric of Durham was at the same time suppressed, and converted into two sees, one of which was to have been established at Newcastle, where a cathedral chapter was also to have been erected; but none of these changes really took place, on account of the death of the king, which prevented also the accomplishment of another plan, by which the temporalities of that see were converted into a county palatine, and given to the duke of Northumberland. Tonstal had previously been deprived for misprision of treason, and was detained in confinement till the succession of Mary restored him to liberty.

The last act of this reign connected with the Reformation was one by which the use of the larger Catechism was authorized, and schoolmasters directed to teach it. This work was supposed to have been compiled by Ponet(b), bishop of Winchester, and is

(a) This evil has been remedied since the first publication of this work.

(a) Tenths and fifteenths were temporary aids issued out of personal property, and granted to the king by parliament. They were formerly the real tenth or fifteenth part of all the moveables belonging to the subject. In later times they became a fixed sum. A lay subsidy was usually raised by commissioners appointed by the crown, and was to all intents and purposes a land-tax. Blackstone, i. 309, 312.

(b) Bale, *de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, mentions Ponet as the author; see the question discussed in Todd's *Historical and Critical Introduction to the Groundwork of the Thirty-nine Articles*. This work corresponds in some degree in its general plan with the Church Catechism which had been published four years before, and is followed almost entirely by Noel in his Catechism of 1570. With regard to the *History of the Composition of the Church Catechism*, probably Cranmer, Ridley, or whoever was the author, merely introduced a few explanatory questions and answers before, and intermixed with, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, which had previously been published by authority, in English, in the *King's Primer*, printed 1545-6. (The questions and answers relating to the sacraments were drawn up by Dr. John Overall, and inserted after the conference at Hampton Court, 1604.) It might naturally have been supposed that it was taken from Luther's Catechism, 1529, and Cranmer's, 1548 (which in all probability is derived indirectly from Luther's); but these are not only much larger works, but make a different division of the Ten Commandments. In the *Institution*, 1547, *King's Primer*, 1545–6, Cate-

printed in the *Enchiridion Theologicum*. It was originally put forth both in English and Latin, and the Forty-two Articles were appended to it;[1] it was sanctioned by an injunction of the king's, dated May 20th, 1553.

§ 332. In consequence of a sermon preached by Ridley before the king, in which the bishop insisted on the duty of relieving the poor, Edward sent for him, and desired his aid in forming such institutions as would be most beneficial to the poorer branches of society. Upon a consultation with the lord mayor three establishments were founded, which are still the glory of our metropolis. St. Bartholomew's hospital was assigned for the sick, the royal house of Bridewell for the correction of the profligate, and the Gray Friars' church in Newgate was assigned to the education of orphans, under the name of Christ's Hospital. Donations were also made to St. Thomas' in Southwark.

§ 333. The commendations which are deservedly bestowed on these munificent grants are not, unfortunately, due to the later acts of this hopeful prince. Lady Jane Grey was granddaughter to Mary, the sister of Henry VIII., who, after the death of her first husband, Louis XII. of France, married the duke of Suffolk. This family had been placed in the bill of succession of Henry VIII. before that of Scotland, though sprung from the younger sister; and the duke of Northumberland now persuaded Edward to set aside Mary and Elizabeth, and leave the crown to Lady Jane, to whom her own mother had demised her right, and who had lately been married to Guildford Dudley, the fourth son of the duke. Although the love he bore his cousin might have influenced him, yet the fears which Edward entertained as to the bigotry of Mary were the chief instrument by which this step was promoted; but it does not appear what induced him to set aside Elizabeth. It was necessary to use the greatest threats and persuasions, in order to induce the crown lawyers to draw up any instrument for this purpose, as they declared that such a transaction would amount to nothing short of treason; but they at last complied, upon the promise of a pardon under the great seal, and the council set their hands to the deed. Some others seem to have had great scruples as to subscribing it; but Judge Hales positively refused, and Cranmer only consented upon the earnest entreaty of the king. It is unfortunate that he here wanted firmness to abide by his own better judgment, which might have assured him that the Almighty is able to provide means adequate to the accomplishment of his

chism, 1549, the Second Commandment is inserted in its right place; whereas in the *Primer*, 1535, in Luther's and in Cranmer's, the Second Commandment is omitted, and the Tenth divided into two. See § 412.

[1] § 481, &c.

own ends, without our adopting such measures as are in themselves unjustifiable.

§ 334. The king's health had long been declining, and on the sixth of July he breathed forth his pious soul in ejaculations for the religious welfare of his poor country. The early age at which it pleased God to take him away contributed in itself to raise his character in the eyes of the world; and the various commendations which are bestowed upon him might appear exaggerated, were they not supported by such circumstantial evidence as prevents us from doubting their correctness. The warmest panegyric of Edward is derived from the pen of Carden, who, on his return from Scotland, in 1552, was introduced to that monarch when he was under fifteen years of age. He wrote from Italy after the death of the king, and could have had no object for expressing such sentiments, unless he had really entertained them. He describes Edward as a miracle of prudence and wisdom, and possessed of every qualification which could adorn a young prince; and relates a conversation which he held with him on the subject of comets, in which the king certainly had the advantage over the philosopher. He spoke English, Latin, and French, fluently; and was acquainted with the Greek, Spanish, and Italian languages. He possessed much information on most subjects, particularly on foreign and domestic policy; he kept a journal of all which passed about him, and seems to have been able to transact business with ambassadors, so as to fill them with the greatest admiration for his abilities. He was affable and courteous to all, nor was his kindness confined to words; and in the severity which he was through others compelled to adopt towards heretics, he exhibited the greatest reluctance to proceed to extremities. He has been blamed for the facility with which he assented to the execution of his uncle, yet in all probability he was in this actuated by the love of justice, as his mind had been totally alienated from the protector, through the malicious representations which were industriously poured into his ears, and which insinuated that the duke of Somerset had entertained designs against the lives of the other members of the council. The character, indeed, of this king was founded on the only sure basis, a religious education, which he had the happiness of receiving under the tuition of Cox and Cheke, to whose care he was intrusted from the age of six years. The real and sincere piety which he always exhibited appears in almost every action of his life; it rendered him obedient and docile as a child, just and exact in all his transactions; and as he grew up to govern others as well as himself, rendered him tender to the wants and consciences of his fellow-creatures. The only exception perhaps to this, consisted in the zeal which he showed in trying to prevent his sister Mary from

attending mass.[1] He deemed the celebration of this supposed sacrifice an act of idolatry, and considered himself, therefore, bound by the law of God to prevent the continuance of it: when urged by Cranmer and Ridley to consent to its being tolerated in compliance with the wishes of the emperor, he burst into tears, and declared his willingness to lose his crown and dignities in endeavouring to obey the commandments of the Most High. These good men left him with their eyes full of tears, and as they passed, the archbishop took Cheke by the hand, and said, 'Ah! master Cheke,[2] you may be glad all the days of your life that you have such a scholar.' Adding, that 'he had more divinity in his little finger than we have in our whole bodies.' More divinity, both in the theory and practice too; and this was owing in a great measure to Cheke's instructions.

§ 335. The church of England had now in its doctrines arrived at nearly its present state; for the changes which have subsequently taken place have corrected some points which were amiss, but scarcely deserve the name of alterations. The real state, however, of its members was far from being settled. The great mass of the common people were still ignorant and vicious, and had received the new ordinances inasmuch as they came from authority, and took off restraints under which they had previously laboured, but they neither understood nor rejoiced in the doctrines of the Reformation, against which their prejudices were excited.[3] The upper classes had been bribed into acquiescence in these changes by the robberies committed on church property, in which they had been allowed to share; and though there doubtless existed many sincere friends of the truth, yet society in general can never be expected to take any very active concern in religion, beyond those interests which are politically combined with it. Most of the clergy had complied with what had been done, from fear rather than from any approbation of it, and were ready to turn whenever an opportunity should occur. The measures which had been ordinarily adopted by the reformers, however necessary they may have appeared—and of this, in the present day, we are not fully adequate to pass a judgment—were much more calculated to procure compliance than to produce conviction; add to which, that oppression and depravity of morals seem to have been exceedingly prevalent. This, indeed, was the natural consequence of the forced transfer of property, and the depression of the ecclesiastical courts, which in an age of barbarous ignorance were indispensable to preserve the tone of morality in the country. Had it pleased God to have continued the reign of Edward, these evils would probably

[1] Burnet, ii. 171. [2] Strype's *Cheke*, 178.
[3] Strype, *E. M.* III. i. 167, 17, 194, 309.

have gradually vanished; or had he been succeeded by a monarch indifferent about religion, England might quickly have relapsed into its former state, and a reconciliation with the church of Rome might have brought back many of the grievances from which the kingdom had been freed; but the ways of the Almighty are inscrutable, and He produced the ultimate establishment of the Reformation by other means than human prudence could foresee.

§ 336. It is frequently objected to the church of England, that all her institutions, as established in this reign, depended much more on the civil magistrate, than on any ecclesiastical authority. The standard of her faith, and the formularies by which her public services are conducted, were so far settled at this time, that though they have often been reviewed, they have never received any material alterations. If, therefore, the religion, then admitted, were, as it is sometimes called, a parliamentary religion, this stigma must still be attached to our church; and it may be useful to inquire how far the appellation is correct, and how far the existence of this fact may be deemed injurious to us as a spiritual body. Many of the principles on which this question must be decided are detailed in a note on a former chapter;[1] and perhaps it may be assumed, that matters purely temporal should be directed by the civil magistrate alone, that those which are purely spiritual should be left, as far as possible, to the management of the clergy alone, as the ministers of God, and responsible to his tribunal; and that all mixed matters should depend on a combination of these two species of authority. Now, as almost all practical questions are of a mixed nature, and as we can hardly conceive any case purely spiritual, except between an individual and his Maker, we shall only have learnt the nature of the difficulty in question, by laying down these general principles. When we look at the outward circumstances of the case, there can be little doubt that before the commencement of the Reformation far too much power existed in the hands of the clergy, and that the priesthood had assumed an inordinate degree of civil jurisdiction, under the plea of spiritual government. It was natural, therefore, for those who endeavoured to overthrow this anomaly, to fall into the opposite extreme, and while they combated the misuse of such a power, to deny the existence of it altogether. It were to be wished, perhaps, that all bodies corporate should correct themselves; but it must require much external pressure, and much internal wisdom, which shall enable the better members of such a society to effect a general amendment. There was in this case an abundance of external pressure; and though there was much of internal wisdom, yet that wisdom had rather been opened to a few by the perusal of the Scriptures, and the

[1] See § 201, c.

examination of the question, than diffused through the mass, by the gradual extension of knowledge.

§ 337. On one side therefore was the truth, supported by the strength which it must always possess, and favoured by those who were placed in the highest stations, both in state and church, and supported by a party formidable from their number, and respectable from their attainments. On the other, were the ignorance of the people and their prejudices; but this was aided by the interested views of the clergy, who were scattered through every village, and possessed a force which was by no means balanced by the selfishness of a few courtiers, who had profited by the spoliation of the church. The courtier cared little for the establishment of one religion or another, provided he could secure his wealth; but the village pastor and his partisans were led to esteem the cause which they advocated as the cause of God, and formed a tremendous phalanx, which might be directed to the most dangerous undertakings. Whoever, therefore, attempted to guide the cause of the Reformation, during the reign of Edward VI., must either have waited for the slow development of Christian education, and the falling off by death of those who opposed his plans, or he must have exerted an external force, which might overthrow the immediate power of his opponents; and the question of employing the one or the other of these means could hardly have admitted of debate, when the health of the king and the opinions of his successor were taken into the account; nor can we fail to examine with interest the opinions of Cranmer himself, as far as they bear on this point. What is here stated is derived from the answers which he gave to such questions as were proposed to certain divines in 1540,[1] and in which the offices and authority of the priesthood are examined: from hence it would appear that his own sentiments were nearly Erastian: he seems to esteem the whole of the clerical office as dependent entirely on the civil magistrate;[2] that there was originally no difference between a bishop and a priest;[3] that the prince or the people might make a priest for themselves,[4] for whom no consecration was necessary;[5] and that the power of excommunication depends entirely on the civil authority committed to a bishop.[6] It may be remarked that these opinions are not discoverable in the formation of our church services, which are almost entirely taken from those of the Roman ritual, yet a trace of them remains in those articles which refer to the church, and among which Art. XIX. XXI. and XXIII. might be subscribed by any one who held opinions purely Erastian.

§ 338. With these views, therefore, and placed under these

[1] Burnet, I. iii. *Rec.* No. 21. [2] Qu. 9. [3] Qu. 10.
[4] Qu. 11. [5] Qu. 12. [6] Qu. 16.

circumstances, we can hardly be surprised if in his proceedings he leaned towards the civil authority, which was in great measure under his own direction. His plan of proceeding generally was to intrust the task of reforming any particular branch of church matters to a committee of divines appointed by the crown, sometimes on the ground of the ecclesiastical supremacy, and sometimes under an act of parliament, and then to sanction the result by a fresh bill, or by publishing it under the royal authority. This method of proceeding may be esteemed very unconstitutional with regard to the convocation, but if the supreme authority be lodged in the civil magistrate, in him too must be vested the power of finally approving or rejecting all regulations with regard to the service of the church. The Prayer Book was framed by clergymen, and the act of uniformity enjoined, that in those churches where the ministry was supported by the church property this service should be used; and the only real hardship seems to consist in this, and those individuals who disapproved of it were not allowed any Christian liberty of absenting themselves from the churches, and of seeking elsewhere a service better suited to their own opinions. To say that the country would have become Mahomedan,[1] if the court had enjoined it, is to assert what can neither be proved or disproved. The alterations were imposed by the civil authority, and many persons received them with great unwillingness; but this might have been equally the case had they been imposed by some ecclesiastical power alone, and if the support of the crown had been required merely to enforce the mandates of the spiritual tribunal. The exertion, therefore, of a temporal power cannot vitiate the enactment itself, and the propriety or impropriety of it must depend on its intrinsic merits. It must be acknowledged that great severity and injustice were used towards some churchmen, particularly towards Gardiner and Bonner; but this cannot invalidate the orthodoxy of those changes in doctrine or discipline to which they as individuals objected. It is as absurd for a Roman Catholic to reject the tenets of the church of England because they were imposed by act of parliament, as it would be for a Protestant to discard the truths of Christianity because they have been derived to us, accompanied with errors, through the church of Rome. Every change introduced into the church of England must receive its final sanction in precisely the same way: nor does there appear to be any solid reason why the laity, who possess a strong interest in everything connected with the service of the church, should not exercise an influence in its being adopted or rejected.

[1] Strype's *Annals*, III. ii. 368, No. 54.

§ 339. These observations, however, will hardly apply to the commissions which were granted to the bishops. If the existence of a Christian priesthood be derived from God, surely the civil magistrate cannot have any other power over it than that of preventing spiritual authority from being applied to temporal purposes. It may limit the use of it with regard to public ministrations, but if the authority of Cranmer were entirely human, if when he was ordained to the ministry the act depended solely on the commission from the king, it seems unnecessary to reason about different forms of church government, or to contend for the sacred character of the ministers of the Gospel; there is really no such thing as a priesthood. Many parts of the episcopal authority are essentially derived from the crown, but there is something beyond this which is derived from God; and this measure can by no means be approved of, if any of the principles on which we have been reasoning be admitted. Granting, however, that the commissions were totally false in the principle on which they depended, this fact cannot invalidate the acts of those who held a real episcopal character under a false idea; and it is evident that the chief part of the bishops of that period, however they might be forced to act under these commissions, entertained opinions on the ecclesiastical functions corresponding with those which have been here laid down. Nor, on the other hand, supposing that the correctness of all which was done were clearly established, does it follow that the so doing it was either politic or judicious; and Cranmer may not only have used severity towards those who opposed him, but have adopted steps which cannot be justified—may have virtually forced the consciences of the weak in hastily imposing on them those changes which would have been adopted quietly, or gradually modified, had he allowed the progress of opinion to follow its natural course.

§ 340. In order to judge of the foundation on which this charge is raised, we may inquire what would have been the result of such a proceeding? Were there no hasty spirits who would have borne down not only the errors of Romish superstitions, but the decencies, too, of public worship which we have derived from Rome? Was there no necessity of issuing proclamation after proclamation against those who were eager to innovate and to destroy every vestige of whatever had been once misused? Compare what took place in Scotland with the events in England. Do we owe no gratitude to those who, when the tide of Reformation seemed likely to overbear the limits of moderation, endeavoured to guide and direct its course by the force of legal enactments? The active friends of Reformation restrained their own zeal when the work was carried on by those in authority; but could Cranmer or

any one else have successfully opposed this torrent? and can we imagine that he himself would have been able to introduce these more quiet alterations, had he failed to exert his temporal influence? The friends of the church of Scotland may rejoice that no moderate reformer stepped forward from among their bishops to modify the violence of those who overthrew the whole of what had been long established; but the admirer of our episcopal church must, under God, thank Cranmer that his parliamentary interference saved our apostolic establishment from the rude hands of ignorant reformers, who, in their zeal for re-establishing the religion of the Bible, cast off the innocence of the dove and the prudence of the serpent. Nothing but these rapid proceedings, founded on the temporal power which he possessed, and which he exerted in reforming what was amiss, could have prevented others from withstanding all attempts at amendment, till the force of the multitude had, as in Scotland, thrown down what the episcopalian will consider as almost the church itself. So far, then, from blaming the archbishop for his manner of reforming by legislative enactments, we must consider that the existence of our establishment in its present apostolical form is owing to this very circumstance.

§ 341. In examining how much the Reformation in England was affected by the opinions entertained by the divines of the Lutheran or Calvinistic schools, it should be remembered that the fame and notoriety of the reformer of Geneva was little spread at the period when the authoritative documents of the church of England were published, and that these productions were directed against the errors of the Roman church, rather than intended to mark the differences which might exist among Protestants. At a later period the sentiments of Calvin undoubtedly affected in a great degree the opinions of individual divines of our church; but the formularies which distinguish us as a Christian community had no reference to the theology of Geneva, and are derived in a great degree from the Lutherans(a).

We have before seen that Henry VIII. was particularly anxious that Melancthon should visit England; and the same proposal was made to that reformer from Cranmer in the reign of Edward VI.; but this object was never accomplished. He appears to have been consulted in 1535 concerning the Articles which were published during the next year; and the definition of *justification* there given

(a) This question, as far as relates to those articles of our church which are sometimes deemed Calvinistic, is most ably handled by Archbishop Laurence, in his *Bampton Lectures*, who proves clearly that they are drawn from Lutheran sources. Indeed, the controversy on the predestinarian question only began in Oct. 1551, Calvin's first tract was published in 1552, and the dispute was continued for many years.—Laurence's *Bamp. Lect.* 237.

is probably derived from the *loci communes* of this author: in the whole of these articles the ideas and language of the Lutheran divines have been closely followed. Many of the Forty-two Articles owe their origin to the same source,[1] and even those which cannot be traced with certainty exhibit a correspondence with the general opinions of the German divines. An exception, however, must be made with regard to one article, in which Cranmer differed totally from them, and which is strongly marked by the clause against consubstantiation, or ubiquitarianism, which existed in the Article on the Lord's Supper in the Forty-two Articles, but which was omitted in the reign of Elizabeth (b); it may, however, be worth remarking that Cranmer was called a Zuinglian, and not a Calvinist, by Fox, as entertaining this opinion. Some of the points in which the Common Prayer Book differs from the services of the Roman church are derived from the reformed service of Herman, archbishop of Cologne,[2] and others owe their origin to the Liturgy of Strasburg, which was framed by Calvin,[3] but had been modified before it was published in England.

§ 342. If this examination of the question should surprise those who generally esteem the authoritative documents of the church of England original compositions, if it shall seem to detract from the value which is generally attached to the labours of Archbishop Cranmer and his colleagues, let it be remembered that the sacred subject on which these works were drawn up is the only one in which originality is the worst of faults. If the heathen philosopher wisely grounds the truth of his conclusions on the fact that they do not materially differ from the opinions of previous investigators, surely the Christian, who is employed in framing articles of faith, may reasonably declare that he has only quitted the tenets of his predecessors where he found them inconsistent with the revealed word of God.

At the commencement of the Reformation in England our reformers naturally cast their eyes on two standards of faith, on that of the church of Rome and that of the Lutheran churches, which had already discarded the errors of the papal court. The rule, then, which sound reason would seem to dictate is, that in

(b) 'For as much as the truth of man's nature requireth, that the body of one and the self-same man cannot be at one time in divers places, but must needs be in some one certain place; therefore the body of Christ cannot be present, at one time, in many and divers places. And because (as holy Scripture doth teach) Christ was taken up into heaven, and there shall continue unto the end of the world, a faithful man ought not either to believe, or openly to confess the real and bodily presence (as they term it) of Christ's flesh and blood, in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.'—Art. 29 of the XLII.; and 28 of the XXXIX.

[1] See § 481, &c. [2] See § 744, a. [3] See § 745, b.

those points wherein the church of England found it necessary to differ from that of Rome, it should refer to the opinions of the newly-established churches, and follow them as far as they were consistent with Scripture; and where that which was taught by the Lutherans appeared to be questionable, the church of England should either borrow the expression of its opinions from some other reformed church, or construct its own articles directly from the word of God. And this appears to be the plan on which these documents in our own church were framed. In our Articles are contained the great truths of Christianity, which we hold in common with the church of Rome; there are many more which are derived from the Lutheran church; there are some in which we differ from both. In our public services the greater part of the Common Prayer Book is taken from the Roman ritual, and some portions are borrowed from the Lutheran churches, or rather drawn up in imitation of them.

It may indeed be asked why our reformers did not at once leave the works of others which had been so generally mixed up with errors, why they did not seek at once the standard of their faith, and the formularies which were to guide them in their prayers from the unerring rule of the word of God? But such a question will be asked by those only who are little aware of the difficulties which attend such an undertaking. Standards of faith are only necessary on account of the heresies into which mankind have run, and must be drawn with reference to such heresies. To modify, therefore, the previous labours of those who have gone before us in detecting and restraining error, is not only an easier and safer plan, but it is one which is much more consistent with Christian modesty. The word of God in this case does not immediately furnish the adequate means of preventing errors; for both parties often assume the word of God to be with them; and the only question is as to the interpretation which we ought to assign to it. The form in which we address the throne of grace is of less importance; the real question is, as to that for which we ask. When, therefore, the country has been used to one form, it would be injudicious to change it further than the errors contained in such a composition absolutely demand; and in those points where alteration was necessary, true wisdom would lead us to imitate what has already been adopted by our Christian brethren, and of which they have testified their approval by continuing its use.

With this view of the subject, there is every reason for applauding the conduct of Archbishop Cranmer, and admiring our own standards, because they so nearly resemble the works of the same sort which preceded them; and to rejoice that the documents of our church are not new, but amended transcripts of those which our forerunners have established.

CHAPTER VII.

THE REIGN OF MARY I. FROM JULY 6, 1553, TO NOVEMBER 17, 1558.

351. Lady Jane Grey. 352. Mary seated on the throne; her promises. 353. Gardiner's plans. 354. Mary prepares to restore popery. 355. Parliament. 356. Cardinal Pole, legate, delayed on his journey towards England. 357. Convocation. 358. Disputation held in it. 359. Wyat's rebellion; executions. 360. Ejection of the married clergy. 361. Disputations at Oxford. 362. Confession of faith of the Reformers published. 363. Marriage of the queen. 364. Reconciliation with Rome. 365. Preparations for persecution. 366. Persecutions. 367. Disputes among the Reformers in England and abroad. 368. Death of Gardiner. 369. Steps in favour of the church. 370. Death and character of Cranmer. 371. Many others suffer. 372. Pole, archbishop of Canterbury; documents destroyed. 373. Visitation of the universities. 374. Paul IV. enraged with Pole; disasters of the nation; persecutions. 375. Deaths and characters of Mary and Pole.

§ 351. The sentiments which Mary was known to entertain with regard to religion induced some persons to question for a short time her title to the succession, of the justice of which there could be no real doubt. These same fears had formerly induced many of the council to assent to the measure adopted in the will of Edward, and now co-operated in making them try to promote this illegal settlement, and to advance the ambitious plans of him who had devised it. The absurd power granted by parliament to Henry VIII. of naming his successors in his will, had rendered the order of inheritance less clearly defined in the minds of those about the court, and many of them imagined that the bequest of Edward was equally binding in law with that of his father.

Of Lady Jane Grey,[1] to whom the crown was now offered by her father and father-in-law, the dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, the brightest expectations were entertained; and her only fault seems to have been, that she allowed her own better judgment to be influenced by the solicitations of her friends. She had received a classical education under the care of Dr. Aylmer, afterwards bishop of London, and taken such advantage of his instructions, and the philosophy of our holy faith, that she was prepared for either the crown or the scaffold.

§ 352. The good sense and loyalty of the nation quickly rendered her case desperate, while the unpopularity of the duke of

[1] Burnet, ii. 174.

Northumberland contributed greatly to strengthen the party of Mary: the friends, therefore, of the queen became daily more powerful, were joined by the council, and she was proclaimed throughout London on the 19th of July. Within a few days, the chief of her enemies were sent to the Tower, and she remained in quiet possession of the throne. The only point in which she seems at this period of her reign to have acted culpably was in an assurance given by her, that she would force no one's religion.

This promise was made to the Suffolk men, who, being friendly to the reformed doctrines, joined her standard from a sense of duty; whereas her known love to the papacy renders it probable that from the first she was determined to pursue steps which could not be carried on without breaking the pledge given to those who supported her. The promise was repeated publicly on the 12th of August before the council,[1] and on the 18th by a proclamation: but in both these cases a tacit reservation seems to be made in the prospect of some alteration in the law of the land. From her general conduct, we can hardly conceive her to have been insincere when she made it; but she must have been very weak and ignorant to suppose that the wishes of her heart could be accomplished without falsifying such a declaration.

§ 353. The government was now under the direction of Gardiner, who was in many respects a politic man, and understood the temper of the country.[2] His plan was to have restored everything connected with religion to the state in which it had been left by Henry VIII., and thus by degrees to have brought back the kingdom to a reconciliation with the court of Rome. This scheme favoured his own private views, as well as the public objects towards which it was directed; and had it been temperately pursued might have led to the re-establishment of the papacy in England, by slower, yet surer steps, than those which were adopted; while it would have freed the chancellor from some alarm which he could not but feel, at the prospect of the speedy arrival of Cardinal Pole, who never trusted him, and who was from many circumstances likely to gain an influence over the queen, inconsistent with the interests of Gardiner. These prospects, however, of moderation, and the hopes which her declarations had infused into the reformers, were soon dissipated; for the early acts of the reign were strongly marked with precipitancy as well as severity (a). Bonner[3] proceeded to take possession

(a) Mass was said in London at St. Nicholas', August 21 (Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* v. 34). Mountain was persecuted by Gardiner for celebrating the communion before the service had been changed (p. 104). Mass was celebrated at the opening of Parliament (57).

[1] Strype, *Eccl. Mem.* 38. Fox, iii. 14. [2] Burnet, ii. 180.
[3] Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* v. 27.

of his see (August 5th) without any legal revocation of the sentence by which he had been deprived; and the intemperance of Bourn, his chaplain, who preached soon after at St. Paul's Cross, produced such a tumult, that the life of the preacher was endangered, and only preserved by the interference of some of the Protestant divines.

§ 354. In consequence of this, all sermons were prohibited till licences had been given under the great seal to such persons only as were likely to spread the doctrines of the church of Rome; and a commission was issued for the purpose of setting aside the deprivations of those bishops who had been ejected; so that every measure seemed rapidly tending to the re-establishment of the ancient order of things. It became apparent, too, that the church was the object which predominated in the mind of the queen, who, in promoting the interests of Rome, forgot those ties by which human beings are most closely connected. She used cruelty towards one of the Suffolk men, who intemperately reminded her of her promise with regard to religion, and imprisoned Judge Hales, who had strongly advocated her cause against the pretensions of Lady Jane Grey, because he urged the magistrates in Kent to put in force the laws of Edward which were still unrepealed. These were but sad prospects for the friends of the Reformation, and they began to prepare themselves for the struggle. The foreigners who had been established in this country were now dismissed; and many of the English clergy gradually fled beyond sea, to preserve their lives for better times, and to enjoy that liberty of conscience in a distant land which they could no longer hope for at home. But the more exalted members of the church, whose situations held them up as examples to their flocks, notwithstanding that they were advised to fly, remained at their posts, ready to serve God by suffering in his cause, as well as to worship him in safety, and in the sunshine which the favour of the court shed around their pious exertions. Hooper and Coverdale repaired before the council when summoned; and Cranmer, since it was maliciously reported that he was ready to concede everything, drew up a protest[a] against the mass, which was unfortunately circulated before it was finished for publication; and when he could not deny that he was the author of it, he was by the council committed to the Tower, on the charge of high treason.

§ 355. In the parliament which was assembled October 5, the marriage of Henry and Catharine was confirmed, an object which the queen had much at heart, and which Gardiner had promised to procure; but he of all men was the least fit to be the agent in such a transaction, who had been most active in procuring the divorce,

(a) This letter is printed at length in Strype's *Cranmer*, 437.

and had been joined in the commission by which the marriage had been declared void. The acts of the last reign relating to religion were at once annulled, and severe penalties imposed on those who interfered with the performance of any sacred function. In the act of attainder against the Lady Jane Grey and her husband, Cranmer was comprehended, and though his see was now legally void, yet he was still regarded as archbishop by those who wished to uphold the ecclesiastical exemptions, and to proceed against him on other grounds.

§ 356. In consequence of some private communications between Mary and the court of Rome, Cardinal Pole was appointed legate, with full powers for the reconciliation of the kingdom, and immediately commenced his journey towards England; but he was stopped on the way, through the interference of Gardiner, who represented to the emperor the danger of so precipitate a step, which might probably prevent the marriage between Philip and Mary (an object to which the attention of Charles was now directed), and create a fermentation in the country, very prejudicial to the interests of the queen. A suspicion is suggested by Burnet, that she herself was influenced by more tender motives, in requesting that the legantine commission might be intrusted to the cardinal, hoping that he might obtain a dispensation to marry her, as he was only a deacon; but the tale rests on very slight foundation; and had Gardiner been aware of such a wish on the part of Mary, he would probably have fostered an arrangement which must have left the prospect of the see of Canterbury open to his own ambitious views. The queen sent a messenger to the legate while he remained in Germany, to state the progress which she had made in the cause of the church of Rome, and desired him not to proceed to England till further notice. The wisdom of this delay was very apparent; for the nation was generally adverse to the two measures in which the court was now engaged. The parliament had conceded every point with regard to religion, as far as it was unconnected with politics, but they were anxious that the crown of England should not be deprived of the spiritual supremacy which it had acquired, and abominated the idea of becoming an appendage to the Spanish monarchy. So strong indeed was the general feeling against the match with Spain, that a deputation of the speaker and twenty members of the House of Commons waited on the queen to deprecate any thoughts of a marriage with a foreigner: but instead of producing the desired effect, the parliament itself was dissolved, and the enormous sum of twelve hundred thousand crowns was said to have been entrusted to Gardiner by Philip, in hopes that the enemies of the marriage might be bought off from their opposition.

§ 357. In order to give freedom of discussion to the convocation which was now called,[1] an act of parliament was previously passed, repealing the statutes of Henry VIII. which rendered all persons who joined in framing canons without the royal permission liable to a præmunire; a penalty which must have subjected the ecclesiastical authority to the civil power, and not only have offended the prejudices of a Roman Catholic, but have tended, too, to limit the privileges of the church. Weston, dean of Westminster, was appointed prolocutor, a man much looked up to on account of the firmness which he had exhibited in the former reign. Its first act was directed against the Common Prayer, which it denominated an abominable book, and declared to be heretical, on account of the denial of transubstantiation which it contained. The same stigma was also affixed to the Catechism (a), said to be set forth by order of convocation. These steps produced a warm discussion in the lower house; but of the proceedings of the bishops no record remains. Care had been taken that among the proctors elected by the clergy such men alone should be found as favoured the prevailing cause, but of those who sat in right of the situations which they held in the church,[2] six were found bold enough to controvert the sentiments of the ruling party, and to enter into a disputation against the power and numbers with which they found themselves surrounded. At this disputation many of the council were present, from whom, during the heat of the discussion, when the arguments of the Protestants were borne down by the clamour of the majority, they received more liberty of expressing their sentiments than their ecclesiastical opponents would have allowed; but from the commencement, for it lasted three days, it was apparent that this bold minority could entertain little hope of obtaining a fair hearing; Weston indeed declared that they were assembled, not to call in question the undoubted truth of transubstantiation, but to answer the objections of those who refused to subscribe to this undeniable proposition. And so manifest were the difficulties against which the friends of the Reformation had to contend, that when they were refused the assistance of Rogers and Ridley, most of the six declined entering on the question, and were only drawn into the debate by degrees, in supporting Cheyney, who would not avoid the contest under every disadvantage.

§ 358. Discussions of this public nature have but little effect, except perhaps the evil one of warming the passions by connecting human vanity with sacred truth; but we cannot fail to admire the bold zeal of men who ventured to stem the torrent of virulence

(a) See § 331.

[1] Strype's *Ecc. Mem.* v. 59.

[2] Fox's *Acts and Mon.* iii. 16.

and persecution, merely to convince the bystanders of the goodness of their cause; and in this point of view their exertions probably even now produced some good effect; for at the close, when the house was asked whether sufficient answers had not been given to the objections of the reformers, and the clergy were ready in the affirmative, the multitude who stood around instantly vociferated, No! no! The reformers had found themselves treated with so little fairness, that they refused to become the respondents; and the whole argument was summed up by a remark of Weston's, which briefly stated the merits of the controversy. 'You have the word,' said he, 'but we have the sword.' An observation calculated to show the erroneous principles assumed by the church of Rome, as well as to display the cruelty of the individual. Men vested with unlimited power are generally the same in all communions; and the friends of the papacy cannot hope to be more fortunate in this respect than other Christian bodies; and wherever the infallibility of the church is asserted, then farewell to truth and to every hope of obtaining it, since it becomes the duty of those vested with authority, not to enter into any discussions, by which reformation may be promoted, or truth elicited, but to curb with the severe mandates of autocracy the idea of calling in question any of its tenets; and these words of the prolocutor, harsh as they may appear to a Protestant ear, become the language of sincerity, when proceeding from the mouth of a consistent Roman Catholic, who allows not the possibility of salvation beyond the limits of his own church.

§ 359. (A.D. 1554.) The Spanish connexion was so much disliked by the nation in general, that though the court of Madrid granted terms absurdly beneficial to the English crown, it was followed by a rebellion. The ramifications of this plot were numerous, but the discovery of one branch, which in the west of England was conducted by Sir Peter Carew, proved destructive to the rest. He himself fled; but the unwise duke of Suffolk just did so much as to incur the crime of treason, without benefiting the cause which he espoused; and the only one of the leaders who made any movement in the affair was Sir Thomas Wyat in Kent, whose rebellious forces, after some trifling successes, were dispersed, and he himself taken prisoner at Temple Bar. The practical effect of this injudicious and unwarrantable proceeding was to strengthen the hands of the queen, and to give her an opportunity of using severity on the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey and her husband. Mary behaved with great courage and propriety throughout the whole period of danger, and never removed from Whitehall; nor can we venture to blame her for the execution of these young persons, who had been guilty of treason, notwithstanding the palliations

which may be urged in their favour. And though we cannot help pitying the early fate of one so young and lovely, yet the Christian spirit with which she died is much more calculated to raise our admiration, and to excite us to the imitation of such studies and pursuits, as enabled a woman about seventeen years of age to meet death with tranquillity and resignation. We may remember, too, that she suffered for a crime into which the ambition of her relations had hurried her against her wishes and her conscience. The duke of Suffolk, Wyat, and fifty-four others were executed, and a large number (a) of the common people were forced to beg their lives with halters about their necks. Elizabeth was confined, and the proceedings were generally severe, particularly in fining the jury which had acquitted Sir Nicholas Throgmorton.

§ 360. Strengthened by the discomfiture of this rebellion, Mary commenced the work of anti-reformation. The first act was to publish articles of directions for the bishops in their proceedings against the friends of the opposite party; and the chief object of attack was the marriage of the clergy, of which the parliamentary sanction had been annulled in the general repeal of King Edward's laws. But even those who quitted their wives were ejected from their preferments, and the whole was carried on under a commission from the queen as supreme head of the church, a title which she did not care to assume, except to expel the reformed clergy from their benefices. The bishoprics of York, St. David, Chester, and Bristol, were declared void on account of the marriage of those who held them; and Lincoln, Hereford, and Gloucester, on the plea that they were held by royal patent, upon the good behaviour of the possessors, a condition which it was alleged these bishops had manifestly not fulfilled.

Accidental circumstances produced many other vacancies, so that, with the restoration of deprived bishops, there was at this period an alteration of sixteen out of the bench. The number of priests who were now ejected, though variously stated and perhaps exaggerated, was in all probability considerable. The whole proceeding must be regarded as arbitrary, and more tyrannical and illegal than what had been done with regard to Bonner and Gardiner; for these married priests had formed the connexion under the authority of the law of the land, and without violating any promise to the contrary made at ordination; since it appears that the oath used in England, in that service, was conceived in such terms as did not interfere with the chastity of the marriage bed;

(a) This number is variously stated. Burnet makes it 600; Holinshed, 400; Stow, 240. Gardiner is said to have preached before the queen on the 11th, the day before Lady Jane's execution, and to have urged her not to show mercy (Strype's *Ecc. Mem.* v. 140, 145).

yet when the new act abrogated the previous concession, the alternative of compliance was not offered, but they were at once deprived of their preferments: many indeed were subsequently admitted to other benefices; but this, though it diminished the hardship, did not obviate the evils inseparable from considerable changes;[1] and the rapidity with which this was effected unsettled the minds of the people in general as to the distinctions of right and wrong; an observation which applies to the whole of the present alterations in religion.

§ 361. Every one had during the late reign sworn to the supremacy of the king. When, therefore, they now found themselves obliged to renounce this oath, and were absolved from it, they learnt to despise the sanctity of promises; and the clergy, who should have been the firmest in the observance of so sacred a bond, were the first to take advantage of any means by which they might escape from it; and in order to conceal the baseness of their conduct, introduced abundance of hypocrisy, frequently adapting their professions to the sentiments of the individuals whose approbation they sought. But the council confined not itself to these less conspicuous victims, and steps were taken to prepare the way for more important proceedings. A public disputation was held at Oxford on April 16, in which, on three successive days, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were exposed to the arguments and insults of certain opponents, who were armed with full authority from convocation, and backed by the applauding clamours of the ignorant and prejudiced clergy (a); and in their conduct on this occasion these martyrs perhaps showed as much patient endurance, as in the torments to which they were subsequently exposed; for it may fairly be questioned whether the overbearing dogmatism of such a tribunal were not more difficult to be encountered with Christian meekness, than any bodily pains which could be inflicted, and which were to be borne as inevitable sufferings in a righteous cause.

§ 362. To enter into the details of such a transaction would exceed the limits of this work, and the force of the whole would be lost by such abridgment as would be necessary. They may be found at length in Fox, from whence they are copied into Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*: suffice it to say, that the triumph of the Roman Catholic party was, as might have been anticipated,

(a) The previous steps taken by Gardiner, at Magdalene College (Fuller, viii. p. 7), may enable us to account in some measure for the little favour which was extended to these eminent martyrs by members of the university. All the friends of the Reformation had probably been driven away (Strype's *Ecc. Mem.* v. 81).

[1] Strype's *Cranmer*, III. ix. 476.

complete, and that the three prisoners, when condemned by their earthly judges, appealed to the righteous decision of the tribunal of heaven; upon which Weston declared that if they went to heaven, he was persuaded that he should never come there. The treatment which had been experienced by the bishops at Oxford induced the prisoners in London to decline any public disputations. In this they were probably wrong; for however little fairness (a) they could expect, still the example and effect of bearing patiently, for the cause of truth, insults, as well as death, must always prove the sincerity of that faith on which their reliance was placed. In order that their real belief might be known, the reformers who were in prison published a confession of faith consisting of eight articles,[1] in which they declared that they received the Scriptures as the word of God, that they admitted the Catholic creeds of the first four centuries, believed in justification by faith, and rejected the use of the Latin tongue in the church service, the invocation of saints, purgatory, the mutilation of the Lord's Supper, transubstantiation, and the adoration of the elements, and asserted the lawfulness of marriage to every order of men: on these points they offered to dispute, if called on by proper authority.

§ 363. The marriage of the queen, though it produced a short calm for those who had offended against the civil power, does not appear to have obtained the same favour for any who were persecuted for religion; and Philip, though he probably saved the life of Elizabeth from the suspicious severity of her sister, and obtained the pardon of several who were condemned, procured for himself little kindness from the English, who were justly offended at the proceedings of the court, the changes which were daily making in religion, and the political and personal connexion into which the queen had herself entered. These feelings were not at all diminished by the vindictive spirit with which Mary punished those who had spread malicious reports concerning herself, nor did the violent conduct of Bonner, during his visitation, tend to diminish the general indignation and disgust of the nation. The Protestants vented their ill-humour in deriding and ridiculing the superstitions of the Romish church; the Roman Catholics exerted themselves in establishing the most objectionable parts of their rites, regardless of the feelings of men who were already exasperated, and every step served but to add virulence to the persecutions which soon began to be exercised.

(a) One of the strongest evidences against the sincerity of the opponents to the Protestant disputants is, that they deprived the champions of the reformers of all books, or the means of preparing themselves by writing or study (Protestatio Ridleii, 53, 55, *Ench. Theol.*).

[1] Strype's *Ecc. Mem.* vi. 224, No. 17.

§ 364. The autumn was chiefly occupied by the steps towards a reconciliation with the church of Rome. One of the first acts of the parliament which was assembled in November was to repeal the attainder of Cardinal Pole, who in the mean time had been allowed to proceed to England; and within a few days after his arrival the nation was absolved upon the request of the two houses, and once more received into the bosom of the papal church; the acts which had of late years passed against the authority and jurisdiction of the papacy were repealed; and everything but the church lands restored to their former condition. The convocation had made a petition that this point might not be pressed; convinced that the spoilers would never surrender their prey, and, to use their own words, preferring the salvation of souls to their own private interest. But the answer of the cardinal excited the most lively fears among the 'detainers' of ecclesiastical lands by inveighing strongly against such sacrilege (a), while from necessity he sanctioned the adoption of the law. As an intermediate step, the Statute of Mortmain was repealed for twenty years, so that the church was enabled to receive the donations which the fears or piety of the nation might be induced to bestow upon it. But the bull published by Paul IV. in the next year, which virtually annulled all these acts of the legate, proved how little faith can be placed in the promises of a power which arrogates to itself the right of absolving the sacred tie which is established by an oath. This parliament had in all probability been greatly bribed, so that little opposition was made to the wishes of the queen and clergy; and Gardiner, whatever may be our opinion of him as a man, showed considerable talents as a politician. The severe acts against heresy were renewed, and others passed, which tended to strengthen the hands in which the administration of affairs was placed.

§ 365. (A.D. 1555.) Before the commencement of the terrible persecution with which this year was disgraced, a question was agitated, as to the manner in which the government should proceed against heretics; nor should it ever be forgotten, that the side of reason and mercy found its advocate in Cardinal Pole. Gardiner, whose opinions were at variance with these milder plans, had suffered much under the reign of Edward, and his politic mind showed him that nothing short of the severest measures could then have reduced the nation to its former dependence on the authority of the pope: add to which, that there existed a strong feeling of

(a) He bade them consider the judgments of God, which fell on Belshazzar, for his profanely using the holy vessels, though they had not been taken away by himself, but by his father.

personal antipathy between the chancellor and those who were now subjected to his power; and these evil passions were strongly excited by the republication at Strasburg of his own book, in which he had advocated the cause of the divorce, and heaped many reproachful expressions on the mother of the queen; a very delicate piece of vengeance, of which he could not but be very sensible.

The feast of reconciliation with the church of Rome, which was established by the cardinal (Jan. 25), was followed by the persecution of men whose only crime consisted in their refusing to subscribe to doctrines which they had previously rejected, and from which they had been zealously trying to turn away their brethren. In order to give effect to this step, and that the state of the reformed part of the population might be correctly ascertained, it was ordered, in the instructions given by Cardinal Pole, that books should be kept by the bishops and their officials, in which the names of those who had been reconciled to the church of Rome might be inserted, and that processes might be instituted against the rest;[1] a measure which, had it been carried into effect with any activity, must have constituted an inquisition the most formidable that was ever established, inasmuch as the previous state of the kingdom had induced men to declare their real sentiments, and to throw aside that caution which is the only safeguard against inquisitorial tyranny.

§ 366. It will be useless to record more than the names of the chief reformers who perished in the flames (some particulars shall be added in Appendix F), for records of this description lose their whole force and beauty by being abridged; and if they are to benefit us by their perusal, they must be examined in all the details of the original historians. Rogers was burnt in Smithfield, Hooper at Gloucester, Saunders at Coventry, and Taylor at Hadley. Gardiner was disappointed with the effect of these executions; for judging of the influence of fear from himself, he had miscalculated on the power of terror in the cause of religion. Nothing but extreme severity could possibly have put down the flame which was now kindled; but the public exhibition of those who so patiently suffered, animated others to the struggle, and led the friends of the papacy to mistrust the doctrines of a church which used for its support means so diabolical.

The general feeling of disgust which was excited by these severities,[2] was fostered by a book in the form of a petition against persecution, published abroad, and sent over into this country by the reformers; and, though the king disclaimed any share in these

[1] Strype's *Cranmer*, 498. [2] Strype's *Ann.* i. 261.

proceedings, and Alphonsus (a),[1] a Spanish friar, ventured to preach against them before the court, yet no effectual stop was put to them, and they were carried on throughout the whole year; during which, four bishops, thirteen priests, and fifty others, suffered at the stake. The disappointment with regard to Mary's expected delivery[2] did not tend to lessen the number of these executions; for it is reported that she had conceived an idea that she should never be brought to bed, till all the heretics in prison were burnt. Their deaths, however, did not procure for her the relief for which she looked; and before the end of the year Philip began to neglect her, having given up all hopes of a family, the only circumstance which could have procured for him an influence in the country, and fulfilled the ambitious views with which he had formed the connexion.

§ 367. The steps which were taken to detect and convict heretics had gone very near the establishment of an inquisition; for the justices of the peace were directed to look out some well affected persons in every parish, who might give secret information concerning their neighbours; and the lieutenant of the Tower was ordered to allow the use of torture for the discovery of the truth; and though these instruments were probably applied to the detection of civil as well as ecclesiastical offences, yet where, under a government so earnest in the interests of the church, their introduction had been sanctioned, little could be wanting but the organization of a chamber of inquisitors. The numerous letters of directions and thanks for attending the execution of heretics, which were addressed to the gentry, prove that the civil power, when it became the handmaid of superstitious intolerance, stood in need of every support, lest the unrestrained feelings of the common people should have tempted them to commit acts of violence against a government which was turning the power intrusted to it for the preservation of its subjects, to their destruction, both of body and soul. The prisons were filled with the friends of the Reformation, numbers of whom were found ready to undergo any sufferings in the cause on which their hopes were fixed.[3] Many fled beyond sea, and many more temporized with the civil authority, by publicly attending mass, or entirely renouncing their faith.

But the apostacy of these members is not more painful than

(a) As the subsequent conduct of Philip, and the general character of Alphonsus de Castro (see White's *Evidence against Catholicism*, note G. p. 251, 2nd edit.), prevent us from attributing this measure to Christian charity, their opinion with regard to the impolicy of these severities is at least strongly marked.

[1] Strype's *Ecc. Mem.* v. 333. [2] Burnet, vol. iii. 174, fol, 419, 8vo.
[3] Strype's *Cranmer*, 501, ii. III. xiv.

the disputes by which these persecuted believers added to their own sufferings. They quarrelled on the subject of freewill and predestination(a); and in the discussion, unfortunately, some of them fell into Pelagianism: nor was the evil confined to this country,[1] but arose also among the English who were scattered on the Continent, and broke out with disgraceful warmth at Frankfort(b) and other places. Great objections were raised against the

(a) See an account of this dispute in a pamphlet published by Archbishop Laurence. Great offence was taken at some of the prisoners in the King's Bench, for gaming (1554), and they, in defending themselves, maintained strongly the doctrines of election and reprobation, running into Antinomianism; compromises were made, but no solid reconciliation was effected. Bradford wrote a treatise on predestination, which he sent to Oxford, for the approbation of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. The bishop of London alone answered him, but did not approve of the work. The conduct of some of the parties appears to have been disgraceful (*Authentic Documents relative to the Predestinarian Controversy*, 8vo, Oxford, 1819).

(b) There is a full but prejudiced account of the troubles at Frankfort, printed 1575; it was reprinted in 1642, and is contained in the *Phœnix*, vol. ii. Fuller gives a large abstract of it, viii. p. 25, &c. It is highly favourable to the nonconforming party. (1554.) The magistrates of Frankfort had granted the use of a church to some English fugitives, provided they would comply with a French congregation which had fled there from Glastonbury. These persons altered some portion of the Common Prayer, to adapt the service to that of the other church, and invited the English fugitives to come and join them: this, however, was refused by many (e. g., the churches at Strasburg and Zurick), in consequence of the alteration of the Common Prayer. This dispute continued for some time to distract the church, and Knox and Whittingham, in order to assist their cause, submitted a platform of the Prayer Book to Calvin, who animadverted on it, as containing many points which were childish and trifling; but their account of the book is obviously unfair; and Calvin could hardly have judged of the question from this imperfect document. (He might, however, have seen the book before this time, though the sending the platform seems to imply the contrary.) A part of the Geneva service was now introduced, and in consequence of the offence taken at this, another form was composed to be used for a time. In the mean season Cox came to Frankfort, and after some difficulty established the use of the Common Prayer. There were probably faults on both sides. (1557.) There was a second dispute about church discipline. Mr. Ashley having been brought before the ecclesiastical authorities for censuring some of the ministers, rejected their authority, as being parties in the dispute. The congregation generally took his part, and attempted to frame new laws for discipline. Robert Horne, dean of Durham, and afterwards bishop of Winchester, was then pastor, and after fruitless attempts at reconciliation on both sides, he ultimately quitted the place.

This church was, in its constitution, under both the old and new discipline, perfectly 'independent.' It consisted of a pastor, assistant elders, who performed in turn the clerical duties, and deacons. They laid down their offices annually, and an election took place, accompanied by imposition of hands. Ordinary members were admitted into communion by making a declaration of faith, and subscribing to the form of discipline; and questions, if any objection were raised against the

[1] Strype's *Cranmer*, 507, ii. III. xv.

Common Prayer Book[1] and the Communion Service, and in this part of the quarrel Knox rendered himself conspicuous.

§ 368. Pole had always been averse to violent persecution, but was unable to show any opposition to it sufficiently strong even to mitigate its severity; for independently of the suspicions which were entertained concerning his own opinions, Gardiner had sent unfavourable reports of his conduct to the apostolic chamber. The end of the latter was now drawing near, and served, but too late, to teach him the vanity of pursuits unconnected with our duty. He had seen the religion which he upheld triumph over its opponents; he had himself been restored, and raised to eminence and power; he had beheld his personal enemies at his feet; and contributed probably to the condemnation of men with whom he had before been connected as a brother bishop; and having scarcely learnt the inutility of those measures to which he had been instrumental, he, too, was called away to answer before the Judge eternal (Nov. 12). He was a shrewd, clever man, and probably much more of a politician than a churchman. The treatment which he had himself received may account for some of his virulence, if it cannot excuse it: nor does he appear to have been totally devoid of kindness towards Protestants: for during his prosperity he screened Sir Thomas Smith and R. Ascham from persecution:[2] and it must never be forgotten, that he effectually prevented this country from falling under the Spanish yoke at a moment when his personal interests would have induced him to promote a connexion with that court.[3] The circumstance which weighs most strongly against his character is the ill opinion which Cranmer always entertained of him, and which would hardly have been the case with one so kind-hearted and forgiving as the archbishop, had he not known him to have been a bad man.

§ 369. In the earlier part of the summer, the queen had been engaged in rebuilding the convent of Franciscans at Greenwich; and for the purpose of endowing as many religious houses as she could, gave up all the church lands vested in the crown, and in the end of the year discharged the clergy from the payment of first-fruits and tenths; anxious, no doubt, that the church should be provided for in temporalities, as well as reformed in its discipline: for in the convocation which was held by Cardinal Pole (November 2nd), many constitutions were made, highly beneficial to the

ministers, were ultimately referred to the congregation (*Phœnix*, ii. 125, &c.). In the details of the discipline of this church, we may see the platform of what was often attempted, and ultimately established during the usurpation.

[1] Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* v. 406, &c.
[2] Strype's *Life of Smith*, 48, 50.
[3] Burnet, ii. 208.

ecclesiastical body, in preventing abuses and reforming its members, and which, had they been carried into full execution, must have gone far to establish the Roman Catholic religion, for a time at least, on a firm basis. For errors and faults in practice are so much more obvious to mankind in general than any other species of evil, that whenever strict clerical duty is observed, the mass of the people will be little likely to examine, with any severity, the tenets of their instructors, and will take for granted the soundness of the speculative opinions of men who live with propriety. Nor were the plans of reformation adopted by the cardinal confined to mere discipline, for he purposed to have reformed the Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of any Christian Man (a), and to have published it, as well as a translation of the New Testament, and to have established cathedral schools.

§ 370. (A.D. 1556.) One of the earliest acts of this year was the degradation and burning of Cranmer. He had been condemned on the 12th of September preceding, and afterwards summoned to appear before the pope while he was detained a prisoner in Oxford, and when a sufficient period had elapsed to procure an answer from this fictitious tribunal, where his condemnation took place in consequence of his supposed contumacious absence, he was publicly degraded by Bonner and Thirlby, the former of whom added the bitterness of personal malice and reproachful words to an office in itself sufficiently distressing. It was indeed peculiarly embarrassing to Thirlby, who had always retained for the archbishop that love and reverence which a long acquaintance with his virtues had justly procured him: but the power of inflicting such wounds gratified the bishop of London, that most low of persecutors. The fall of which this good man was subsequently guilty, in signing the recantation, takes off from the whole of the glorious dignity with

(a) This was done by Bonner. The title of the work is, *A Profitable and Necessary Doctrine*, with certain Homilies adjoined thereto, set forth by the Rev. Father in God Edmonde bishop of London, &c. &c., for the diocese of London, 1555.

The first part is the same work as the Erudition, *mutatis mutandis*: e. g., the article on Confirmation is changed; it lays greater stress on the necessity of being confirmed. In the explanation of the Creed, all which opposes the papal supremacy is left out, and that doctrine distinctly stated. In the Sacrament of the Altar the doctrine of the real presence and transubstantiation is taught; but the Ten Commandments are still divided in the Protestant manner. The volume next contains injunctions sent to his clergy. Then follow thirteen homilies, said to be done by the bishop and his chaplains; but one or two agree almost entirely with those published by Cranmer; the names of Harpsfield and Pendleton are affixed to some of them. There was another set of homilies published by Bonner in 1558, in number thirty, which are totally different from these, applying peculiarly to the sacraments and the doctrines of the church of Rome; they are sometimes bound up, instead of the former, with the copies of the *Profitable and Necessary Doctrine.*

which the closing scene of the other martyrs was enlightened; but it cannot but afford a useful and consolatory lesson to the Christian of the present day. If one so gifted as Cranmer was inadequate to withstand the influence of kindness and attention when used to mislead him, though he had been before able to view with tranquillity the prospects of death; how careful should we be against the temptations of prosperity! If one who had so fallen was subsequently enabled to meet death with such pious resignation and firmness, what confidence may we place in the grace of God, whose strength is perfected in weakness! The condemnation of this good man to the flames, notwithstanding his recantation, was to him a most fortunate occurrence; for it brought him back to that Christian condition which his concession had lost; but it is peculiarly unfavourable to the character of Mary; for with whatever view we examine it, we can hardly help suspecting that a vindictive spirit was exercised, even if she be acquitted of any personal animosity against one who had played so conspicuous a part in the divorce of her mother. Cranmer exhibited most decidedly the influence of religion on a mind naturally sensible and strong. There was little brilliant in his talents, or commanding in his understanding([a]), yet the sound sense which he possessed made him produce more effect in the Reformation of this country than any other person. Much of this, during the reign of Edward, was owing to the situation which he filled; but few others, unless they had possessed his judgment, his Christian feelings, and simplicity, would have been able to weather the storms to which his bark was exposed during the tumultuous period of the reign of Henry VIII.([b]) To him we chiefly owe the Articles of our church, the first book of Homilies, as well as much of the compilation of the Common Prayer. To him we owe one of the brightest examples of a primitive and apostolic bishop; and if in his early days we cannot admire the zeal with which he advocated the divorce, if in his latter end we deplore his fall([c]), let us remember that he was but a human

([a]) Dr. Laurence (archbishop of Cashel) gives much higher commendations to the talents of Cranmer, and even prefers him to Ridley; the opinion expressed in the text is taken from Burnet.—*Bampton Lect.* p. 205 (11, 12, 13).

([b]) Fuller's view of this part of his history is far less favourable (p. 371). Cranmer 'had done no ill, and privately many good offices for the Protestants, yet his cowardly compliance hitherto with popery, against his conscience, cannot be excused; serving the times present in his practice, and waiting on a future alteration in his hopes and desires.'

([c]) The six confessions or recantations made by Cranmer are curious in pointing out the imperceptible steps by which he was led on from one point to another, till he gave up and renounced almost all that he had ever taught, and assented directly to the errors of the church of Rome. Five of these are in Strype's *Ecc. Mem.* v. 392, &c., the other in Fox, iii. 559.

being like ourselves, and that the blessings of which he was the instrument all proceed from a heavenly Source, to which our gratitude is chiefly due.

§ 371. These victims, however, did not satisfy the friends of religious intolerance, for the fires of persecution were lighted throughout the country, and the persons who suffered in them were chiefly taken from the lower ranks of life. Neither age nor infirmity, ignorance nor learning, could free those who refused to submit to the dogmatical dicta of a corrupted church from the most cruel of deaths. During the year, eighty-five persons of different descriptions were burnt, and by their constancy animated their brethren to be equally firm in the same cause. Notwithstanding the danger, ministers were everywhere found to instruct their flocks, and ready to expose themselves to death for their religious opinions. Nay, the very terrors of persecution most strongly pleaded in favour of a faith which could enable men to endure them patiently; and the government was at last obliged to prevent the people from expressing any signs of approbation towards the martyrs, and to order housekeepers to keep away their apprentices from a sight which might urge them to violence against the executioners, or admiration of the victims. The country was supplied with books and religious tracts from the reformers who were beyond sea, and out of the reach of personal risk, but to whose spiritual welfare the calm which they enjoyed was far more dangerous than the storm which was raging in England; for instead of passing their time in mortification and prayer, to which the sufferings of the reformed at home might surely have directed them, they commenced those disputes about the liturgy and ceremonies, which have ended in dividing the Protestant church, and humbling us in the sight of our opponents.[1]

§ 372. Cardinal Pole was now raised to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, to which his consecration took place the day after the martyrdom of Cranmer: for it seems that he had some scruples about entering into the bishopric during the life of its former occupier. His pall and bull of consecration had long been in England; for though the pope bore no good-will towards him, which indeed he soon manifested, yet he had now no grounds for refusing a favour which the queen so earnestly desired; since she on her part was exerting herself in promoting the temporal interests of the church. She re-established several religious houses, particularly those which had suffered for their adherence to her mother; converted the chapter at Westminster into a monastic foundation; and took every means to destroy the documents of the former

[1] See § 367, b.

reign, which either favoured the Reformation, or cast disgrace on her present coadjutors, by testifying their former compliance; an act which is in itself hardly justifiable, and which has had the effect of obscuring the history of the period, and leaving on the minds of those who study it an impression as injurious to the cause which it was meant to benefit, as any positive testimony could have afforded.

§ 373. (A.D. 1557.) The next year commenced with the visitation of the two universities, in which the commissioners seem to have reformed such real abuses as they met with; though one of their chief employments was to dig up the bones of Bucer and Fagius at Cambridge, which were burnt on account of the heresy of their former owners; and those of the wife of Peter Martyr at Oxford, which were buried in a dung heap, because she had died excommunicated. This absurd *brutum fulmen* was but the prelude to more serious persecutions, which were carried on with unabated vigour over the kingdom. The sufferers amounted in this year to seventy-nine, which number was probably increased by a commission given to Bonner and twenty others for the discovery of heresy and the punishment of certain offences, in which they were invested with all the authority which the infliction of fine and imprisonment could afford them. This, though far different from the establishment of the inquisition, was a very important step towards its introduction. In all these transactions, the cardinal probably was not guilty of any of the severest or most cruel measures. He seems to have tried, in a quiet manner, to check the vehemence of the bishop of London; but he possessed neither firmness of character nor influence sufficient to arrest these tyrannical proceedings; he had indeed dismissed several persons on very equivocal submission, but by so doing exposed himself to the malice of the pope, which broke out on the following occasion.

§ 374. Paul IV. had persuaded Henry II. of France to break the truce with Spain, contrary to all good faith; and when, after the battle of St. Quintin, in which the English had assisted the forces of Philip, the pope found himself exposed to the power of the Spaniards by the removal of the army of the duke of Guise from Italy, he vented his rage on Pole for not having prevented this step of the English cabinet, withdrew his legantine powers, and summoned him to Rome to answer the charges which were brought against him of favouring heresy. Peto, the queen's confessor, was invested with the authority of which the archbishop was deprived; but Mary, justly offended at these hasty decisions, refused to admit him into the kingdom. These disturbances, however, were quickly brought to a conclusion, for the advance of the duke of Alva on Rome reduced the pope to the necessity of a

peace, one of the secret articles of which was the restoration of Pole.

(A.D. 1558.) The loss of Calais and Guisnes, which seems to have been chiefly owing to the defective manner in which they were supplied, brought the dissatisfaction of the English nation to its summit; nor did the difficulties, chiefly financial, with which the council were surrounded, suffer them to adopt a rapid attack on the former fortress, a step strenuously recommended by the king. A parliament was now assembled, and relieved them from a part of their difficulties by a grant of money, which came too late to retrieve the errors that had been committed, and on the prorogation of it the bishops renewed their persecutions. Thirty-nine suffered this year, making the total of the victims during this reign amount to two hundred and seventy. Some authors (a) give a much larger number; but humanity shudders at this; and in a proclamation now put forth, the people are forbidden even to pray for the sufferers, a step in persecution much more unchristian than could have been conceived, had not experience taught us how far the evil passions may carry human beings when unrestrained by a sense of true religion. Bonner himself seems to have been glutted with murder, and to have confined his exertions to the personal castigation of his ill-fated prisoners.

§ 375. At length, however, it pleased Almighty God to put an end to these cruelties by the death of Mary, who, after a protracted state of declining health and suffering, ended her inglorious career on the seventeenth of November. With all her faults she must be allowed the praise of sincerity: for the love she bore to the Roman Catholic religion and the papacy induced her to advance its supposed interests at her own expense (a), as well as that of her persecuted subjects; and her chief misfortune seems to have been this, that a genius which would have shone in a nunnery was exalted to a throne. Her temper, naturally sour, had been rendered morose by the sufferings which she underwent; and her personal animosity was so wrapped up under the garb of religion, that she probably did not distinguish between the two. Had she

(a) Lord Burleigh reckons it at 400 (Burnet, *P.* iii. 189, fol. 454, 8vo). The writer to Ridley, *De Cœna Domini*, 800 in the first two years of the persecution (Burnet, vol. ii. 272, fol. 658, 8vo). This was probably Grindal. Strype makes it 288 (vi. 556, *Ecc. Mem.*). The numbers as given annually by Burnet amount to 270.

(a) Her foundations were made out of the revenues of the crown, and instead of making a gain of godliness, as was the general plan of the Reformation, she offered not up unto the Lord, of that which cost her nothing. Among other donations, she gave some rectories, which were in the hands of the crown, to Oxford, to repair the schools; and restored the temporalities to Durham, which had been taken away as a prey for the duke of Northumberland.

met with more wise and liberal counsellors, she might have escaped much of the obloquy with which her name was then and is still loaded; and had she followed the advice of Cardinal Pole, she would probably have avoided many of those enormities which disgrace human nature, and are an everlasting stigma on the Christian religion. The legate himself breathed his last within sixteen hours of his mistress; a man very different from those with whom he was politically connected, and who sought to establish the religion he professed by reforming obvious abuses and by gentleness of treatment. It does not appear that he always wished to abstain from severe measures against heretics; but, as it has been before observed, he could not follow the bent of his own mind; and it is not unworthy of remark, that the only pardon[1] issued for an heretic in this reign was granted at his intercession. Many Protestants had formed a very different opinion concerning him, and believed that he was in fact the friend of the Reformation;[2] but this false idea[3] was soon taken off; and, on finding their mistake, it is not wonderful that they should feel exasperated against him, though his conduct throughout seems to have been that of a reasonable and sincere Roman Catholic.

[1] Strype's *Ecc. Mem.* vi. 29. [2] *Cranmer*, 498, *App.* lxxxii.
[3] *Ecc. Mem.* v. 542.

CHAPTER VIII.

DURING PART OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, Nov. 17, 1558—1563.

401. Varied prospects of Elizabeth. 402. Prudence of her conduct. 403. Coronation; parliament. 404. Bishoprics pillaged by the Crown. 405. Conference in Westminster Abbey. 406. Convocation; injunctions. 407. Ejection of the recusant clergy. 408. Court of high commission; images. 409. Consecration of bishops. 410. Defective ministry arising partly from the poverty of the church. 411. Reforms; Jewel's Apology. 412. Parliament; convocation. 413. Benefits of the Reformation. Evils arising from the Reformation.

§ 401. The prospects of Elizabeth upon her succession to the throne were of that varied nature which give birth to, as well as require, superior abilities; nor would it have been easy to decide whether or no the dangers which threatened her from without were balanced by the domestic advantages with which her reign was commenced. Against France and Scotland, her nearest neighbours, she was engaged in open hostilities, and the loss of Calais had so dispirited the nation, that they were unable to exert themselves for its recovery, dissatisfied as they were at the idea of losing it. The army and navy which she possessed were scarcely adequate to the defence of her shores, and the pecuniary resources of the kingdom too low to afford her the means of recruiting them with effect. The plans of reformation in religion, which she had determined to adopt, were likely to alienate her only ally, and it was probable that no small number of the people of England who adhered to the Roman Catholic persuasion would entertain sentiments little different from those of Philip. These disadvantages were counterpoised by the unanimity of the nation; for no monarch ever ascended the throne with stronger expressions of public opinion in their favour, or whose character stood higher in the estimation of all orders. The cruelties of the late reign had gone far beyond the wishes of most of the more violent Roman Catholics; and the disgraces which had attended the arms of England had rendered the people generally dissatisfied with the government: to which it may be added, that Elizabeth had been the victim of much personal vexation, and the good conduct which she had exhibited under very trying circumstances had given her a just title to the popularity which usually attends the oppressed.

§ 402. The first acts of her reign were dictated by great prudence, and she seems to have been peculiarly fortunate as well as judicious in the selection of the persons by whom these transactions were chiefly directed. In the communications which she made to foreign courts, to inform them of her succession, she gratefully acknowledged the personal debt which she owed to Philip, nor did she neglect to send a despatch to the court of Rome; but Paul IV. refused to acknowledge her legitimacy, and threatened to show her no favour, since she had assumed without his concurrence a crown which was held in fee of the apostolic see; a haughtiness of proceeding which must be deemed the first step to that animosity between the two courts, of which the effects were so severely felt by the Roman Catholics of England. She seems indeed at this time to have desired as much union between her subjects of different persuasions, as was compatible with her own religious opinions and those which they severally professed; for though she had always been bred up a Protestant, and decidedly favoured that side of the question, yet in retaining twelve of those who had belonged to the council of Queen Mary, as her own privy counsellors, she gave the surest pledge that she had no intention of introducing any very violent innovations. No one could have doubted her inclination to promote the cause of the Reformation, since one of the first cares which occupied her attention was the appointment of a committee to examine into the service of Edward VI., and to alter whatever was amiss; yet its consultations were accompanied with a marked attention to prudence, rather than by zeal for alteration; and the same feature belonged to the other proceedings of this period. The only innovation[1] in the church service which she sanctioned on her own authority consisted in allowing the Ten Commandments, as well as the Gospel and Epistle, to be read in the vulgar tongue; and the same proclamation which enjoined this, forbade both parties to preach or expound them,[2] directing that the adoption of the English language in the public prayers should be confined to the Litany, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed. This step was perhaps rendered necessary by the eagerness to reform which was exhibited by certain persons desirous of entering on controversial subjects, and anxious to get rid of everything which offended them, without waiting for the dilatory process of legal enactments. The queen, however, possessed far too much sense to permit such tumultuary alterations, and her own conduct was characterized by firmness as well as prudence. She began her political career by trying to gain the good opinion and affection of all her subjects; and the condescending propriety of

[1] Strype's *Annals*, i. 77. [2] Ibid. i. 77.

her personal manner contributed greatly to produce this desired effect. She readily presented herself to the eyes of all orders, and assumed a demeanour which, though rather theatrical, was very taking with the multitude. When, for instance, she was proceeding on her way to the coronation[1] (A. D. 1559), a character in one of the city pageants, representing Truth, presented her with an English Bible, she kissed it, and with both her hands held it up, and then laid it upon her breast, and greatly thanking the city for that present, said she would often read over that book.

§ 403. (Jan. 15.) She was crowned by Oglethorp, bishop of Carlisle, as none of the other Roman Catholic bishops would consent to take part in the ceremony.[2] They foresaw the influence which her reign must probably have on religion; and being most of them unwilling to make new changes in their faith, they determined not to contribute in any degree to her establishment on the throne; a species of policy as unsound in principle as it was injurious to themselves in its effects; for unless they pretended to alter the line of legal succession by their noncompliance, it could hardly have any other tendency than that of alienating the mind of the queen from their cause, and certainly conveyed an idea that they wished to frighten her into compliance with their views; a step in itself unwarrantable, and which argued great ignorance of her temper and disposition. Fully conscious of the difficulties with which the kingdom was encompassed, she hastened to compose her differences with foreign powers, in order that every facility might be given to the internal settlement of the government; and quickly assembled a parliament, to frame such laws as might bring back the state of religion to nearly the same condition as had been established in the days of her brother. The first act of this session restored to the crown the fullest authority over all persons within the realm, without conferring the appellation which had been previously borne with it; for Elizabeth seems to have entertained some scruples as to the lawfulness of assuming the title of supreme head of the church, as belonging to Him only who is head over all. The powers, however, which were conveyed by it were fully ample to answer every purpose of reform,[3] and she was empowered to appoint commissioners, whose jurisdiction had bounds as indefinite as the supremacy itself. An oath, too, was imposed on all persons holding or taking any office, and most severe and unreasonable penalties affixed to the refusal of it. During the whole of the debate on this act, the strongest opposition was shown on the part of the Roman Catholic bishops, who advocated the cause of civil liberty; being naturally adverse

[1] Strype's *Annals*, i. 43. [2] Ibid. i. 73. [3] Statutes of the Realm.

to opinions so much at variance with what they had lately professed, and which were at the same time likely to eject them from their preferments.

§ 404. Nor were the temporal interests of the queen forgotten; for besides having the tenths and first-fruits restored to her, she was allowed to take possession of any ecclesiastical lands or property belonging to vacant sees, and to transfer an equivalent from such impropriations as were vested in the crown, a law which gave occasion to many exchanges seriously detrimental to the bishoprics; and it is hardly to be doubted, that the intention of those who passed the bill corresponded with the effects produced by it,[1] for who was likely to examine scrupulously into the fairness of the exchange while the preferment was vacant, and the appointment of the successor vested in the hands of the very authority which pillaged the benefice (a)?

§ 405. The act of uniformity, too, passed during this session, which, by restoring the use of the Common Prayer Book, gave back to the laity the full enjoyment of the sacrament of the Eucharist under both kinds. These innovations, however, were not made without keeping up at least the appearance of free discussion; for a disputation was appointed to be held in Westminster Abbey, in which the advocates of either faith might advance the arguments in favour of their own opinions, and endeavour to refute the positions of their adversaries: but though this conference was commenced with all due formality, yet it ended in tumult and confusion, and served only to widen the breach between the contending parties. The failure on this occasion seems to have been entirely owing to the Roman Catholics; for they refused to comply with the conditions on which the debate was to take place. It had been agreed that each party should read their arguments on the questions, and then give the written documents to their opponents, who on the next day were reciprocally to answer each other, and to transfer their papers. The points of discussion were, 1. Whether it were contrary to the word of God and the custom of the primitive church, to use an unknown tongue in the public service, and administration of the sacraments. 2. Whether every church has power to appoint rites and ceremonies, or to alter them, provided it be done to edification. 3. Whether the mass could be proved by the word of God to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead and

(a) So well aware of the evil tendency of this law were the bishops who were first consecrated, that they offered the queen to raise for her an income of a thousand marks, if she would stop these exchanges; but their application was ineffectual (Strype's *Grindal*, 49).

[1] Statutes of the Realm.

the living. But on the first day, though Cole delivered a long oration on the first question, the Roman Catholics refused to give in a copy of their arguments, and on the second day the conference was broken up, through a dispute about the order of proceeding, and in consequence of some applause which had been given to the Protestant advocates on the former occasion. Thus ended the disputation, of which the result was such as might naturally have been expected from this sort of exhibition, in which all the passions are excited by its publicity, and no room left for quiet discussion; and yet it was not without its use(a). The ill conduct of the Roman Catholic advocates turned the general opinion against them, and the Reformation made much progress in the sentiments of the numerous hearers, and through them in the country at large; for all men readily exclaimed that the present issue was produced by those who knew that their opinions could not stand the test of sober reason; and who, therefore, preferred the dissolution of the conference to exhibiting their own weakness; which observation was much favoured by what was said by the bishops of Lincoln and Worcester, who objected, in toto, to thus allowing the laity to become judges in ecclesiastical affairs, and concerning doctrines which had been before settled by the Catholic church, and were not now therefore to be called in question by any but an assembly of divines; a method of solving the difficulty which must appear reasonable to those who believe in an infallible church, but which is unfortunately equally conclusive against every species of amendment or reformation, wherein the interests of such a church are concerned.

§ 406. The convocation had been assembled at the same time as the parliament[1], and certain articles which were exhibited in the lower house, and sent up to the bishops, showed the decided spirit of popery by which this body was actuated, as well as the favour which was shown to such opinions in the universities, where these articles had received many subscriptions. These exertions, however, produced no effect.

The queen's Injunctions were published during the spring,[2] which correspond in most respects with those set forth in the

(a) There is a document in Burnet II. iii. No. 5, signed by several of the privy council, attributing the whole blame to the bishops who refused to produced their opinions on paper. The bishops of Lincoln and Winchester were the next day committed to the Tower, and the rest of the Roman Catholic disputants obliged to find bail for their personal appearance before the council as often as it sat. A step which, though it may possibly be defended on the plea of their disorderly conduct, cannot but appear severe and vexatious. See Strype's *Ann.* i. 139.

[1] Strype's *Ann.* i. 80.

[2] Sparrow's *Coll.* 65.

beginning of the reign of Edward VI. The chief additions to them consist in regulations concerning the marriage of the clergy (a), their habits, &c., together with an open declaration of the supremacy, which the queen claimed to herself, and to which allusion is made in the thirty-second article of our church.[1] It is here declared that the queen neither does nor will challenge any other authority than that which was used by her father and brother; viz. the sovereignty over all persons born within the realm, and the exclusion of all foreign jurisdiction. These Injunctions, as well as certain Articles of Visitation,[2] with respect to parishes, were but preparatory steps to the establishment of the court of high commission, which was constituted towards the end of June, and by means of which a general visitation with regard to ecclesiastical matters took place throughout the whole kingdom.

§ 407. The ninth section in the act of Parliament[3] had enjoined all spiritual persons holding preferments to take the oath of supremacy under pain of deprivation; and this was now tendered by these commissioners. All the bishops, with the exception of one only, Kitchin of Llandaff, refused so to do, and were ejected from their sees, to the number of fourteen. Whether they now acted from conscientious motives, or hoped by their numbers to force the queen into compliance, must, in this world at least, remain a secret; but as several[4] of them had previously assented to the doctrine of the pre-eminence of the civil power, their combination looks very much like a conspiracy to support each other in their refusal. The treatment[5] which they experienced after their deprivation was generally moderate, and in several instances most kind and considerate (a). Heath resided on his own property in Surrey,

(a) Great scandal seems to have arisen in the church, in consequence of the indiscreet marriage of its ministers (Sparrow's *Coll.* p. 76, § 29). It was therefore ordered, that no priest or deacon should marry without the approbation first obtained of the bishop and two justices of the peace for the county, nor without the consent of the parents or relatives of the woman, or of the master or mistress with whom she was at service, in case she had no relatives (a proof of the low rank held by the clergy). The marriage of bishops was to be sanctioned by the metropolitan and commissioners appointed by the queen, and that of deans and heads of houses by their visitors; and in case of neglecting these orders, they became incapable of holding ecclesiastical benefices. I know not whether these were ever acted on, but they formed one of the heads of examination with the concealers. Strype's *Ann.* v. 163. See § 428.

(a) See note H. in Lingard's *Hist. of Eng.* vol. vii. where the same treatment is represented differently. As it is difficult to defend the justice of these ejectments, so it is impossible to deny the necessity of them. See a considerable account of them in Fuller (ix. 58). Nine sees were now vacant, and three bishops fled beyond sea.

[1] Sparrow's *Coll.* 81. [2] Ibid. 175. [3] *Stat. Realm*, 1 Eliz.
[4] Strype's *Ann.* i. 216. [5] Ibid. i. 211.

and was several times visited by the queen herself; and even Bonner, notwithstanding all the enormities of which he had been guilty, died a natural death; in prison indeed; for the resentment of the populace rendered it dangerous for him to leave what became a place of safety rather than of confinement. The rest of the clergy generally complied with the changes which were established by law, as, indeed, they had frequently done before; for of 9,400 beneficed men in England, there were but 14 bishops, 6 abbots, 12 deans, 12 archdeacons, 15 heads of colleges, 50 prebendaries, and 80 rectors, making a total of 189, who refused to take the oath of supremacy; a number which would appear very inconsiderable, amounting to little more than one in fifty, did we not consider the conciliatory steps which the queen had taken to satisfy all parties, and the modification of the meaning of the oath which the declaration in the Injunctions implied (b).

§ 408. Another point into which the commissioners inquired was the abuse of images;[1] and during this summer many appear to have been destroyed. When Elizabeth[2] first came to the throne, the zeal of the reformers had induced them to outstep the limits of the law with regard to these objects of national abomination; but the proclamation of the queen had checked the spirit of unauthorized destruction. Her own sentiments on this subject were, it must be owned, not very equivocally displayed; it was not in her a toleration of what might be deemed innocent by some, but the approval of such representations as seem forbidden in Scripture. She allowed the rood to remain in her own chapel for some time (a);

(b) The publication of a form of communion to be used at funerals, and the rubric and absolution in the service for the Visitation of the Sick (Sparrow's *Coll.* 201) may be adduced as instances of the general wish to conciliate exhibited by our church. The Roman Catholic population had been accustomed to connect the idea of a funeral with a mass for the dead, and when the superstitious part of the custom was abrogated, whatever was not unscriptural was retained; and at the moment after that in which the body of a relation has been committed to the earth, the surviving relatives are likely to remember Him through whom we all hope to rise again. So again the customs of the church of Rome had in the minds of the people rendered absolution by the priest, as it were, necessary to salvation; and if any dying brother humbly and heartily desired this office, if his scruples made him wish for such a declaratory consolation as a fellow-sinner could authoritatively give him, a form of absolution was adjoined for the purpose.

(a) This crucifix was offensive to many of the bishops; and in 1561 a disputation was held, in which Parker and Cox supported its remaining, Grindal and Jewel argued against it (Burn. *Ref.* vi. 381, No. 60, 8vo.). This seems to have had little effect; for in 1565, R. Tracy wrote to Secretary Cecil, urging him to use his influence for its removal (Strype's *Ann.* ii. 198). Between this time and 1570 it appears to have been put out of the chapel, and restored again, to the great dislike of the people (Strype's *Parker*, ii. 35), and to have been there when the Admonition to Parliament was published, 1572 (Strype's *Ann.* ii. 200).

[1] Strype's *Ann.* i. 254.

[2] Ibid. 290.

and though there was something said about images, in the Injunctions and Articles of Visitation, yet the clergy were rather ordered not to extol them, than to cast them entirely out of places of Christian worship, unless they had been superstitiously misused. In the next year, indeed, some of the new bishops, with a laudable anxiety for God's service, endeavoured to carry this point, by addressing themselves to her majesty, and stating at length the arguments against the continuance of this abuse; and their exertions seem to have been crowned with the success which they so well deserved. In this case, the temporising spirit of the queen strongly showed itself. She was perfectly right in trying to conciliate all her subjects; but as the principles of real toleration were not then at all understood, she rather compromised the opinions of Protestants than favoured the sentiments of her other subjects; and in endeavouring to induce the Roman Catholics to become members of the church of England, she ran the risk of driving from our communion the soundest friends and ablest supporters of the Reformation.

§ 409. The next step, which from its importance to the church greatly occupied the attention of the court, was the filling up of the vacant bishoprics. It so happened, that from deaths and deprivations almost all the sees were at this moment unoccupied; nor could those bishops who retained their preferments for the present be induced to assist in the consecration of men of whose opinions they did not approve. But against this evil a remedy had been provided by the providence of God; for there still existed several members of the episcopal order, who, having fled beyond sea, and escaped the persecutions of Mary, became the instruments of continuing to our church the apostolical succession of bishops. As much evil had been produced during the reign of Edward VI. by the favour which some individuals holding high situations in the church had shown the Roman Catholic religion, it was now determined to employ great caution in the selection of those who were to discharge this most important duty.

The character of Matthew Parker, as well as the personal favour of Elizabeth, marked him out as the future metropolitan; but his own unwillingness to accept so responsible and arduous an office delayed his consecration for nearly a twelvemonth: the ceremony was at last performed, on the 17th of December, in the chapel at Lambeth, by Scory, who had formerly held the see of Chichester, and was now elected to that of Hereford; Barlow, formerly of Wells, now bishop elect of Chichester; Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, who was never re-appointed to any see; and Hodgkin,

suffragan of Bedford (a). Strype has been very particular in recording everything which was done on this occasion from the most authentic documents,[1] in order to refute the fable of the Nag's Head consecration, which was promulgated by the Roman Catholics about forty years after the event had taken place;[2] when it might have been supposed that all direct testimony would have been lost. The story is, that the bishops elect met at a tavern, which bore that sign, and that when Oglethorp refused to consecrate them, Scory laid a Bible on each of their heads, and bade them rise up bishops. The tale has been refuted as often as brought forward, and bears on its face this difficulty, that had this account been known to the enemies of the church of England, it is not likely that any delicacy on their part should have delayed its publication for so long a period.

§ 410. The other sees were most of them filled up during the next year, and the church began to employ itself on those points in which amendment was chiefly required. The state of the ministry formed one of the most prominent cares towards which the attention of the guardians of the establishment was directed; for the ignorance which generally prevailed in the universities (a), together with the superstition which reigned there, made it very difficult to obtain men suited to the task, or capable of performing the duties to which they were called; so that the necessity of the case induced many bishops to ordain persons of whom they entertained a good opinion with regard to their religious sentiments, but who were inadequate, in point of attainments, to so important a charge. The ill effects, however, of this system were soon discovered,[3] and in August Parker wrote to Grindal[4] desiring him not to ordain any more mechanics (b).

(a) The legality of the English consecrations was in 1568 very nearly tried before a common jury, in a court of law. Horne, bishop of Winchester, tendered the oath of supremacy to Bonner while a prisoner in the Marshalsea, and therefore within his diocese; and Bonner among other pleas, put in one which denied that Horne was a bishop at all. He had been consecrated according to the service established by Edward VI. and abolished by Mary, and which had never since been distinctly authorized by act of Parliament. The point was argued, and would have been brought before a jury, had not an act been passed which declared all bishops, priests, and deacons consecrated according to the form established, to be bishops, priests, and deacons (Fuller, ix. 80. Strype's *Ann.* I. ii. 2).

(a) Jewel, writing to Peter Martyr in 1559, says, 'Academia utraque, et ea præsertim, quam tu non ita pridem doctissime atque optime coluisti, miserrime nunc disjecta jacet, sine pietate, sine religione, sine doctore, sine spe ulla literarum' (Burnet, P iii. No. 58). To Bullinger, 'Academiæ nostræ ita afflictæ sunt, ut Oxoniæ vix duo sunt, qui nobiscum sentiant; et illi ipsi ita abjecti et fracti ut nihil possint' (Strype's *Ann* No. 20, vol. ii. 490).

(b) Gibson (afterwards bishop of London) writes to Mr. Pepys, 1696, *Diary*, ii. 153. 'The other day I met with a catalogue of the clergy

[1] Parker, i. 101. [2] See § 623. [3] Strype's *Parker*, i. 180. [4] Ibid. *Grindal*, 60.

The difficulty of finding persons who might be willing to enter into the ministry, and able to fulfil the duties of it, had been greatly augmented by the extreme poverty to which the clergy were generally reduced. This evil arose chiefly from impropriations and alienations, which had been carried on to a dreadful extent, and which were now by no means effectually prevented; but the loss of those offerings customarily made at shrines, and of the fees paid for the performance of ecclesiastical duties in the parish, had in no small degree contributed to the same end. This latter cause was particularly injurious, since the benefices in large towns chiefly depended on this source of revenue; and those places, where the efficiency of the clergyman was of the most importance, had no means of supporting the incumbent. St. Mary Ax, for instance, had for some time been without any minister, as its revenues did not amount to five pounds,[1] till it was united by Grindal to another parish. To all these causes must be added the simoniacal contracts of corrupt patrons, who sought not for those who could 'preach learnedly, but pay largely.'[2]

§ 411. The bishops seem at first to have been so fully employed about the concerns of their several dioceses, that little progress was made in the public and outward concerns of the church, though its leading members were in all probability secretly preparing what was required, and deliberating on those particulars in which reform was principally wanted.

(A.D. 1562.) These points consisted in the publication of certain articles of faith, which might set forth, in an authoritative manner, the belief of the church of England; in a new translation or revisal of the Bible; and the establishment of a code of ecclesiastical laws.

While these things were preparing, Bishop Jewel put forth his *Apology for the Church of England*, a work as remarkable for the elegance of the Latin in which it is written, as for the soundness of the positions which it maintains.[3] He there states, in a brief and oratorical style, the grounds of the separation of our church from that of Rome; shewing that in what she had done, England had

of the archdeaconry of Middlesex, taken in 1563, with an account of each man's learning and abilities; in short, observing the strangeness of the characters, I ran over the whole, and as I went along, branched them under different heads, whereby their several abilities in learning are there expressed.

'Docti Latine et Græce	3
Docti	12
Mediocriter docti	2
Latine docti	9
Latine mediocriter	33
Latine parum aliquid, &c.	42
Latine non docti	13
Indocti	4

'If the London clergy were thus ignorant, what must we imagine the country divines were?'

[1] Strype's *Grindal*, 78.

[2] Strype's *Ann.* iv. 146. See also § 430.

[3] Ibid. i. 424.

rather returned to the state of the primitive church, than occasioned a schism in the Christian family, and that the innovation with which we were charged, was merely the rejection of the errors introduced by the community from which we had separated (a).

§ 412. (January 12, A.D. 1563.) In January of the next year the parliament and convocation were assembled; by the former, a very severe law[1] was passed for enforcing the supremacy; and to refuse the oath, when tendered a second time, was declared to be treason; a step which, though it might in some measure seem to be defensible, in consequence of the treasonable conspiracy carried on by the Poles and others, with the design of bringing in Mary queen of Scots, appears to be as remarkable for the unsoundness of its political principles as for the cruelty of its enactments.[2] The words of the oath of supremacy, even during this reign, were such, that a Roman Catholic, whatever his views in politics might be, could hardly take it; so that if the law were acted upon, it might bring some of the most faithful of her subjects into jeopardy of their lives; while it is evident that no laws can guard against the attacks of men who are urged by religious phrensy, and willing to make themselves martyrs in the cause of their own opinions; a truth which was fully verified throughout the whole of this reign.

In the lower house of convocation many of those questions were now agitated which formed the groundwork of the subsequent objections of the puritans; but as the motions founded on them were never passed, the discussion of the points themselves may be reserved to the beginning of the next chapter.

The acts of this convocation are much more important. The Articles of our church, then consisting of thirty-eight,[3] were published as containing the confession of the church of England, but they do in reality differ very little from the forty-two which were put forth by the authority of Cranmer, in the reign of Edward VI.

(March 3.) The larger catechism (a), too, revised and enlarged by Alexander Noel, dean of St. Paul's,[4] was approved by the lower house of convocation; a tribute of respect which confers on it a species of semi-authority, though not officially promulgated by the church of England.

(a) It is printed in the *Enchiridion Theologicum*, and has been lately reprinted by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. It may be deemed a book authorized by the church of England. It was published at the command of the queen, and ordered to be set up in churches (Strype's *Ann.* III. i. 738).

(a) It is printed in the *Enchiridion Theologicum*, and is chiefly taken from Ponet's *Catechism*, § 331, a.

[1] See § 453 (a).
[2] *Statutes of the Realm*, c. i. 5 Eliz.
[3] See § 485.
[4] Strype's *Ann.* i. 525, and 323.

The second book of Homilies (b) was printed about this period,[1] though it took some time to distribute it generally throughout the country.

§ 413. As these documents together form the standard and basis of our present church, we may deem the Reformation to have now received its accomplishment; the changes which have been since made are in their nature comparatively insignificant; so that before we proceed to the continuation of the history, it may be useful for a moment briefly to inquire what we have gained or lost by the Reformation in religion.

We have learnt the fundamental truth on which the whole of

(b) See § 305. The history of the composition of the Homilies is buried in so much obscurity, that a short note will convey to the reader all that is known concerning them. The first volume is generally attributed to Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hopkins, and Becon. Burnet (Pref. to the *Thirty-nine Articles*, p. iii.) says that Jewel was particularly engaged in compiling the second. Archbishop Parker, however, in 1563, speaks of them as being 'revised and finished, with a second part, by him and the other bishops' (Strype's *Parker*, i. 253), an expression indicating, perhaps, that they were drawn up in the reign of Edward VI., though not published, but by no means deciding the question. The language of the two books is different, and there is much internal evidence of the several homilies having been composed by different authors. The first book is probably the most valuable, and the expressions used in the thirty-fifth Article, 'Non minus quam prior tomus homiliarum quæ editæ sunt tempore Edvardi Sexti,' &c., seem rather to indicate that the latter work was not composed by the same authors. The homilies on Salvation, Faith, and Good Works, are with reason attributed to Cranmer (Todd, on the *Thirty-nine Art.* pref. p. xi.). That on Adultery is by Becon, and printed in the second vol. of his Works. The most important editions of the Homilies are as follows:

First book, first edit. 1547, last of July. 1 Edw. VI.
Second, divided as at present, 1549, August.
Second book, 1st 1563, that on Wilful Rebellion was added 1571.
Last, by authority, 1623.

'Fortunately, the variations in the different editions, numerous as they are, are almost universally verbal or grammatical; and it is remarkable, that a book which has passed through the hands of so many editors, and has been altered in almost every edition, should have received so few alterations of any importance as to doctrine. One use of such collations, is to prove that the Homilies have not been tampered with by any sect or party among us, for the purpose of making them express sentiments different from those of the original compilers.' Dr. Elmsley's Preface to the *Homilies*, with various readings, Oxford, 1822.

When Dr. Elmsley was engaged in preparing this edition, he kindly promised the use of his Collections for the present work, but added, that there was no real information on the subject. His death deprived the author of this advantage, and of the advice of a friend, who, to a mass of real knowledge on almost every subject, joined a facility of communicating it, which endeared him to those who were acquainted with him, and who would not have disdained to render this sketch less unworthy of perusal, by correcting its errors and supplying its deficiencies.

[1] Strype's *Ann.* ii. 104.

Christianity rests, nay, which is itself Christianity; That 'we are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not of our own works or deservings.' That good works, however pleasing to God, are only accepted as proofs of the faith which we entertain in the mercy of Heaven, and as proceeding from love towards Him who hath redeemed us. That acts of penitence, however sincere, can in no sense be deemed a compensation for our sin, although they may prove useful to ourselves in preventing a repetition of our crimes; and that there is no sacrifice for sin but the atonement which was once offered on the cross.

The establishment of these truths virtually got rid of the greater part of the superstitious rites with which religion had been overwhelmed, and she was again enthroned in the heart of the true believer, instead of being identified with ceremonious observances. A communion had been substituted in lieu of the mass; and with the rejection of the doctrine of transubstantiation, the laity were taught that the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken by the faithful alone in the Lord's Supper; the efficacy of which consists in the institution of Christ, and the state of their own consciences, and not in the magic virtue of priestly offices. The personal responsibility of the individual Christian was clearly insisted on; and though the laity were not deprived of the comfort and aid of spiritual guidance, yet that inquisitorial power which the clergy had exercised by means of auricular confession was removed, and the priesthood became the directors of their flocks, and not the self-constituted judges of the terms on which pardon might be obtained from the Almighty. They were still the keepers of the keys of the kingdom of heaven; but by the dissemination of the Scriptures, and the progress of education, the rest of their brethren were permitted to guide their own footsteps towards the gates of paradise. The Bible was indeed committed to their peculiar care, but it was not withheld from the hands of the people; so that though it was their especial duty to lead on their fellow-servants in the right path, yet they could no longer, like the lawyers of old, take away the key from others, or prevent those from entering in who would gladly do so. All were taught to examine for themselves; and though little toleration was subsequently granted to any who ventured to differ from the queen, yet the first great step towards religious liberty was irrevocably made when it was authoritatively stated[1] that every assembly of human beings was liable to err even in things pertaining to God. At the same time a very material diminution was made in the power of the church, considered as a body distinct from the laity, when its

[1] Art. xxi.

members were allowed to connect themselves to the rest of society by those ties of matrimony which the law of God has left open to all: for these bands which attach the individual churchman to the nearer concerns of private life, cannot fail to weaken the interest he feels in the political welfare of the ecclesiastical body, to which alone the earthly affections of the unmarried must be wedded. The property of the church, and that influence which is ever connected with its possession, had undoubtedly in former times been too great for the welfare of the kingdom; but the Protestant monarchs had taken good care to prevent the recurrence of this evil: nor can it be denied that the poverty which succeeded its too wealthy state was in many respects injurious to the cause of vital religion, as it neither afforded the ministers of God's word such facilities for education as their profession required, nor gave them the means of keeping up their outward respectability before their flocks. This was peculiarly felt by many of the newly-appointed bishops, who, returning pennyless from their foreign hiding-places, found themselves on a sudden exalted into situations from which much worldly pomp had always been expected, and for the supply of which the revenues of their preferments were totally inadequate. They were forced, therefore, in their prosperity to exercise that patience which they had long practised in the hour of misfortune: and by the sacrifices which they were called on to make, the momentous truth was daily impressed on them, a truth which it would be well if none of us forgot, that the church establishment is intended to promote the cause of religion, and not religion to advance the interests of the church.

Among the abuses which had been remedied, many were as offensive to the religious members of the Roman Catholic communion as to Protestants; nor can it be denied that other evils were introduced, from which they had been comparatively free, and which cannot fail to prejudice them against the measures which were adopted.

Enough has been already said of the spoliation of church property which accompanied this part of our history; but on the whole, probably, the present revenues of the church are adequate to her real interests, if they were reasonably divided and properly distributed; and poverty is a much more safe state for the church of Christ than wealth: 'How hardly shall a rich men enter into the kingdom of heaven!'

The subjection of the ecclesiastical body to the state, in the manner in which it takes place in the church of England, must be very offensive to those whose views in this respect have been differently directed; and though perhaps such a constitution may be as beneficial to society as any human appointment can be

expected to prove, yet we must be blind not to perceive many evils resulting from it. It may perhaps be questionable, whether much power over his lay brethren may be safely intrusted to the minister of the Gospel; yet it cannot but appear singular, that of all the different denominations of Christians which exist in England, probably no one body has committed so little spiritual authority into the hands of those who preside over its concerns, as the established church. This is probably right, as far as the laity are concerned; but it cannot be right when we look at that discipline which the church ought to exercise over its official members. All the power which was exercised in ecclesiastical matters, during this and the following reigns, was in reality a civil power, and was often exerted unfortunately for civil purposes. So that the church frequently formed a rallying point in political differences; and as the spirit of civil liberty by degrees emancipated the church from the tyranny to which it had been reduced, it left us without effectual ecclesiastical discipline.

In matters of faith, too, many evils of the same description took place. The people had been taught to believe that religion consisted in the performance of religious duties, and not in the religious state of the heart, of which religious actions are the natural and necessary fruit; and when the principles of the Reformation had pointed out the inadequacy of the acts themselves to obtain the favour of God, men were ready to forget that the act generally produces the temper, and that the temper cannot really exist, unless accompanied by the act. Confession, for instance, had been abused; and when men were told that it was not necessary for salvation, they assumed that it did not contribute to produce a humble frame of mind. They were told that stated fasts were an invention of men, and they forgot that fasting is an institution sanctioned by Christ(a). They learnt that in many cases the Roman Catholics had mistaken and neglected the end of religious performances, and they themselves, while keeping the eye fixed on the end, neglected the means whereby that end might be obtained.

(a) There can be little doubt that the abuse of fasting among the Roman Catholics has produced an injurious counteraction among Protestants with regard to this duty; but undoubtedly many members of the church of Rome submit to a very rigorous and conscientious abstinence during Lent. The error consists in imposing such rules as necessarily binding on Christians, and in substituting one species of food for another. As early as 1541, Gardiner reproved some Cambridge students for neglecting the observance of Lent; but in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, it seems to have been very strictly kept (*Parker*, i. 133). Proclamations were issued concerning fasting in 1563, 1572, 1576, 1601. And Elizabeth herself would not eat flesh during Lent, till she had obtained a dispensation to that effect from the archbishop, 1587; and there are instances of other dispensations to the same effect (Fuller, ix. 182. Strype's *Whitgift*, ii. 456.)

The Roman Catholic clergy had often exercised an authority over their flocks, which tended to destroy the moral and religious energies of the people; do not conscientious Protestants, while they deplore the want of restraint which arises from actual discipline over those who are placed under our spiritual care, and which we are not allowed to use, nevertheless neglect to introduce those moral restraints which nothing but religious education and sound information can impart?

The extent of this subject renders it impossible that it should be fully developed; and it must be left to the meditations of the thoughtful reader of ecclesiastical history, with the brief expression of a hope that Roman Catholics may draw nearer to Protestants in those points where we surpass them, and that we may draw nearer to them in those particulars wherein we have been losers in receding from them.

If any religious Roman Catholic be unwilling to allow, that in the advantages before enumerated we at all surpass him, if his whole hopes of salvation be built on that foundation in which we as Protestants trust, let us pray God that neither of us may as individuals be cast out through our own faults; and while we acknowledge the advantages derived to us through the church of Rome, let him thank God that he, as a member of that communion, has obtained in spiritual things many benefits, which he owes to the existence of the Reformation: and let us hope and pray, that the dissemination of religious knowledge may by God's mercy prove a blessing to all Christians.

CHAPTER IX.

DURING PART OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, FROM 1563 TO 1583.

414. Disputes about ecclesiastical dresses. 415. The question resolved into its elements. 416. Uniformity in dress enforced; Sampson and Humphrey. 417. Opinions concerning these points. 418. Of Jewel; Sandys; Grindal; Parker; Whitgift. 419. Of foreign divines. 420. Conduct of Elizabeth and Parker. 421. Of the Puritans. 422. Parker's treatment of the Nonconformists. 423. Objections of the Nonconformists. 424. Baptismal service; churching of women; music. 425. Church discipline. 426. Ordination; parochial discipline. 427. Prophesyings; alienation of church property. 428. Ecclesiastical commission; commissions of concealment. 429. Conduct of Elizabeth about church property. 430. Poverty of the church; (a) question of church property. 431. Early history of the reign. 432. The London clergy. 433. Cambridge; Cartwright. 434. Convocation. 435. Ecclesiastical laws; acts of parliament. 436. Poor Laws. 437. Against Roman Catholics. 438. Roman Catholic seminaries abroad; Persons and Campian. 439. The treatment of the Roman Catholics, due in part to themselves. 440. Principles on which the question of the treatment of them rests. 441. Blame due to the Roman Catholics. 442. Their conduct; the real causes of the evil. 443. Temporal character of the Reformation. 444. Persecutions under Mary and Elizabeth compared. 445. Injustice and intolerance of the reign. 446. Severity towards the Nonconformists; Archbishop Parker. 447. Grindal, Archbishop; prophesyings stopped; the archbishop suspended. 448. Examination of the conduct of Grindal. 449. Of the treatment of the Puritans.

§ 414. No sooner had the external enemies of Protestantism lost their power to persecute in England, than the spirit of discord arose within the bosom of our own church; and when all essential points of reformation had been established, the trifling articles of dress and ceremonies produced a flame, which finally ended in the temporary destruction of our church and constitution. In any great change of opinion, among the mass of society, it is natural for men to run into extremes; and wherever party spirit has been prevalent, the passions are so called into action, that some time is required before reason can assume her command; and during such a period, the externals of religion, or of party distinction, naturally produce the greatest effect, and excite the warmest animosity.

The church of Rome had abounded in ceremonies so numerous, as to become burdensome to its members; and the foreign reformers, in avoiding this extreme, had perhaps rendered the outward offices of religion too simple, and therefore less calculated to excite all those feelings among the people, which may beneficially

be enlisted in the cause of devotion. Many of the English divines had adopted their ideas on these points from the school of Geneva, and the disputes which had thence arisen, and which had previously disturbed the peace of the exiles in Frankfort, were unfortunately now introduced into England. We cannot but deplore such an event; but it forms a melancholy comment on the words of St. Paul, and clearly proves how little all other gifts profit, if not accompanied with Christian charity.

§ 415. In order to get a clear view of the merits of the question, it may not be amiss to resolve it into its elementary principles; for the point at issue is very complicated. It seems to divide itself into the following heads.

There are corruptions concerning which the Christian, and particularly the Christian minister, must undergo any extremity, rather than admit of them. But it may be questioned whether the use of an ecclesiastical dress, or of ceremonies, be one of this nature; if it be, the individual is right in not complying; but if it be not, then he who resists incurs the wrath of God in withstanding the commands of his prince, and opposing the law of the land.

In these, however, and other points, in which the civil magistrate has a full right to command, he may exert that power so as to do great injury to the cause of Christianity; and as the subject is clearly directed to obey in matters indifferent, so the magistrate is bound not to be peremptory in his commands, unless there be some sound reason for exerting his authority.

The first of these queries must receive its answer from the conscience of the subject; the latter, from the judgment of the government; and both ought to rest upon the decisions of the word of God.

But the difficulty of this discussion is much increased by the complicated nature of the duty of ecclesiastical officers, who as churchmen are bound to obey the established laws, and, as governors of the church, ought to deal charitably with weak brethren, and to soften down as much as possible the severity of those laws which they are called upon to execute. In case, then, the laws are such as are in the opinion of the individual injurious to edification, though he may himself comply with them, yet he can hardly enforce conformity on others; and the spiritual safety of a man so situated will be best consulted by resigning the office with which he was intrusted, for the Christian benefit of those under his control.

In estimating, therefore, the conduct and treatment of the puritans, these several bearings must always be kept in view; and when the matter is duly appreciated, we shall have every cause to be thankful that we live in times in which toleration has nearly put a stop to such discussions.

§ 416. In the first year of Elizabeth the act of uniformity was passed, which gave full powers to the queen with regard to ecclesiastical concerns; and in the last clause but one it is enacted, that all ornaments for churches, and the ministers thereof, shall remain as they were in the second year of Edward VI.(a) Proceedings, however, were not commenced for some time against those ministers who did not comply with this part of the law, and a sufficient period was granted to the doubtful, had they been ready to avail themselves of it. But the evil of nonconformity seemed to gain ground by delay; and in the beginning of 1565, Elizabeth sent a pressing letter to Parker, and through him to the rest of the bishops, in which she enjoined them to begin the work of enforcing uniformity.[1] It can hardly be necessary in the present day to prove, that outward habits are to be ranked among things indifferent, and that the clergy, therefore, ought to comply with such injunctions as are given by the legal enactments of the country: but the general antipathy exhibited in London and elsewhere to the cap and surplice prove that the consciences of brethren were then easily offended; while the methods used to remedy the disorder show that such scruples were not always treated with becoming tenderness.[2] The majority of the London clergy complied with the order concerning the unity of apparel, but a considerable number refused to do so, and were subsequently deprived of their preferments. This species of tacit resistance to the authority of the crown was not confined to the lower orders of the clergy, or to those whose situation in life, or want of education, might lead us to doubt the probability of their estimating the question fairly, but men of considerable weight entertained scruples on the subject, and some of them were even exposed to the penalties of the law.[3] Sampson, dean of Christ Church, and Humphrey, president of Magdalen College, Oxford, were cited before the ecclesiastical commission, and required to conform in the use of the cap and surplice; and though they wrote a most submissive petition,[4] declaring their scruples and unwillingness to comply, because the law concerning the restoration of the ceremonies of the Roman church is joined with the hazard of slavery, necessity, and superstition, yet no alternative was left them but that of surrendering their scruples or their places.[5]

§ 417. Their conduct throughout seems to have been that of men of tender consciences, not of persons obstinately bent on following their own devices; yet Sampson was imprisoned and deprived,[6]

(a) That is, according to the rubric of 1549; see § 743 (b), 9.

[1] Strype's *Parker*, i. 309.
[2] Strype's *Grindal*, 144.
[3] Strype's *Parker*, i. 322.
[4] Strype's *Parker*, iii. No. 30, i. 323.
[5] Ibid. i. 327.
[6] Ibid. i. 368.

and Humphrey, after having been connived at for ten or eleven years, ultimately complied with the ordinances of the church. Such Christian and dignified submission as was exhibited by these men could not be expected from all; nor, indeed, did all others display it; but that species of insolent opposition to all church discipline, of which instances subsequently occur, was of later growth, and may possibly owe its origin to the severities now practised. In estimating the fault or the punishment of these men, our judgments are liable to err, from not knowing what opinions were generally entertained about the dresses themselves (a). In the present day it seems absurd to talk of the necessary connexion between popery and a square cap and surplice; yet, where knowledge was scarce, and prejudice strong, such a connexion existing in the minds of the people might have produced infinite harm. At all events, these disputes among churchmen must have been very injurious to the cause of real piety. It may now appear probable, that greater concessions to the weakness of sincere brethren might have been made with advantage by the stronger and the sounder members of our distracted church. They would have imitated the true mother in the judgment of Solomon, and have been ready to concede their rights, to relinquish even the justice of their cause, sooner than suffer the object of their affections to be torn asunder in the struggle; and this idea rests on the opinions expressed by many individuals who were neither so much implicated as to become parties in the discussion, nor so far removed in point of time from the events as to be unable to understand the prejudices which influenced the sincere nonconformist.

§ 418. Jewel, though he conformed himself, and blames those who laid too great a stress on the matter, never seems to have been pleased with the dresses, and uses very strong expressions in disapprobation of them (a).

Sandys,[1] in his will of the date of 1558, says, when speaking of the rites and ceremonies of the church, 'So have I ever been and

(a) These opinions are expressed at length in a letter from Whittingham, dean of Durham, to Lord Leicester. (Strype's *Parker*, iii. 76, No. 27, and i. 329, ch. xxxiii.)

(a) 'De religione quod scribis, et veste scenica, o utinam id impetrari potuisset (Burnet, iii. vi. No. 57). Nos quidem tam bonæ causæ non defuimus. Sed illi, quibus ista tantopere placuerunt, credo, sequuti sunt inscitiam presbyterorum: quos, quoniam nihil aliud videbant esse, quam stipites, sine ingenio, sine doctrina, sine moribus, veste saltem comica volebant populo commendari. Nam ut alantur bonæ literæ, et surrogetur seges aliqua doctorum hominum, nulla, o Deus bone, nulla hoc tempore cura suscipitur. Itaque quoniam vera via non possunt, istis ludicris ineptiis teneri volunt oculos multitudinis.' Letter to Peter Martyr, 1559. So in the next of the same date. 'Omnia docentur ubique purissime. In ceremoniis et larvis passim plusculum ineptitur.' No. 58.

[1] Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 548.

presently am persuaded, that some of them be not so expedient for this church now; but that in the church reformed, and in all this time of the Gospel, wherein the seed of the Gospel hath so long been sown, they may better be disused by little and little than more and more urged.' In a private letter to Peter Martyr, in 1560, he expresses himself much more adverse to the dresses (b).

Grindal had great scruples about the habits,[1] and wrote to Peter Martyr on the subject, who advised that in his private dress the bishop should certainly comply, but that if the public ministration in it would promote the idea of the mass, he had better not sanction what was wrong by his example; and that at all events he should continue to speak and teach against the use of the habits.[2] In a letter to Bullinger, 1566, he adds, that when the bishops, who had been exiles in Germany, could not persuade the queen and parliament to remove these habits out of the church, though they had long endeavoured it, by common consent they thought it best not to leave the church for some rites, which were not many, nor in themselves wicked; especially since the purity of the Gospel remained safe and free to them.

It may fairly be presumed, that Parker himself entertained some doubts concerning the points which were afterwards disputed between the puritans and the high church party; for in the questions prepared to be submitted to convocation in 1563,[3] probably under his own direction, and certainly examined by himself, there are several which manifestly imply that such a difference of opinion might prevail. They refer to the abolition of the use of the vestments, of private baptism administered by lay persons, of organs and curious singing, of the answers of sponsors, &c.[4] And Whitgift was one of a number of heads of houses in Cambridge who petitioned for a greater licence about the dresses.

§ 419. The sentiments of foreign divines may seem to deserve less attention,[5] inasmuch as they derived the great mass of their information from persons who were suffering in the cause of nonconformity; yet surely, whatever may have been the bias of the accounts which they received, they were less likely to be prejudiced on this side than the bishops were on that in which their personal authority was concerned, which seemed to be resisted by all who refused to comply with the injunctions of the court. These foreigners, in conjunction with the judicious advice which they invariably give, viz. that anything was better than that the

(b) 'Tantum manent in ecclesia nostra vestimenta illa papistica, Capas intellige, quas diu non duraturas speramus.' Burnet, iii. vi. No. 61.

[1] Strype's *Grindal*, 42. [2] Ibid. 45. [3] Strype's *Ann.* i. 475.
[4] Strype's *Parker*, i. 386, No. 39. [5] Ibid. ii. 110.

church should be left destitute of pastors, in consequence of their scruples, frequently press upon the bishops the propriety of charitable concession, as far as it would be admitted by the government. The church of Scotland went so far as to address an epistle to their brethren in England,[1] in which, perhaps, they press the matter more strongly than it deserves; but these concurrent testimonies demonstrate one thing at least, that a great stress was laid upon the question, while the event proved that many ministers of God's word were silenced in consequence of the dresses enjoined; and it may be remarked, that England never became convinced of the propriety of her ecclesiastical habits till the opponents of her decent forms had power enough to cast them out of the church, and to substitute their own more superstitious simplicity (a).

§ 420. Elizabeth herself was very peremptory on the question.[2] She could little brook resistance on any point; but when the scruple seemed so trifling, as on this subject it must have appeared to any one who was not under the influence of prejudice or passion, resistance to her mandates assumed the semblance of personal opposition. And when Parker and the other bishops had begun to execute the laws against nonconformists, they must have been more than men, if they could divest their own minds of that personality which every one must feel when engaged in a controversy, in which the question really is, whether he shall be able to succeed in carrying his plans into execution. The archbishop, indeed, who was first employed in this unpleasant task,[3] seems to have experienced more of this feeling than, perhaps, beseemed his high station; yet the situation in which he was placed renders him an object of our pity rather than our blame. He probably foresaw the ill effects which nonconformity would bring upon the church, and prepared to resist the torrent with the bulwarks of severity and law. In this he found himself hardly supported as he could wish by the court, where there existed a strong party favourable to the puritans. He perceived, perhaps, that the odium of the measures which he was forced to adopt was thrown on the bishops, who were becoming more and more the objects of general dislike;[4] and lamented, with prophetic boding, the conduct of some of the nobility, whose favour was raising up a party against

(a) Clerk, writing on the question of the habits, speaks, 'de fanaticis nostris Superpellicianis et Galerianis,' and adds, 'ut quod temporis antehac artibus et scientiis solet attribui, id nunc futilissimis de lana caprina altercationibus fallitur et consumitur.' Strype's *Parker*. iii. 133, No. 43. See some excellent observations about religious prejudice by Buchanan. Pearson's *Life of*, i. 115.

[1] Strype's *Parker*, iii. 150, No. 51.
[2] See § 446 (b).
[3] Strype's *Parker*, i. 117, 389.
[4] Ibid. ii. 323.

the hierarchy, which would ultimately destroy every distinction of rank.

§ 421. Little can be said in favour of the puritans, and those who rejected the ceremonies of the church, but that they were sincere in the objections which they raised against the use of rites corrupted in the church of Rome. Their scruples will in these days appear trivial, but they were not then esteemed so; as party feeling began to operate on both sides, each became anxious to enforce their own opinions, and in the warmth of controversy the nonconformists seem to have forgotten that they were disobeying the civil magistrate, and not to have considered that the bishops were only enforcing that which by law they were bound to enforce. The authority which the puritans withstood was not the mere spiritual authority which the episcopal function had bestowed on their judges; it was an indefinite and ample power conferred on the ecclesiastical commissioners, from the supremacy vested by the parliament in the queen. It was a power which the puritans may have deemed unnecessary, oppressive, and little suited to the character of Christian bishops; but they must have known that it was one which had been conferred on the hierarchy by the law of the land, and by the person in whose hands the executive was placed. But there are many considerations which should prevent us from passing any severe censure on either party: the new standard of opinion to which the disputants referred was one to which they had never been accustomed; the New Testament itself is very indistinct in settling such points, and to reason by analogy is a task which requires much temper and experience. The people, too, had been long trained to attach importance to ceremonies, and though ignorant of principles, were overjoyed in exercising the privilege of thinking for themselves, which they had just acquired. This exercise of their new right was highly unacceptable to the queen, and the government in some points tried to restrain it so much that the struggle, by degrees, became one for civil as well as for religious liberty.

§ 422. It appears, then, that neither the government in enforcing conformity as it did, nor the puritans in resisting it, can well be justified by any sound principles of Christian charity; the one imposed a yoke(a) when it was hardly necessary, the other rejected

(a) It should be remembered, that most of the regulations with regard to the distinctive dress of the clergy have gradually been given up, excepting, indeed, the surplice, and the square cap in the universities. Copes and tunicles are almost forgotten; albes are confounded with surplices; and the gown and cassock, with the square cap and hood, are used according to the discretion of the clergyman himself. It may indeed be questioned whether this has not gone too far. Perhaps the interests of the church would be best consulted, if, without adopting any distinctive habits, we all dressed so that the world might from our appearance presume that we belonged to the ministry.

it when it might and ought to have been borne. Nothing, therefore, could be more distressing than the situation of a conscientious bishop at such a period. It must have required a patience truly Christian not to have been irritated at the conduct of the nonconformists, and perhaps still more of Christian courage to enforce laws, when hindrances were thrown in the way by the powers above, and insults heaped on those in authority by the party against whom the severity was directed. Parker, the first metropolitan of this reign, was in many respects calculated to shine with splendour in the situation in which he was placed: he was liberal, and ever ready to advance the interests of learning or of talent; he was himself learned and studious, but his peculiar qualification seems to have been a desire and faculty of systematizing and improving every establishment to which he belonged, a talent which was extremely required at this period; but perhaps he was not well calculated to hold that even balance between contending errors, which the difficulties of the times placed more immediately in his hands. Before the heat of controversy had begun, concession was comparatively easy; without giving up the ordinances of the church, a latitude of practice might have been tolerated which became inadmissible when the question was brought to an issue. The remonstrance, too, of Parker might have had more influence on the queen than those of any other person, and it was her majesty who was most strenuous in insisting on conformity; but he seems hardly to have wished that his weak brethren should be dealt with more gently, for he was very peremptory in his proceedings with Sampson,[1] though he afterwards kindly wrote in his favour when ejected from the deanery; and in this conduct was strikingly opposed to Grindal, who entreated the dean, even with tears in his eyes, to comply in the use of the habits.[2] So again, when thirty-seven of the London clergy refused compliance with the ecclesiastical dresses, and of these some of the best ministers, by the acknowledgment of the archbishop himself, he does not appear to have adopted any conciliatory steps, or to have treated them as brethren in Christ. There is no reason to question the sincerity of his motives, and his judgment was approved by many persons (especially by Cox, bishop of Ely), who hoped that by reducing the clergy of the metropolis, all difficulty would be obviated elsewhere.[3] But where severity is used in cases of conscience, Christian charity is often lost sight of, and the omission never takes place but at the certain loss of the party who neglect it. The sufferers were deemed confessors by their friends, and the party of the puritans was strengthened by their punishment.

[1] Strype's *Parker*, i. 327. [2] Ibid. i. 368 and 430. [3] Ibid. i. 430.

§ 423. It must not be supposed that all the objections(a) of the nonconformists were confined to the ecclesiastical dresses, or that the cap and surplice were the only points against which their animadversions were directed. The Book of Common Prayer was generally attacked; many of its ceremonies, especially in Baptism, and the Churching of Women, were rejected, and organs and church music were considered as unchristian.

The discipline of the church, too, was impugned. Objections were raised against episcopacy itself, as well as against the lordly and temporal authority possessed by the bishops; while the ordination of ministers, without their being elected by their flocks, was accounted antiscriptural, and the whole was summed up in the want of a presbytery.

At the same time they brought forward many real abuses, which the church could more easily deplore than remedy. With regard to the scarcity of preaching ministers, the blame seems to belong exclusively to neither party; for though the hierarchy undoubtedly silenced many who would have laboured in this service, yet the nonconformist might have easily obviated the difficulty by accepting the ecclesiastical dresses: thus Withers, at Bury, conformed, because he found his congregation much less offended at the use of the cap than at his own silence.[1] The non-residence, too, which was licensed by authority, could form no just ground of separation from the church, as not being essential to the establishment; and the religious conformist must have viewed the neglect of a parish in the same light in which it appeared to his dissenting brethren.

§ 424. In the Baptismal Service it was objected, that the use of the sign of the cross was superstitious, and borrowed from the church of Rome: as if any misuse of a custom derived from the primitive church could render its nature sinful, or that the danger of misconception were not sufficiently guarded against, in the words of the prayer which accompanies that part of the service:—that the answers were made in the name of the child, and not in that of the sponsors; a difference which at all events is not very important, since the very act of bringing the infant to the font implies all that the words can convey—viz., that the persons so admitted would become the servants of the Lord into whose faith they were baptised. Lay baptism, too, fell under their censure; but it has been questioned whether it were ever authorized by our church. It had formerly been the custom for midwives to ad-

(a) The objections of which the heads are here set down may be seen in Burnet's *Reformation*, iii. No. 79. Append.; Neal's *Puritans*, i. 192: but many are of course omitted, and a full reference to them would exceed the prescribed limits of this work, as they lie scattered in various places.

[1] Strype's *Parker*, i. 374.

minister this sacrament in cases of necessity; and as this was not distinctly forbidden, the custom was continued, and thus tacitly sanctioned (a).

In the Churching of Women, they liked not that she should be veiled of necessity, on her first appearance in the congregation, or that she should always be seated in the same place; customs which it is ridiculous to discuss; and which, in the process of time, have been disused in most parishes, and only partially retained in others.

The offence which was taken at organs and church music, as practised in cathedrals, was rather general; and the question of rejecting them was agitated in the Convocation of 1562.[1] But if these churches were served in those days with as little reverence among the subordinate members, as is sometimes now apt to be the case, it is no wonder that sober-minded Christians should be offended: and yet to correct such negligence seems a more reasonable and obvious remedy, than to deprive our church of a species of service, which, to those who are accustomed to it, is the most elevating and delightful in the world.

§ 425. In point of discipline, the differences of opinion were so numerous, that it will be enough if we confine ourselves to the prominent features of the objections, without entering on the degrees in which they were held, or the alterations which at different periods grew into vogue with the nonconformists. The chief stumbling-block was episcopacy, as a distinct order in the church, and the authority over the rest of the ministry which this distinction produced in the body corporate of the establishment. Those who maintained this objection might be again divided into

(a) Archbishop Sandys says, in his will, 'for the private baptism to be ministered by women, I take neither to be prescribed nor permitted' (Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 548). But in the oath administered in the diocese of Canterbury, in 1567, to Eleanor Pead, a midwife, is the following clause, 'Also, that in the ministration of the sacrament of baptism in the time of necessity, I will use apt and the accustomed words of the same sacrament, that is to say, these words following, or the like in effect: *I christen thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*, and none other profane words' (Strype's *Annals*, I. ii. 243). The oath in such a case may have been borrowed from the old formulary, and have been continued, without being particularly attended to, for the sake of a fee paid to some ecclesiastical officer. The questions asked according to the Prayer Book of 1549, 1552, and 1560, seem to leave little doubt that the custom was sanctioned. 'By whom was the child baptized? Who was present when the child was baptized? Whether they called upon God for grace and succour in that necessity? With what thing or what matter they did baptize the child? Whether they think the child to be lawfully and perfectly baptized?' expressions which hardly agree with the idea of the child's having been baptized by a minister, and which questions are for that reason generally omitted at present, though they have been considerably altered in point of words.

[1] Burnet, iii. vi. No. 74.

two parties; the one was dissatisfied with episcopacy in the abstract; the dissatisfaction of the other was confined to the temporal state and civil functions of the bishops; but among the mass of the nonconformists and their followers, who were often very ignorant on such subjects, such a distinction was little attended to. They hated the bishops from being taught that their office was unscriptural, and their proceedings unchristian; and they troubled not themselves to mark the difference between the office itself, and the temporal authority vested in the bishops of the church of England.

The alleged want of an efficient presbytery was closely connected with this question, and with the circumstance that all ecclesiastical power was given exclusively to the bishops, who were appointed by the crown. Most of the exiles for religion, who on their return formed the influential part of the church of England, had been familiar with establishments abroad, in which the individual pastors were possessed of considerable weight in the government of the church and its concerns: on their arrival in the land of promised rest, they found that this spiritual power was in no degree conferred on themselves, but that they were subjected to a very peremptory method of treatment before the ecclesiastical commission, the proceedings of which were quite unsupported by the general tenor of the law of the land. The seeds of civil liberty were throughout the whole struggle closely mixed up with the complaints of the puritans; and the same men who had learnt to search for the truth on religious subjects, and to pursue it in spite of the powers of this world, which were arrayed against it, were little likely, from human motives, to submit to injunctions, however reasonable, which were arbitrarily imposed.

§ 426. The dispute as to the calling of ministers chiefly owes its origin to the same source. The warm upholders of this opinion would have said that ordination consisted virtually in the elective call of the flock; that this formed the essence of the appointment to the ministry; and that without it, all ordination was the invention of man, and not the institution of God. Its more moderate friends would have maintained that the laying on of the hands of the presbytery was sufficient, without the presence of a bishop, provided the ministry of the person admitted were not unacceptable to the parish. Between these extremes there exist many smaller varieties, many plausible errors, into which all men are apt to run, when they set up their opinions as the test of right and wrong.

The absence of spiritual discipline was a source of complaint with all parties; and the nonconformists lamented, with some

show of reason, that the only exercise of it, which remained, was confined to non-essentials in religion, of which they themselves were the unfortunate victims: and it was the observation of one of the best wishers to the church,[1] that ecclesiastical offices were now misused to private gain, rather than public benefit. The country had been used, under the auspices of the court of Rome, to a strict inspection as to some particulars relating to morals, at least to the idea of it. In the presbyterian churches, a great deal of real discipline was preserved, and much actual superintendence exercised; but the power of the church, as it now existed in England, was inadequate to keep up the old episcopal jurisdiction which had been carried on in former days; and from her adopting little of the presbyterian government, she wanted the discipline of combination, with which the diffusion of power under that system invested the ministerial body. But it may fairly be questioned whether this species of authority be not in its nature wrong. There are but two principles on which punishment can ever be administered with advantage: first, when severity is used for the sake of the person punished; and secondly, when it is done for the sake of civil society: when the penalty inflicted may reform the aggressor, or prevent the recommission of the crime in others, by the force of terror, and the influence of example. The latter of these may be fully exercised by lay courts; and though on many occasions ecclesiastical discipline may further the former object, yet the authority with which it invests the pastor makes him, as it were, a judge over his brethren; and wherever temporal disability is connected with ecclesiastical censure(a), it gives the minister of the Gospel a character which will probably injure the state of his own mind, and perhaps alienate the affections of his flock; while it cannot fail to make both parties refer their conduct to the laws and institutions of men, rather than to the commandments of God. But it was the want of power vested in the subordinate ministry which was the real cause of the present dissatisfaction; and neither the policy of the queen, nor the general state of the clergy, gave any great probability that this would be granted.

§ 427. The most obvious evil which existed at this time was the want of an effective ministry; and for the sake of improving

(a) In our own church, temporal pains are attached to spiritual punishments (a man, for instance, who was excommunicated, could not, under the then state of the law, perform any legal act); and that proper jealousy which the civil courts have always exercised, lest the rights of the subject should be in any way infringed, has by degrees driven churchmen from attempting to put ecclesiastical censures in force, except on very flagrant occasions; so that even a clergyman must have been guilty of excessive misconduct, and have disgraced the church, before the bishops' court can interfere for his correction.

[1] Burleigh's Letter to Aylmer, 1579. Strype's *Aylmer*, 188.

the clergy, exercises were established in most of the dioceses, which were called *prophesyings*, from an expression used by St. Paul.[1] The manner of carrying them on varied in different places,[2] but was generally as follows.[3] The diocese was divided into convenient districts, and the clergy belonging to each were assembled at stated periods about once in the fortnight, when, together with prayers, some text of Scripture was discussed by speakers appointed by the moderator, who was himself nominated by the bishop or archdeacon, and was, in some dioceses, the dean rural of the deanery. From the injudicious proceedings in particular districts, in which subjects tending rather to schism than to edification were brought forward, objections were raised by those in authority, and the mind of the queen was so prejudiced against them, that they were generally suppressed in 1577, though approved of by many persons well able to judge on the question (a). They formed, as it were, a nucleus for the presbytery, which might easily have been abused; but had they been judiciously carried on, they might have supplied a defect which is still strongly felt. A young clergyman, who has had but little experience in the care of a parish, might, in such a body, have found an authorized guide for his own conduct, on many minor points in which he hardly ventures to apply to his archdeacon or his bishop; and by the frequent discussion of such questions the priesthood would become better able to perform their duties, while the very act of thus assembling would have given a spiritual tone to the meetings of the clergy, the present want of which must certainly be deplored. There was at the time less trouble in silencing the whole than in remedying or preventing these disorders; and the disinclination which had been felt towards these prophesyings prevented the adoption of such exercises as might have produced all the good, without occasioning the evils complained of. Something of this sort was rendered the more neceesary (b), on account of the scarcity of preachers and educated clergymen; but Elizabeth seems not to have possessed any very correct views with regard to their improvement. She applied, it is true, certain lapsed revenues to the foundation of schools, and patronized the universities; but she adopted such measures with respect to church property as would

(a) Lord Bacon expresses his approbation of these exercises strongly (Strype's *Ann.* v. 480). Sir Francis Knowles, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Sir Thomas Smith commended them, to say nothing of the bishops who sanctioned their introduction (Strype's *Ann.* iii. 477).

(b) Whitgift says, 'I thinke it not amisse for the ordinarie to appoint some kinde of exercise for the unlearned ministers, but not in that forme.' Strype's *Whitgift*, iii. 128, No. xiii. 12.

1 1 Cor. xiv. 29, &c.

2 Strype's *Ann.* iii. 325, 472, 481.

3 Cox's Jal. 260.

have rendered it impossible that England should have ever possessed a learned ministry, had not her proceedings been partially stopped, and subsequently, in some degree, remedied. The dignified clergy were during her reign pillaged most unmercifully; and though many a sensible and conscientious person might have esteemed the former revenues of the bishops too great, yet it must be remembered that high stations soon become nugatory, unless they are supported by a corresponding income. She was enabled to commit these depredations on the establishment, by an act which passed in the first year of her reign, allowing her to exchange the lands of vacant bishoprics for impropriated tithes, and though the crown was probably not much the richer for this iniquitous bill, yet the courtiers and favourites of the queen made such use of it as to render the church unable to support its ministry.

§ 428. The great engine for the government of the church, during this reign, was the court of ecclesiastical commission. It was established under the eighth clause of the Act of Supremacy, which allowed the queen to delegate her own power to persons appointed for that purpose. It was composed chiefly of churchmen; but the names of some of the laity were always joined with them, although, as might have been expected, the laymen took less interest in the transactions, and frequently absented themselves, when offensive measures were to be carried through. Its authority, like the queen's supremacy, was indefinite, and unlimited, and strongly resembled that exercised by the star chamber. The efforts of the commissioners were first directed against nonconformity, and irregularities of less importance; and though their severity fell the heaviest on those whose scruples or fancies prevented them from complying with the regulations about dresses, &c., yet the court soon began to be oppressive to the poorer clergy;[1] for whoever was invested with such a power as was intrusted to the members of it, was enabled to convert it to his own private advantage, by means of bribes received from individuals exposed to prosecution, or who were liable to be brought before a court in which the proceedings were unknown and arbitrary: and the number of commissioners, in different parts of the country, allowed very unfit persons to be invested with the office.

The chief oppression,[2] however, arose afterwards from commissions of concealments, in which the queen granted a right of appropriating to the use of particular persons such property as by former confiscations belonged to the crown, but which had been transferred into other hands. The proceedings of the commis-

[1] Strype's *Parker*, ii. 306. [2] Ibid. ii. 224, and *Annals*, v. 162, 168.

sioners were often most injurious to honest possessors, and one considerable branch of their profit arose from sums given to stay or prevent processes. The value of what was at stake was often enormous. The whole foundation of the church of Norwich was at one time in jeopardy of falling from the purposes for which it was made, and being converted into a private estate;[1] but the officers of the crown interfered; and though in danger for a considerable time, it was ultimately saved, and refounded by the queen in 1588.

§ 429. The granting such commissions is one among many impolitic acts with which the government of Elizabeth is marked. Security of person and property is the object for which men submit to the restraints of civil society; whatever, therefore, tends to render any tenure insecure, must in some degree unhinge the bands of society; and the feeling of the possibility of such insecurity is almost as bad, in this respect, as the reality. From the quantity of land which had changed its possessors within a few years, almost every rich subject must have held property which had once belonged to ecclesiastical bodies, and his title, therefore, have been liable to be called in question, unless his power preserved him from such apprehensions. Her conduct, then, must appear as injudicious as it was unjust. The ravage which was committed by Henry was the wasteful prodigality of a tyrant; yet to those who view the payment of the establishment as the means of promoting religion, not as the end, the alienation must appear an useful, though somewhat a harsh measure. Under Edward, the monarch was too weak to resist the avarice of those who governed, and Mary rather enriched than robbed the establishment; but Elizabeth laid her hands on all that she could grasp, though, for the sake of keeping up appearances, she restored some small portion in foundations connected with education. She acted towards the property of the church with no more prudence or forbearance than she did towards that of the crown, and in both seemed to look no further than the lifehold interest which she possessed in it. The improvident leases made by churchmen themselves tended to impoverish the revenues of the establishment; but for one case on record where the clergy were to blame, several might be found where the interference of the court obliged them to give away, in a legal form, what belonged to their successors.

The queen never liked to apply for money to parliament, lest the members should interfere with her proceedings,[2] but wasted the church in paying those courtiers whom her parsimony prevented her from rewarding otherwise.[3] She did not begin the

[1] Strype's *Parker*, iii. 450. [2] Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.* iv. 70, and 233.
[3] Strype's *Grindal*, 42, 49.

custom, but she ought to have put a stop to it(a). She did not, perhaps, allow it to go so far as the puritans wished, or satisfy the desires of her courtiers, but it went to such a length that England has felt it ever since. Nor has the liberality of Parliament, combined with the bounty of Queen Anne, been yet able to render our poorer livings adequate to the decent maintenance of a clergyman: and were it not for the piety of those who, through the possession of private property, are enabled to devote their talents to the service of God, by entering into the ministry, a great number of parishes in England would be destitute of an educated pastor.

§ 430. The poverty of the church, in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth, was excessive;[1] not only among the higher clergy, who were exposed to these attacks from the court, but among the lower and laborious individuals who possess no dignified station, and have no further worldly prospect than to provide bread for themselves and their families(a). At this moment, when from being allowed to marry they required greater incomes than before, the revenues of the church were labouring under a great depression, attributable to a combination of several causes.

The wholesale alienation of church property which had taken place in the reign of Henry VIII. had unsettled the minds of the nation with regard to all tenures; might had legally been converted into right, and all men were ready to take advantage of the change(b). The court invaded the wealth of the higher clergy,[2] and they in their turn were often little careful of the interests of their successors,[3] and sometimes raised a revenue by appropriating to themselves the income which was originally granted for the officiating incumbent.[4] Where the law did not strictly interfere, it was not very likely that lay-patrons would be very scrupulous as to the person to whom they committed the cure of souls; and to use the words of the learned writer of the preface to Bullinger's

(a) Archbishop Parker, in a letter to Elizabeth which he wrote from his death-bed, remonstrates with her on this point (Strype's *Parker*, ii. 430).

(a) Parker inhibited Grindal from holding a visitation of the London clergy (at which fees, procurations, and synodals, are paid to the bishop), because they had scarcely wherewith to buy food and raiment (Strype's *Grindal*, 57). Grindal, in his letter to Elizabeth, says (Ibid. 565), 'So that at this day, in mine opinion, where one church is able to yield sufficient living for a learned preacher, there are at the least seven churches unable to do the same; and in many parishes of your realm, where there be seven or eight hundred souls (the more is the pity), there are not eight pounds a year reserved for a minister' (see also Strype's *Whitgift*, iii. 171, No. 26).

(b) As an instance of such proceedings, see the account of the visitation of the Savoy (Strype's *Grindal*, 236).

[1] See § 410.
[2] Strype's *Annals*, vi. 466, No. 29.
[3] Ibid. vi. 266, No. 32, i.
[4] Ibid. vi. 471, No. 32, ii.

Decads,[1] 'Patrons now-a-days search not the universities for a most fit pastor; but they post up and down the country for a most gainful chapman: he that hath the biggest purse, to pay largely, not he that hath the best gifts, to preach learnedly, is presented.' To this may be added the loss sustained through the discontinuance of fees and offerings which were made by the laity to the curates of their parishes.[2] Oblations made at shrines, the profits arising from pilgrimages, mortuaries and personal tithes (being the tenth of all men's clear gains), had in towns formed a considerable source of income to the clergy; these payments had now ceased; but the government had been far from interposing to supply the deficiency.[3] The courtiers joined with the puritans in attacking the church, the latter to depress its power,[4] the former to share in the spoil, and to render the clergy beggars, in order that they might depend on them(a).

(a) The whole question of Church property is one of vast importance to the country, and is unfortunately so frequently misunderstood, that it may prove useful to say something of the principles on which provision ought to be made for the clergy. The payment, if rightly arranged, will redound to the benefit of the whole body politic. Humanly speaking, labourers cannot be procured without hire, and their quality will correspond with the payment which is provided for them. Now men are paid either by consideration or by actual advantages (*i. e.* in a civilized country by money); and the consideration will itself depend on the esteem in which the profession is held, as well as indirectly on the rank and fortune which are independently possessed by those individuals who compose it. Thus, for instance, the profession of arms is honourable, and therefore the pay which is allotted to officers always has been, and should be, inadequate to support the rank which they hold in society; and yet we find men of family and fortune crowding into the profession for the sake of the honour to be acquired in it. Compare this service with the collection of customs or excise, and it will be found that the same pay in money will provide a very different species of person for the employment.

The duty of an established clergy is to promote the spiritual benefit of their brethren, and the reason why the state pays them at all is, that the spiritual and moral advancement of a country directly influences the prosperity of a state. For it may safely be asserted, that nothing but vice really injures a kingdom, and that states fall not from luxury, but from the vices which accompany luxury. In England, for instance, an individual may enjoy luxuries and conveniences unknown to people of the same station in other countries of modern Europe, or to the ancients; yet the commonwealth is the richer for our comforts, and we are still, comparatively speaking, far from being a vicious nation. The object, therefore, which the politician should have in view, in providing for an established clergy, is to assign such a remuneration to them as will procure a body of men whose rank in life will not be likely to render them irreligious, and whose attainments are such as to enable them to promote the civilization of society in general. There can be no doubt that much temporal wealth is not suited to promote Christianity, and that without temporal wealth, such an education cannot be procured in a civilized country, as will render the generality of teachers adequate to direct their flocks. The English politician has

[1] Strype's *Annals*, iv. 146.
[2] Strype's *Whitgift*, iii. 171.
[3] Strype's *Grindal*, 78.
[4] Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 146, 147.

§ 431. The events which took place between the settlement of the church and the death of Parker are not in themselves very important or interesting; and since we have already taken a general view of the leading features which distinguished the ecclesiastical proceedings, a brief account of the various occurrences must suffice. When the chief points were settled, as to belief and discipline, it remained only to allow matters to take their own course, and to observe how the laws and ordinances answered the purposes for which they were intended. Activity and exertion were necessary among the clergy, in carrying on their ministerial duties; but the great object was to establish throughout the country the habit of observing what the legislature had enacted. Jewel,[1] in speaking of the state of the country in the beginning of the reign, says that the people were very ignorant and superstitious, but very much inclined to religion; a state in which much labour was required, but in which the exertions of the ministry were not likely to prove unsuccessful. Few, however, seem to have trod this unpretending

not the difficulty of adjusting this balance, for by the great mercy of God we possess an establishment in which the clergy are by their station mixed with every rank in society, and on the whole adequately paid. In a scale which it has taken so many centuries to form, and in which so much has depended on circumstances apparently accidental, there must exist some pieces of preferment which seem to be paid too largely, and we know that there are many more, in which the workman is inadequately remunerated. In a constitution such as ours, the true friends of the establishment will always have the eye fixed on what can most easily be remedied, and not on what a theorist might originally have desired; such laws, therefore, as tend to support ecclesiastical discipline among the clergy themselves, and to make us perform our duties more adequately, must be deemed beneficial, and every step should be promoted which will provide for the poorer clergy, for curates in cases of non-residence, and for the incumbents in livings where the tithes are impropriated, which are perhaps at present the worst paid of any species of preferment; but he must be a very bold, and ought to be a very cautious legislator, who would venture to attack the oldest tenures in this or any other country. That the legislature has a right to interfere with property belonging to either bodies corporate or individuals, be they laymen or ecclesiastics, cannot be denied; but the right is the same in one case as in the other, and in both the necessity which calls for such a step should be clearly proved. It is always much more safe to tax the property of some for the support of others than to touch the property itself. If the tenths on the larger preferments were increased, the sums thus thrown into the hands of the governors of Queen Anne's bounty would gradually provide for the increase of smaller livings: nor should it be forgotten, that probably one half of the English bishoprics do not amount in income to the salaries of the judges, who upon a fair estimate of the nature of their offices, and the rank they rightly hold in society, are by no means too highly rewarded. And that even these incomes of the bishops are made up in many cases of impropriations, where the maintenance, which *in foro conscientiæ* is due to him who performs the spiritual duties of the parish, is taken from him, and given to another.

[1] Burnet, iii. 207, fol. 495, 8vo.

path of spiritual and quiet toil: the one party were eager to introduce innovations incompatible with what was established, the other were employed in repressing these attempts, and in providing for their temporal interests. The consequences of this were such as might have been expected, and are characterized in a mournful description given by Strype, which is chiefly drawn from the papers of Lord Burleigh.[1] 'The churchmen heaped up many benefices, and resided upon none, neglecting their cures; many of them alienated their lands, made unreasonable leases and wastes of their woods, granted reversions and advowsons to their wives and children, or to others for their use. Churches ran greatly into dilapidations and decays, and were kept nasty, and filthy, and undecent for God's worship.'

§ 432. The declaration of open war between the high and low church parties may be considered to have taken place in 1566;[2] when the proclamation of the queen gave, as it were, the sanction of law to the Advertisements(a) which the bishops had previously put forth, and they began to enforce uniformity among the London clergy (March 26). Of 98 who appeared before the commissioners 61 complied, and 37 refused, of which number, as Parker acknowledges, 'were the best, and some preachers;'[3] and, contrary to the expectation of their judges, they showed reasonable quietness and modesty. When the three months which the law allowed them for consideration had elapsed, they were *ipso facto* deprived of all their spiritual promotions;[4] and in the beginning of the next year began to separate from the church, by carrying on private meetings for devotions and worship, which were conducted chiefly after the formula of the church of Geneva. They alleged as their excuse, that in the Common Prayer Book 'the ceremonies of antichrist were tied to the service of God, so that no man might preach and administer the sacraments without them.' The government was alarmed at such a symptom of dissent, and ecclesiastical commissioners were urged to exert themselves. During this period of

(a) The Advertisements are a set of canons to enforce uniformity of 'doctrine and preaching; administration of prayer and sacraments; certain orders in ecclesiastical policy; outward apparel of persons ecclesiastical; and promises to be made by those entering on any ecclesiastical office (Sparrow's *Coll.* 121). They were printed and published Jan. 25th, 1565, without the royal authority, by the ecclesiastical commissioners, from whence, indeed, they derive their name and are not called Articles or Ordinances (Strype's *Parker*, i. 313). That part which referred to dress was sanctioned by the proclamation, as above; and the others seemed to have been used as if they were law (Strype's *Parker*, i. 312). A different copy of these is printed in Strype (Strype's *Parker*, iii. 84, No. 28).

[1] Strype's *Parker*, ii. 204.
[2] Ibid. i. 427.
[3] Ibid. 429.
[4] Ibid. 478, ch. ix.

schism there were not wanting instances of men, who, though they disapproved of the habits, yet conformed to the established law, following the suggestions of Beza, who advised his friends modestly to protest against these proceedings,[1] but by no means to desert their flocks for matters in themselves not ungodly.

§ 433. This schism of the London clergy, in itself injurious to the Christian welfare of the state, was rendered far more formidable by the appearance of the same spirit in one of the cradles of our church establishment, where it might taint the source from which sound sense and pure religion ought to flow. The university of Cambridge had for some time been agitated by the question of the habits; and, as was natural, the younger members generally ran into the novelties of the day, and discarded the appointed dresses; but at the end of 1570 the flame broke forth. Thomas Cartwright, B.D., Lady Margaret reader of Divinity, had been delivering lectures,[2] in which he attacked the liturgy, and episcopal government, and had contributed much to promote the insubordination which had manifested itself. He was Fellow of Trinity College, of which Whitgift was head; and perhaps from this cause Whitgift came forward as the decided opponent of his opinions, that the bane and antidote might proceed from within the same walls.[3] Cartwright had been ordered to retract certain opinions contrary to episcopal government, which he had previously maintained in six articles, acknowledged and subscribed by him; and after abundant delay and forbearance on the part of the authorities, he was deprived of his readership. He was anxious to have maintained a public disputation, but he would only do so on his own terms.[4] He required to know beforehand his opponents and his judges, meaning such judges as he himself should best like; but Whitgift, who had many private discourses with him, repeatedly offered to dispute with him, on condition that both parties should commit their arguments and positions to paper; a demand to which no reasonable disputant could object. The circumstance of being silenced by authority seems to have exalted Cartwright into a confessor in the cause of puritanism; but if episcopacy were to be upheld at all, no gentler steps could have been adopted. If a government be strong it need not persecute or punish every one who impugns its form or constitution; but how can it allow such a person to hold a situation of trust under it, particularly one which is likely to be influential in forming the sentiments of the rising generation?[5] Cartwright subsequently vacated his fellowship in Trinity College, according to the statutes (Sept. 1572), in consequence of not taking orders, about which he felt some scruples, because he had

[1] Strype's *Parker*, i. 483. [2] Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 38.
[3] Ibid. iii. 19, No. ix. [4] Ibid. i. 42. [5] Ibid. i. 95.

experienced no call to the ministry through the invitation of some parish, a point which he deemed a necessary qualification; as if to educate the upper orders, and prepare young men for the church, were not as suitable an office for a minister of God's word as any other part of the ecclesiastical duties. This dispute created a kind of personal struggle between Whitgift and Cartwright; and when the one published his answer to the *Admonition to Parliament* (a) (a book set forth by the puritans, attacking the whole government of the church, and in the composition of which Cartwright had probably a considerable hand), the other immediately replied, and Whitgift defended his answer. As they reasoned on different principles, it is not extraordinary that the partisans of both sides should deem their own champion successful; and, as is ordinarily the case, the disputants mutually remained of their original opinion, while the cause of truth was promoted by discussion, though the harmony of the church was disturbed.

§ 434. (A.D. 1571.) The proceedings of the convocation and parliament of this year require a good deal of attention; but in order to get a clear view of their effects, it will be necessary to divide the subjects on which the several laws were enacted.

In the convocation, the Articles of Religion were again subscribed; but any remarks on this event will more properly be introduced when we enter on the history of the Thirty-nine Articles, a subject so important as to require a distinct chapter.[1]

The establishment of a code of ecclesiastical law was also brought into consideration. In the convocation a set of canons pertaining to discipline were framed, for the regulation of the officers of the church, and to declare the duties attached to bishops, deans, archdeacons, &c.; as well as to prevent the evils arising from non-residence, pluralities, and corrupt presentations. They are extant in Sparrow's *Collection*,[2] though they never received the sanction of the queen, who thought that the authority of the

(a) A full account of this dispute may be found by consulting the index to Strype. The principles on which the argument in the Admonition is conducted were 'that we must of necessity have the same kind of government that was in the apostles' time, and is expressed in the Scripture, and no other. The other was, that we may not in any wise, nor on any consideration, retain in the church anything that hath been used under the pope' (Strype's *Parker*, ii. 140). A method of reasoning, in which the first part is a mere *petitio principii*, the latter a fallacy. The episcopalian appeals to the Scriptures in defence of his form of church government (see § 460), and believes it to be that adopted by the apostles. And while we acknowledge that the church of Rome has preserved the vital points of Christianity, as maintained in the first five articles of our church, we must allow that no misuse of subordinate matters ought to prevent us from adopting them, if in themselves they are admissible.

[1] § 485, &c.

[2] P. 223.

bishops, derived from her supremacy, was sufficient to enforce them. Yet Grindal justly observed, when Parker urged the adoption of them in the province of York, that the fine words of her majesty might fly away as the wind, and would little serve the bishops, if they were adjudged to have incurred the penalties of a præmunire, which could only be guarded against by a legal enactment of them, derived from the royal approbation *in scriptis*.

§ 435. The same subject was brought forward in the house of commons,[1] and reference was made to the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*,[2] a book drawn up chiefly by Cranmer;[3] but which was laid aside, and never legally enacted, in consequence of the interruption occasioned by the death of Edward VI. (a). But Elizabeth was ever adverse to reformation in religion which originated in any authority but her own; and though it appears that a committee was appointed, yet as they proceeded to examine irrelevant questions it served but to excite the anger of the queen, and a stop was put to this and several other bills. It is curious to observe during this reign the growing power of the house, which, as it began to exert its own strength, without having learnt to confine the discussion to those subjects which properly belonged to the cognizance of such an assembly, was from time to time checked by the arbitrary mandates of the queen, who in the moment when she most dreaded its influence acted towards the representatives of the people with a sternness and tyranny which would never have been borne unless it had been exercised by a person of consummate skill, who knew when to give way as well as when to press her authority. A similar attempt at remodelling the ecclesiastical laws was again made during the next year by Wentworth; but her majesty sent a message to the house through the speaker (1572),[4]

(a) The title of the book is '*Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum, ex auctoritate* 1^m *R. Henrici VIII. inchoata, deinde per R. Edvardum VI. provecta adauctaque in hunc modum, atque nunc ad pleniorum ipsarum reformationem in lucem edita, Lond. Day. Ap.* 1 571.' A copious abstract of it may be seen in Collier, *Ecc. Hist.* ii. 326, &c. It consists of fifty-one titles, besides an Appendix, '*De Regulis juris.*' The most remarkable peculiarities of it are, that it makes blasphemy and heresy ultimately punishable with death. It is justly severe on adultery, punishing the guilty party with imprisonment and banishment, and not allowing them to marry, a licence which it grants to the innocent. It directs that a strict examination shall take place before institution, and forbids pluralities. It directs that the dean rural shall be an annual officer appointed by the bishops, and that he shall report the conduct of the clergy; that archdeacons shall reside within the limits of their jurisdiction; that prebendaries shall give public lectures in the cathedral. It appoints, besides, provincial synods and diocesan synods to be annually held in Lent. It gives directions with regard to parochial discipline, recommends that excommunication shall

[1] Strype's *Parker*, ii. 62.
[2] Strype's *Ann.* iii. 93, &c.
[3] § 330.
[4] Strype's *Parker*, ii. 203.

declaring that her pleasure was that from henceforth no bills concerning religion should be preferred or read in the house unless the same were considered and liked by the clergy; and at the same time demanded to see the bills in progress. All this was conceded to her sovereign command; and we can the less wonder either at her interference, or at the deference which was paid to her orders, when we consider that the obvious tendency of these latter measures was to undermine the church establishment, and totally to alter its form. The question in both these cases was chiefly spiritual, over which the house of commons could, properly speaking, have no control, nor ought they to have legislated beyond the point in which the temporalities were directly or indirectly implicated; here they rightly exercised their legislative power, and we have during this session several laws which apply solely to churchmen. By chap. 12, 13 Eliz., such clergymen as had been ordained by any other form than that prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer were made incapable of retaining their preferments, unless they subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles; which same subscription was required of all who were instituted to any benefice; and if the benefice exceeded thirty pounds per annum they were required to have taken the degree of B.D. at least in one of the universities; no one could be ordained a priest before twenty-four years of age, or a deacon before twenty-three; *i. e.* if he were so ordained, he was not a priest according to the law of England, and could hold no English preferment. So again, by 10 and 20, 13 Eliz., it is enacted that no lease of ecclesiastical property shall be good in law if granted for a longer time than twenty-one years, or three lives: that tithes shall not be let, except the incumbent reside on his living, or lease them to a resident curate: all which matters are purely temporal, though they refer to ecclesiastical persons.

§ 436. During this session the universities were incorporated, and invested with certain legal privileges,[1] and in the next (1572) a provision was made for the support of the poor; which, notwithstanding its misuse, and the consequent objections which have been raised against it, ought still to be the glory of our soil; and while we boast that no one can be a slave who has once touched our happy land, we may rejoice that such care is taken of every

be rarely used, and only by the bishops; and that impenitent persons under excommunication shall after forty days be handed over to the civil power, to be imprisoned and fined. In each case there is an appeal from the archdeacon to the bishop, then to the archbishop, and lastly to the king, who shall cause the question to be decided in a provincial synod, or before commissioners appointed by the crown. See also § 482 (a). It has been reprinted at Oxford.

[1] Statutes of the Realm.

inhabitant, that none can be starved in England without a direct breach of our laws. It may not be improper to remark that the alteration now made in the law did not at the time produce any great change in the treatment of paupers. The custom in England, as I believe in all Christian countries, had always been to relieve the indigent by means of voluntary contributions, which were here collected by churchwardens, and disposed of by them. The vagrant laws had, with severe penalties against the idle and profligate, provided for the wants of those who were really distressed, and we have many acts of parliament which give directions with regard to both these points.[1] (March 25, 1552.) One went so far as to appoint that, in case of the refusal of any of the parishioners to contribute, the churchwarden was to apply to the bishop's court, and the bishop to proceed against them. But 3, 14 Eliz., provided for the poor by assessment throughout the parish, and subjected those who refused to pay the sum assessed to imprisonment upon conviction before two justices of the peace. The spirit, therefore, of this law, which is justly worthy of our admiration, is due to Christianity, the legal enactment to our ancestors; and it may fairly be questioned whether the embodying it in its present form, however necessary, has not divested the relief of the poor of its peculiar feature, and made this species of charity a duty very unwillingly performed.

§ 437. But as some of the most important laws passed during this session refer to the Roman Catholics, it will be necessary to turn our attention towards them. It is allowed on all hands that the measures adopted at the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth were conciliatory; and they were at first met by a corresponding return on the part of the majority so treated.[2] The Roman Catholics did generally conform to the worship of our church, to which, though they might not have approved of all the alterations in it, they could raise no sound objections. For, as the queen herself wrote to the duke of Anjou, in it 'there was no part that had not been, yea, that was not at that day used in the church of Rome; and that, if anything more were in ours, the same was part of the holy Scripture.'[3] And Lord Montacute, 'a most devout follower of the Romish religion,' argued in its favour to the court of Spain, 'that no other religion was brought into England than that which was consonant with the holy Scriptures, and the four first œcumenical councils.'[4] This state of things continued till the publication of the bull of Pius V., 1669 (a),

(a) The bull is dated Feb. 23rd, 1569, and may be found in Latin and English in Fowlis' *Popish Treasons*, p. 331; Fuller, ix. 93, only

[1] Burnet, ii. 146, fol. 354, 8vo.
[2] Strype's *Grindal*, 98.
[3] Strype's *Annals*, iii. 55.
[4] Camden's *Elizabeth*, 19, 45.

which forbade her subjects to pay any deference to the commands of one whom in the fulness of his power he had excommunicated; and when Felton was found bold enough to affix this document to the gates of the palace of the bishop of London (1570), he met with a fate which his mad and rebellious act justly merited, and became the cause of numberless ills to the members of his own communion. One of its first consequences was the enactment of three laws levelled directly against the Roman Catholics, to which allusion has been before made.

(A.D. 1571.) The first was entitled, An Act whereby certain Offences be made Treason.[1] The offences were the affirming that Elizabeth was not a lawful sovereign, or that any one had a better title; that she was a heretic, schismatic, or infidel; or that the right of the crown could not be determined by law.

The second was against bringing in, and putting in execution, bulls and other instruments of the see of Rome. It made all liable to the penalties of treason, or a præmunire, who were directly or indirectly accessory to the bringing about a formal reconciliation with the see of Rome, in the case of any of her majesty's subjects. It did not affect absolutions given at confession.[2]

The third, an Act against fugitives over the sea, imposed on them the forfeit of their property, but in case of their good behaviour provided for their families while they were absent, and restored them to their possessions and rights a year after their return. A privilege was extended to peers, which made it necessary that they should be sent for by letters under the privy seal before they incurred these penalties.

§ 438. Yet these laws, however severe, were not put in execution till six years after their enactment, and five after the massacre of St. Bartholomew had commenced the war of extermination, which the Roman Catholics wished to carry on against Protestants. Cuthbert Maine, a priest, was the first who suffered under them (1577); he was executed at Launceston, in Cornwall.[3] He is described by Camden as an obstinate maintainer of the pope's power against his prince. But the number of sufferers was destined soon to be increased. Their friends called them *martyrs*, their enemies branded them with the appellation of *traitors*, and they often partook strongly of the character of both.[4] Had no

gives the translation; Burnet, *Ref.* vi. 522, No. 13, gives the Latin.

Pius IV. had, when he came to the papacy, in 1560, made attempts at a reconciliation, by means of Parpalia, and again, through the bishop of Viterbo, and Sir N. Throgmorton, ambassador in France; and an anxiety was expressed that the church of England should send deputies to the council of Trent; but the project failed. See *Fuller*, ix. p. 68, &c.

[1] Statutes of the Realm, 1 Eliz. 13, 2, 3.
[2] Butler's *Catholics*, i. 352.
[3] Eliz. 224.
[4] Butler's *Catholics*, i. 309.

succession been provided against the ravages of time, among the Roman Catholic priesthood, the stock of those who officiated in England must soon have been exhausted; but this was prevented by Dr. William Allen, who for his exertions was afterwards rewarded by the church of Rome with a cardinal's hat. The fruits of his first labours were:[1]

The English college of secular clergy at Douay, 1568: it was removed to Rheims from 1578 to 1593, when it returned back to Douay. This was followed by the English college at Rome, for the education of the secular clergy, established in 1578.

A seminary at Valladolid, in Spain, established for the same purpose about 1580.

College at Rome, about 1578, for seculars.

A seminary at Seville, ditto.

A seminary at Madrid.

If the objects of these societies had been confined to the education of men destined to the ministry of religion, the Protestant, while he deplored this continued source of dissension, must have admired the zeal of the man who so rationally promoted the cause of his party; but these seminaries were made the hotbeds of sedition. The oath (a)[2] which was taken by the students in Scotland, where Mary allowed them a temporary place of refuge, in consequence of certain troubles at Douay, sufficiently marks the political tendency of some of these institutions; and the use which the enemies of England tried to make of these establishments as strongly points out the danger[3] which might be apprehended from them, and which indeed was partly realized by the conduct of some of their members. In January, 1581, the queen issued a proclamation, which commanded the relatives of children who were receiving their education in foreign countries to give notice to their several ordinaries, and to recall them within four months; and the sanguinary laws against seminarists and Jesuits were subsequently put in force. Persons and Campian came over into England in June, 1580, bearing with them a suspension of the bull of excommunication[4] as far as Roman Catholics were concerned, till the time when the same might publicly be executed. Persons, who was constituted the superior,[5] 'tampered so far with the papists about deposing the queen, that some of them (I speak,

(a) 'I, A. B., do acknowledge the ecclesiastical and political power of his holiness—And that my zeal shall be for St. Peter—against all heretical kings, princes, states, or powers, repugnant unto the same. And although I may pretend, in case of persecution, or otherwise, to be heretically disposed, yet in soul and conscience I shall help, aid, and succour the mother church,' &c.

[1] Butler's *Catholics*, i. 492. [2] Strype's *Ann.* iv. 337. [3] Ibid. v. 57.
[4] Camden's *Eliz.* 246. [5] Ibid. 247.

says Camden, from their own credit), thought to deliver him into the magistrates' hand;'[1] and Campian wrote a challenge to the church of England, by the publication of which the government was excited to use every means for their apprehension. It does not appear that Campian was privy to this act of publication, and in consequence of the activity of pursuit which arose from it, Persons fled out of the kingdom; and Campian, having with three others been apprehended on the 15th of July (1581), was tried for denying the queen's supremacy, and executed in December.

§ 439. (A.D. 1584.) It appears from Camden that some measures in themselves unwarrantable,[2] and excited by the danger and jealousy of the times, were used to entrap Roman Catholics; and the treasons of Somerville and Throgmorton, though they tended to keep the flame alive, cannot be brought forward as proofs of the necessity of any such activity, inasmuch as the treason itself probably originated in this very cause; and if it were not for the conduct of the court of Rome, as well as other Roman Catholic courts; if it were not for the opinion of men who were far better able to judge of the matter than ourselves, I mean the ministers of Elizabeth; if it were not for the undoubted testimony of loyal Roman Catholics of that period, we might fancy that the alarms about the queen's life, and the consequent severity towards the members of that communion, sprang from party zeal and blind cruelty. But the pope had excited and fostered two rebellions in Ireland;[3] and Sir Richard Shelley, writing to his nephew, attributes the sufferings of her majesty's true servants to the jealousies caused by the heads of some seminaries, and unnatural subjects abroad:[4] and in a letter to Lord Burleigh, in 1583, he says, 'That the misery that all Christendom suffered for was, by the sending of these Jesuits into England after such sort as it was and had been used.'

The immediate effect of these alarms, beyond the animosity excited against the Roman Catholics, was the formation of an association,[5] in which the members promised to pursue, even to death, any one who was concerned in the murder of the queen; for the assassination of the Prince of Orange, and the plots real and pretended against the life of Elizabeth, had put the whole country into a ferment: and undoubtedly a Protestant might reasonably have dreaded an event which, by putting Mary of Scotland on the throne, would have exposed the church of England to very eminent peril. In this particular the conduct of Elizabeth herself seems liable to very just censure. The uncertainty of the succession tended above all other causes to prevent

[1] Strype's *Ann.* vi. 183, No. 6. [2] Camden's *Eliz.* 294. [3] Ibid. 236, 242.
[4] Strype's *Annals*, v. 198. [5] Camden's *Eliz.* 300.

the quiet settlement of the nation; for had any accident happened to her life, a thorough alteration would probably have ensued. Her delays and dalliance were excusable, if we view her merely as a woman; but she was a queen too, and the safety of the state was at stake: she ought, therefore, to have sacrificed her own fancies to save the lives of her unquiet subjects; but selfishness was one of the strongest features of her character.

§ 440. In estimating the blame which is due to the government of Elizabeth, with regard to the treatment of the Roman Catholics, the question seems to involve principles of a very abstract nature, and to be by no means so clear as it is generally assumed to be. A government must always have a right to defend itself, but retaliation can only be justified on the plea of future prevention. It may be conceded by the Protestant, that great cruelty was used towards the Roman Catholics, and that the line of policy pursued, whether just or unjust, was very injudicious; that a sincere Roman Catholic priest might have acted against the statutes of Elizabeth upon mistaken principles, and probably that many did so. But, on the other hand, it seems likely that a Protestant at the time might fairly have esteemed these laws necessary and just; and upon abstract principles of justice they probably must be reckoned just, though it will be difficult to establish their necessity. The question would stand thus: the head of a body politic (the church of Rome) officially promulgates doctrines and assumes an authority (a) incompatible with civil government; every one, therefore, who by any act maintains that authority, does virtually place himself beyond the pale of civil society. We are not at present discussing how such an individual ought to be treated. It is obvious that kindness and reason would be most likely to bring him home to a sense of his duty; but a government must have a right to use severity, and that upon the first principles of self-preservation.

§ 441. The question, therefore, which is to be solved is this: Whether a missionary Roman Catholic priest were placed under these circumstances? If he brought over the bull of Pius V., he was obviously guilty of treason; and if he reconciled any English subject to the pope, who professed and held such language as the bull maintained, it would be difficult to show that he was less liable to the punishment of the law. And it appears equally obvious, that if in reconciling a Roman Catholic to the church, he disclaimed the objectionable authority of the pope, he must be in

(a) Pius V. pretended to free the subjects of Elizabeth from their allegiance to her. Clement VIII. granted a plenary pardon to all the followers and abettors of Tyrone, as in the case of a crusade. Camden's *Eliz.* 581.

foro conscientiæ, free from the penalties incurred by a supposed act of treason, of which the guilt was not substantiated by the circumstances which attended it, inasmuch as it wanted the essence of the treason, the objectionable claim to the authority. The pope, as a sovereign, had waged a πόλεμος ἄσπονδος with the queen, a war in which no intercourse could be admitted, no quarter given or received. Whoever therefore was a papist, or performed any overt act in favour of the papacy, became a partisan of that cause, and liable to the penalty due to any prisoner in such a method of warfare. The alternative is a horrid one; but he is in fault who begins such a war, and no one can attribute this blame to Elizabeth or her councillors. Persons and Campian, when they came to England[1] and brought a modification of the bull, were guilty of treason, in *foro conscientiæ*. The temporary suspension of the bull does in reality not alter the question; the bull was to be put in force whenever circumstances made it likely to be injurious to the country. We may pity men who were exposed to the necessity of committing such a treasonable act, if indeed they were bound in their consciences to obey the papal authority; but we must blame the pope who sent them, not the government which hanged men whose acts tended to overturn its authority. When the individual convicted disclaimed the objectionable tenet, he was sometimes pardoned, as in the case of Rishton, Bosgrove, and Orton,[2] though others were executed whose answers might have satisfied a reasonable tribunal.

§ 442. But in viewing the question, with reference only to the cruelty of it, the state of danger and irritation arising from various injuries must fairly and fully be taken into consideration. The Roman Catholics as a body were carrying on a most vehement attack against Elizabeth, because she was a Protestant. (1569.) The pope had excommunicated her. (1565.) France and Spain had conspired for the extirpation of heresy. (1572.) In France the Roman Catholics had begun by trying to murder all their Protestant countrymen (a). Spain had given proofs of her tender mercies to Protestants in the Netherlands, and was preparing for the subjugation of England. Her own Roman Catholic subjects were excited to rebel against Elizabeth; as a body, they never attempted to give any pledge of their fidelity; and had such an attempt been made, the mass of English Roman Catholics would

(a) One of the most dreadful features connected with the massacre of St. Bartholomew's consists in the approbation given to it by the court of Rome. Gregory XIII. issued a bull for a jubilee in consequence. It is curious to compare the Prayers of the Protestants in England for these persecutors, their conversion and salvation, with this document. Strype's *Parker*, iii. 197, No. 68, ii. 132.

[1] Butler's *Cath.* i. 365.

[2] Ibid. i. 429.

probably have refused to join in it, against the papal authority. Can any one, then, in his senses, wonder that no minister of Elizabeth had courage enough to adopt a liberal line of policy towards the Roman Catholics? and if such had been adopted, and the queen had been murdered, what would have been the judgment of posterity on such a minister? No one possessed of any feeling can fail to deplore the lot of an honest Roman Catholic priest at such a period; but our pity need not be confined to him alone. A conscientious minister, or even the queen herself, may well claim a share of our commiseration; who, having the wish to treat the Roman Catholics with kindness, found themselves obliged to use measures which nothing but absolute necessity could palliate, which no necessity perhaps could justify. But it would be unjust to history, if we failed to state the causes of all these evils. They arose from the errors of a church claiming to itself an indefinite infallibility, in which the chief member attempted to enforce the dictates of his own will in opposition to the law of God. They arose from a priesthood, who, from principles of blind obedience to their superiors, dared not disclaim that authority, when it was manifestly opposed to the Bible. They arose from this circumstance, that both parties mixed up religion with politics, and concealed their own interested motives under the specious covering of the cause of God. In fact, the Reformation throughout partook much more of a political nature than it ought to have done.

§ 443. The temporal interference of the church of Rome was a tyranny against which the potentates of Europe had as much reason to contend, as against the spiritual thraldom which it pretended to exercise over their minds; and by the grace of God, the struggles which they made to free themselves from an earthly yoke served to deliver them from that spiritual darkness which would have continued to blind their faculties, and have prevented them from beholding the light. The immediate evil which arose from this source was, that individuals imitated their governors, so that a warfare of extermination was commenced among brethren of the same nation and kindred. They made Protestantism or their adhering to the church of Rome the tests of a party zeal, which drove them into unwarrantable excesses; and the names of *Protestant* and *Romanist* were rendered political badges, full as much as religious distinctions: and let history decide which party was the most to blame, in a struggle in which neither can be excused. One thing, indeed, may be pleaded in favour of the church of Rome, which cannot be advanced for us; that if their principles be taken for granted, and the question abstractedly viewed, they are right in persecuting, whereas the Protestant can have no such justification, and his advocate has only to deny that we ever persecuted for religion.

If there be no salvation except within the pale of the church of Rome, a conscientious Romanist may in kindness use any method of compulsion to bring the Protestant into communion with himself: whereas, since the sincere Protestant hopes to meet his brethren of every communion in a blessedness which shall be hereafter, however we may have differed on earth; as the true Catholic, whether he be Protestant or Romanist, builds his hope of glory on the merits of his Redeemer, and places his prospects of grace on the assistance of the Holy Ghost, we can only use the weapons of our prayers for the enlightening of ourselves and others, and bring forward those arguments with which Scripture will furnish us; believing that every other method of persuasion arises from the same source, and is to be traced to the author of all evil. If the enlightened Roman Catholic disallow the conclusion which is here drawn, if he reject the idea of persecution, even to produce salvation in the persecuted, let him honestly examine the question, and see whether this be not a legitimate conclusion from the datum of an infallible church, beyond the pale of which there is no hope of salvation; and then let him examine the arguments by which the nineteenth article of our church is supported; and may God of his mercy show him and us the truth.

§ 444. Having dwelt so long on abstract principles, it may not be amiss to say something of the persecutions in Mary's days, when compared with those exercised against the Roman Catholics under Elizabeth. We will suppose, then, that by the law of the land, as it stood at each of these periods, either prisoner could legally have been put to death, the one for being a heretic, the other because he was a seminary priest. The one (a), who might be a perfectly illiterate person, because when examined he denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, a doctrine which all must allow to be beyond reason, not to be subject to the senses, and when believed, to be a mere act of faith. The other, who must be an educated man, known to be brought up at a seminary which held doctrines incompatible with civil society, because he refused to abjure opinions concerning the papal authority which he conscientiously held, and the entertaining of which the supreme legislature of this country had decided to be a legal crime, and punishable as treason. God forbid that any Christian should for a moment approve of the latter; but is not comparison inadmissible? is not the practical difference enormous? May it not safely be asserted, that an honest man expressing those sentiments which

(a) Bradford was condemned for denying the corporal presence and transubstantiation. So were Mrs. A. Ascue, Kirby, and Roger Clark: and numberless other examples might be found. Strype's *Ecc. Mem. III.* i. 366. Fox, ii. 487, and 479.

are now generally held by Roman Catholics in England would not have suffered under Elizabeth? and that a Protestant believing what we believe, and teaching what we teach, would, if God had given him grace and strength of mind enough to become a martyr, have been burnt under Mary? That Roman Catholics, acting as well as the English Catholics have as a body always acted, would have been treated well by the government of Elizabeth, is more than can be proved; for the first principles of toleration were then unknown, either in church or state; but toleration is a plant of Protestant growth, and all true Christians may join in the prayer, that her branches may cover the earth.

§ 445. The unjust method in which the trials of Roman Catholics were conducted is sometimes brought forward as a charge against Elizabeth, by those who advocate their cause; but it must not be forgotten that justice was never substantially administered during this reign (a). The influence of the powerful was frequently exercised against all right; and it is not to be wondered if the Roman Catholics, in this respect, were not more fortunate than their Protestant neighbours. The charge is well founded, but it should be brought against the times generally. The evil was common, and did not particularly affect the Roman Catholics. It arose from the ordinary notions of the people as much as from the court; for a corrupt jury must be composed of corrupt individuals, whose judgment will not be tolerated, except when the feelings of a country are themselves corrupted.

But before we quit this subject we should recollect that the general opinions on persecution were totally different from what they are at present. Very few of the Roman Catholic persuasion founded their hopes of convincing Protestants on any other basis than that of force; and the puritan, while he required toleration for himself, while he expected that every scruple of his own should be treated with tenderness, had no desire to extend the same allowance to others. Sampson, who, of all men, ought to have learnt kindness to those who differed from him, through what he had

(a) As proofs that this was the opinion of those who lived at this time, see a letter of Overton to Burleigh, where, in speaking of Leicester, he says, 'a nobleman far above my power and ability to withstand;' 'mine own counsel, for fear of displeasure, scarce dare encounter him in my causes' (Strype's *Ann.* vi. 207, No. 18). Neville expresses the same idea to Lord Burleigh (Strype's *Ann.* v. 459). Lord Essex, writing to Sergeant Puckering about a gentleman, a follower of the earl's, under prosecution, treats justice as if it were a mere piece of party favour, and simply threatens the judge (Strype's *Ann.* v. 657). The son of one Collard, a brewer, in Canterbury, murdered a poor man in open day, and got his pardon by his father paying 240*l.* to Chief Baron Manwood (Strype's *Ann.* v. 391). There are some persons so ignorant as to wish for the good days of Queen Bess!

himself suffered[1] (Dec. 31, 1574), wrote to Burleigh, to remonstrate with him because he had been the means of delivering some Roman Catholics out of prison; and urges, that if they were no longer kept in durance, they should at least be compelled to hear sermons for their conversion. And, in 1577, Sir Nicholas Bacon, in one of the last letters which he wrote,[2] speaks of severity as the only means of checking the Roman Catholics, and thereby of withstanding the power of Rome. The puritans complained often of their treatment by the high church party; but no one can doubt that they would have been far less tolerant, had the power of enforcing their own opinions been placed in their hands.

§ 446. (A.D. 1572.) When the laws against nonconformity were at first enforced, they produced, as might have been expected, a counteraction amongst those against whom they were directed. Many of the clergy were deprived of their preferments, and some of them formed themselves into a presbytery, at Wandsworth (a), and under their superintendence the Admonition to parliament was published.[3] The unbending spirit of the one produced severity in those who governed, and severity created hatred and animosity, which in its turn gave rise to more vigorous measures; till both parties neglected the essentials of religion to dispute about its externals. In the next year (June 11, 1573),[4] Elizabeth issued a proclamation against the puritans, and they, on their part, agreed to protestations declaratory of the reasons of their not joining in the national worship. In the autumn, a madman, of the name of Birchet, excited by puritanic principles, stabbed Mr. Hawkins, an eminent officer in the navy, mistaking him for Mr. Hatton of the council, an event which aggravated the ill-will which was borne towards them; and in order that this opposition to authority might be more effectually prevented, a letter was written from the council to certain chosen commissioners in every shire (Nov.),[5] exciting them to enforce the orders of the proclamation. During the next summer (A.D. 1574), the exercises of prophesyings[6] were put down in the diocese of Norwich (June 7), notwithstanding some diversity of opinion which prevailed among the council. These several steps served but to make the line of separation be-

(a) This presbytery, which was the first established in England, was for some time conducted in secret; and though the bishops were acquainted with its existence they could not discover the members who composed it, or prevent the establishment of similar institutions. The chief persons engaged in it were Field and Wilcox. They published their regulations, which were denominated the 'Orders of Wandsworth' (Fuller, ix. 103).

[1] Strype's *Ann.* iii. 491.
[2] Ibid. iv. 98.
[3] Neal's *Pur.* i. 231; 243.
[4] Strype's *Parker*, ii. 256 and 283.
[5] Strype's *Ann.* iii. 384.
[6] Strype's *Parker*, ii. 361.

tween the puritans and the church more definitely marked, and exasperated the minds of both. It is not easy to determine how far any blame may attach to Archbishop Parker, for his conduct may, in the judgment of some persons, appear to have been dictated by correct views with regard to ecclesiastical policy; and it is impossible to ascertain who were the prime movers of that severe compulsion, which was hardly warranted by the cause against which it was directed. It is generally attributed to the queen herself (b), who could ill brook any opposition to her commands; but the real question, as far as Parker's character is concerned, is, whether he approved of what was done, or whether he only followed the directions of Elizabeth and her council. (A.D. 1575.) There can be no doubt that he was a great and good man, and that our church owes much to his wisdom, learning, and care; but it is not unlikely, that had he acted with the same Christian forbearance and decision which was exhibited by his successor, he would have saved the country from much irreligion, fanaticism, and bloodshed. He was in most respects peculiarly suited to his station; but in his intercourse and treatment of the puritans, he was perhaps guilty of an error in judgment; he was sincere, though warm, and in carrying on his plans of reform he deprived himself of the earthly happiness of the latter years of his life: he died May 17.[1]

§ 447. (A.D. 1576.) One of the early acts of Grindal was to reform the exercises of prophesyings, into which some disorders had occasionally crept; and for this purpose he issued orders[2] concerning the manner of managing the proceedings of these assemblies (a); but the queen took occasion, upon his next appearance at court, to declare herself offended at the number of preachers, as

(b) Jewell says, 'Reginæ certum est, nolle flecti. (1547.) Sed regina ferre mutationem in religione, hoc tempore, nullam potest' (Burnet, vi. 445, No. 84, App. 450, No. 88). Grindal says of those who would not give way, 'Sed cum hoc non faciunt nos apud serenissimam reginam ista contentione irritatam, nihil possumus' (Burnet, 463, No. 92).

(a) They were to be carried on in some church appointed by the bishop; and the archdeacon, or some one (a grave and learned graduate), appointed by him, was to be the moderator. Such portions of Scripture were to be examined and discussed as the bishop should appoint. The laity were never to speak, nor any of the clergy who were not previously judged meet to be speakers; the rest of the clergy were to be allowed to perform exercises before the clergy in private, but not before the whole congregation. The speakers were immediately to be stopped if they glanced at any state, or any person public or private, or said anything against the laws, rites, policies, and discipline of the church of England; and if they had ever been silenced, they were not to be admitted again without a fresh appointment.

[1] Strype's *Parker*, ii. 430.

[2] Strype's *Grindal*, 327.

well as at these exercises, desiring him to redress both. In consequence of this he wrote to her a most apostolical epistle[1] (Dec. 20th), and urged her to consider the utility of such institutions, and the duty of obeying the will of God, and not following our own devices. This step, however, did not at all coincide with the methods by which Elizabeth was determined to govern; and during the next spring[2] she sent a letter to all the bishops commanding them to suppress prophesyings in their dioceses, and in June sequestered the archbishop, and confined him to his house (b)[3]; and thus made the remainder of his life inactive as to the cause of the church; for though he appears during the whole time to have carried on the ecclesiastical business in his own name, yet his influence and authority were thus rendered nugatory at a period when everything depended on the favour of the court. He seems indeed to have tendered his resignation with a sincere wish for its acceptance; but Whitgift had too much right feeling to allow him to enter on an office during the lifetime of an incumbent who, though he differed from his successor in principles, was manifestly acting the part of an honest man.[4] The convocation, too, in 1581, showed their respect for Grindal by presenting a petition in his favour, drawn up by Tobie Mathews, dean of Christ Church, and printed in Fuller;[5] and though there remains no document which decidedly proves the time of his restoration, yet it probably took place in the next year. He died July 6, 1583, and was succeeded by Whitgift, bishop of Worcester.[6]

§ 448. (A.D. 1583.) The conduct of Grindal must always appear most exemplary. He was himself adverse to the ecclesiastical dresses; yet upon the advice of Peter Martyr[7] he conformed, and exerted himself to effect the same in his brethren, because he saw that the want of a sufficient ministry was the greatest evil which could happen to the church: but when such measures were adopted as were against his conscience, he remonstrated as a Christian patriot, and offered a resignation of his office, in which he could not fulfil the duties required of him by the crown without offending his God. The question of whether he was right in his judgment is totally indifferent; but a monarch with half the sense which Elizabeth possessed, had she not been hurried away by her passions, would have treated him in a very different manner, even though

(b) Another source of displeasure is hinted at by Strype and Camden (*Grindal*, 440, and *Elizabeth*, 287), arising from his not granting a dispensation to Julio, a physician of Lord Leicester's; but the authority on which this story rests is questionable.

1 Strype's *Grindal*, 558, No. ix.
2 Ibid. 342.
3 Ibid. 343.
4 Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 222.
5 Fuller, ix. 120.
6 Strype's *Grindal*, 403.
7 Burnet, v. 478.

she supposed him to be in the wrong: she might have accepted his resignation, and behaved towards him with more personal kindness. But as it was, the ill consequences of this affair were very apparent; discipline was neglected,[1] and the puritan party so far prevailed as to introduce many clergymen of their own opinions into ecclesiastical situations, notwithstanding the seeming triumph of the other side: and the parliament of 1581 presented a petition in favour of ecclesiastical reform, the general tendency of which was apparently to abridge the power of the bishops[2] by making the concurrence of the dean and chapter, or six preachers, necessary for certain episcopal acts, such as ordaining, commuting penance, &c. Most of the articles of this petition which regard residence and pluralities have been since, wholly or partially, adopted, excepting indeed the fifth and sixth — that no dignitary of the church should hold more than one living together with his cathedral preferment; and that no more than two such dignities should be tenable by the same person (a).

§ 449. But it may not be amiss here to say something more of the treatment of the puritans; for the line of policy was now so decidedly taken up by the government, that any subsequent concession must have looked like vacillation of judgment, or weakness of power. Let it be asked then what the treatment of the puritans ought to have been? how should uniformity have been preserved without giving up episcopacy or other essentials? Before we enter on such a discussion, it may be useful to consider how far the then existing law differed from the present; and how far that law itself was the cause of the opposition raised against it. There was then nothing which resembled toleration towards Protestant dissenters; if an individual were offended at any part of the service, he could not absent himself from church, as he would have incurred a severe penalty by so doing: he had no other place of worship to which he might retire; for in all probability, at first, many of the puritans would have been perfectly contented with this; and if their passions had been allowed to cool, if an opportunity of viewing our decent forms had been given them, many might have quietly returned into the bosom of the church. Such steps, however, were little suited for the character of Elizabeth, who would as readily have surrendered her crown as have allowed her subjects to exercise their private judgments on such matters; and the punishment of death was esteemed the only remedy for Brownists,[3] who denied the queen's supremacy in any

(a) This has just now (August, 1840) become the law of the land.

[1] Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 226. [2] Ibid. iii. 47. [No. 3.]
[3] Strype's *Ann.* v. 269.

but civil matters. He, therefore, who could raise a scruple in the mind of an individual as to the legitimacy of a ceremony, raised a spirit of insubordination in the breast in which it was implanted; and among the various opinions which prevailed, and the elements of discord which were thus diffused throughout the kingdom, it was the public danger alone which kept the nation united. Sermons tended to foster these sentiments of free investigation, and Elizabeth, who clearly saw their tendency, instead of trying to direct them to useful objects, and to disseminate real Christianity, endeavoured to curtail the frequency of them, if not to suppress them altogether. Now had the laws against nonconformity been made much more easy with regard to those who were already in orders, and possessed of preferment; had the better sort of nonconformists been treated with lenity, and had the government shut its eyes to their failings; had all interrogatories *ex officio mero* [1] been disused, which served but to embody the nonconformists; had every means been exerted to instruct the rising generation, and to convince them practically that the dress was an indifferent point (for many of the nonconformists were at first weak brethren, and were often rendered turbulent merely by severity); had strictness of subscription been required from all who took possession of benefices, and the same sort of laxity allowed which now prevails with regard to dress; had the government and the bishops exerted their first energies in reforming undoubted abuses, it is probable that nonconformity would not have been so closely connected with revolutionary principles and the assertion of civil rights; and that in the subsequent struggle, the church might have helped to support the throne, instead of proving the readiest point through which the sovereign could be attacked. As it was, Elizabeth supported the church by her energy and talents, and circumstances enabled her to triumph over the rising spirit of freedom in the country; but in the hands of James and Charles, the abuses, real and imaginary, which existed in the church, contributed greatly to overthrow the monarchy.

[1] See § 458 (a).

CHAPTER X.

FROM WHITGIFT'S APPOINTMENT, 1583, TO THE END OF THE REIGN.

450. Whitgift, archbishop: he requires subscription to the 'Three Articles.' 451. Treatment of the puritans; opposition to the bishops. 452. Objects of the puritans. 453. Law framed against the queen of Scots. 454. Hooker and Travers. 455. Death of Mary queen of Scots. 456. Attempts at innovation; convocation. 457. Armada; conduct of the Roman Catholics. 458. Conduct of the puritans. 459. Treatment of them. 460. Question of episcopacy. 461. Treatment of the libellers. 462 Roman Catholics. 463. 464. Origin of the Lambeth Articles. 465. Greater peace in the church. 466. Change of opinion in certain puritans. 467. Character of Elizabeth. 468. Her treatment of the puritans and Roman Catholics. 469. Religious, but arbitrary. 470. Death of Elizabeth. 471. State of the church.

§ 450. The selection of Whitgift for the metropolitan see was judicious, considering the line of policy with regard to church matters which Elizabeth had determined to adopt. The question was now, whether force should compel the clergy to be all of one mind about indifferent matters; and the present archbishop was a fit instrument to decide it according to the wishes of the queen.

[1] He began his administration by examining how the regulations affecting recusancy and nonconformity were observed, and addressed a circular letter to his brethren the bishops, directing them to take care that the articles (a) concerning these matters, on which they had agreed, should be duly enforced. In his own diocese he began at once a very rigid inquiry into the state of the clergy, and strictly enjoined subscription to the three articles which now stand in the thirty-sixth canon. From the subordinate officers, who were deputed to carry on this investigation,[2] the ministers of Kent addressed themselves to the archbishop in person, who, having spent two or three days in endeavouring to convince them, proceeded to the suspension of such as persisted in their non-compliance, while they on their part appealed to the

(a) These are printed in Strype, and contain in the sixth section the three articles in the thirty-sixth canon to which Whitgift required subscription (Whitgift, i. 229). They had the sanction of the bishops and of the queen; but the legality of requiring subscription to them may still be doubted. See this part of the question discussed in Neal's *Puritans*, i. 320.

[1] Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 227, &c.

[2] Ibid. i. 245.

council. The same step was also adopted by certain ministers in Suffolk,[1] who were placed under the same circumstances, and in whose favour some of the magistrates of the county had ventured to petition.[2] This produced a sort of remonstrance from the council, and an answer from the archbishop, who was determined to proceed with vigour, and to exercise the powers of the ecclesiastical commission.

§ 451. The articles and interrogatories which were issued during the spring of 1584 are a strong instance of the indefinite and tyrannical power then exercised by the governors of the church.[3] They were queries *ex officio mero*, proposed to clergymen, whose only accuser was common fame, and who were expected to answer on oath questions which involved not only their opinions on matters in which they had, or might have, conformed, but the very fact of their conformity and their future intentions formed part of the inquiry. Whitgift and the other bishops contended, that in their proceeding in this way they were borne out by received custom and the usages of other courts, and that such steps were necessary, when no information could be procured against nonconforming and popular ministers; but this circumstance, if indeed the fact were so, proved the total abhorrence which the mass of the population must have felt towards ecclesiastical courts, or that such nonconformity could not be very frequent or considerable, when no evidence could be obtained of a fact done in the face of the whole congregation, among whom any stranger might be present. And Burleigh, who was the sound friend of the church, though not an admirer of all ecclesiastical proceedings,[4] characterises these articles as 'so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, as I think the inquisitors of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their preys.' He strongly advises a more charitable method of treatment, and while he disputes not the legality of what was done, he subjoins *omnia licent*, yet *omnia non expediunt*. As to the wisdom and propriety of allowing the church to remain as it was by law established,[5] the bishops seem to have convinced several of the court by two conferences held with the opposite party in the presence of those who entertained doubts on this subject: in the latter of these, which took place at Lambeth in 1585, the archbishop during four hours confuted and answered in a most satisfactory matter their scruples and objections. But the steps which he took to enforce conformity, and unity of opinion, were not so well received;[6] and this induced him to comply with the suggestions of Walsingham, who advised, that

[1] Strype's *Ann.* v. 264. [2] Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 230. [3] Ibid. iii. 81, No. iv.
[4] Ibid iii. 106, No. ix. and Fuller, ix. 156.
[5] Paul's *Whitgift*. Wordsworth's *Ecc. Biog.* iv. 343. [6] Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 431.

incumbents already in possession of their preferments should not be pressed to subscribe the three articles, provided they gave a written promise that they would comply with the use of the Common Prayer. For that prudent minister could not shut his eyes to the growing dislike which the conduct of the ecclesiastical courts was daily creating towards the bishops and the church; an enmity by no means confined to the sufferers, or to the lower orders in the country, but discoverable among many who were possessed of considerable authority. Lord Leicester was long looked up to as the head of the anti-episcopal party, and the archbishop regarded him as a decided opponent of his measures.[1] Mr. Beal, clerk of the council, was earnest too on the subject, and wrote against the examination of delinquents by oath, *ex officio mero*, and the use of torture;[2] and Sir F. Knowles on several occasions exhibited so much antipathy to the bishops, that the queen forbade him to meddle with the question. And some of the party, in order to alarm the bench, and perhaps to share in the spoils of the church, tried to promote a commission (*ad melius inquirendum*), to ascertain the real value of ecclesiastical property; but the exertions of the archbishop, and other friends of the establishment, prevented the measure from being carried into effect.

In the convocation which was held during the end of the last year, and the beginning of this, were promulgated the *Articuli pro clero in Synodo Londin.* 1584 (a),[3] which contain some judicious regulations with regard to the essentials of ecclesiastical discipline

§ 452. The puritans, during the session of parliament,[4] were very strenuous in the cause of reform on many points in which reformation was undoubtedly wanted. The grand object which they kept in view was to establish a preaching ministry, a desire in which they were fully met by the high church party; but their opinions did not coincide as to the means by which this end was to be obtained. They would have applied the sums expended in choral establishments to the payment of preachers, and have transferred all ecclesiastical impropriations to the use of the curates of those places where the corps lay; and would even have laid their hands on lay impropriations, a step in which there was no great probability of their receiving much support from their

(a) They were almost entirely drawn up by Whitgift himself, as will appear by comparing No. xiv. and xviii. 130 145 (Strype's *Whitgift*, iii.), but may be traced back in their origin to the lower house of convocation, in 1580, who presented a draft of a similar bill to the lords (Strype's *Grindal*, 587, No. xiv.).

1 Paul's *Whitgift*. Wordsworth's *E. B.* iv. 350.
2 Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 401, &c.
3 Sparrow's *Collection*, 191, and Cardwell's *Synodalia*, i. 139.
4 Strype's *Ann.* vi. 278, No. 39.

friends at court. The bishops looked to conformity as the chief remedy for the evils which they deplored, and thought that the keeping up of establishments, in which the higher offices might reward a learned ministry, was most likely to produce the real prosperity of the church. At the same time it was the avowed object of the reformers to introduce much of the presbyterian government; every question arising in a diocese or parish was to be subjected to the decision of a general or provincial synod, to be assembled at stated periods. The revision of the Common Prayer, of the Ordination service, as well as of all other rites and ceremonies, was to be referred to the authority of the same tribunal, and submitted to the approbation of the queen. As far as morals were concerned, they sought a severe discipline, and were particularly anxious to curtail the worldly pomp of the episcopal order. They requested the establishment of a new set of ecclesiastical laws, since in the present administration of those which existed several abuses were to be found, particularly with regard to excommunication for contumacy; while the licences for pluralities, non-residence, and the ordination of clergymen without any ministerial office, were frequently exposed to strong complaints. With regard to many of these points, the laws had done almost all that could be effected by legal enactments, and the bishops were anxious to remedy what was wanting; but it is curious to observe how many of these changes have been gradually and partially introduced. We must omit the introduction of the presbyterian government, in which we are nearly as we were; but the want of anything of this sort depends probably more on circumstances, than in any fundamental reason in the constitution of the church establishment. These attempts, however, were at the time rendered fruitless; for Whitgift[1] addressed himself to the queen, urging her to stop all such proceedings, and to rest the discipline of the church on her own supremacy, a step to which her inclinations were always sufficiently disposed.

§ 453. This parliament was strongly impressed with the idea of resisting the Roman Catholic party, which was at this time not only powerful, but very active in the world. They passed,[2] therefore, two acts, one for the surety of the queen's person, the other against Jesuits and seminary priests. The first of these was levelled against the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots, whose misfortunes and hard treatment, towards the end of her life, rendered her an object of pity, rather than of that just reproach which her early conduct probably merited. This law made any connivance at compassing the queen's death, in any

[1] Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 391.

[2] Statutes of the Realm, i. 2.

person of whatever description liable to the pains of treason. As if an act of parliament could alter the nature of international law, or divest murder of its atrocity, by giving it the form of a legal trial; as if any law of England could establish a jurisdiction over an independent princess, from which her own rights had rendered her free. And here it should be remembered, that the voice of the kingdom was full as loud and guilty as the wishes of the queen, and that no persons were more strenuous than the puritans in their endeavours to bring the queen of Scots to the scaffold. The second directed all seminary priests and Jesuits to leave the kingdom on pain of death, and imposed heavy penalties on those who received or aided them. The act, however, was limited to those who refused to take the oath of supremacy (a).

Elizabeth also soon afterwards undertook the protection of the Netherlands, and in the next spring sent Leicester to command in Holland against the forces of the Roman Catholics and Spanish party.

§ 454. In this year a dispute took place, rendered memorable from having been the origin of Hooker's excellent treatise on *Ecclesiastical Polity*, a work which has tended more perhaps to settle the question of church government than any other which ever appeared.[1] On the death of Father Alvie, master of the Temple, great interest was made by the friends of Travers to obtain this situation for him.[2] He had long been engaged in giving the evening lectures there; but Whitgift, who entertained no good opinion of him, and doubted of his conformity, raised so decided an opposition to the nomination, that the mastership was procured for Hooker by Sandys, bishop of London. The archbishop, indeed, had been well acquainted with Travers, who was formerly fellow of Trinity college, Cambridge, and had shown a strong preference for the discipline of Geneva, according to the forms of which church he was afterwards ordained at Antwerp.

(a) It should be remembered, that the oath of supremacy at that time did not contain the objectionable words 'that damnable doctrine and position,' &c. I call them objectionable, because a sincere Roman Catholic, however he disapproves of the doctrine of the pope's power of deposing kings, will hardly like to call that doctrine damnable which the head of his church still perhaps maintains. In 35 Henry VIII. ch. i. § 7, the oath contains strong expressions against the usurped power of Rome; that 1 Eliz. ch. i. § 9, is much shortened, and less objectionable to a Roman Catholic. The oath of allegiance, 3 Jac. I. ch. iv. § 9, is much longer, and introduces the clause 'damnable doctrine,' &c. 1 William and Mary, ch. viii. § 12, the present oath was established; so that the oath of Elizabeth is, among the four, the one which a Roman Catholic would least scruple to take.

[1] Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 340. [2] Walton's *Hooker*, Wordsw. *Ecc. Biog.* iv. 245.

As the queen deferred much to the opinion of the archbishop, the appointment of Travers was wholly refused, unless he could give proof that he had been ordained according to the laws of England, and would subscribe to those articles which were imposed by ecclesiastical and royal authority, as well as the Thirty-nine.[1] For Travers refused to do any more than what was enjoined by statute. He had endeavoured for some time to introduce the presbyterian government into the Temple,[2] and was supposed to be the author of a book on ecclesiastical government which entirely rejected episcopacy (a); and when Hooker came to take possession of his new office, Travers wished to have proposed him for the approbation of the society, and upon his refusal some unpleasantness had grown up between them, which was increased by objections raised to trifles in the service, wherein the master differed from the lecturer by conforming strictly to the customs and laws of the church.[3] The quarrel thus begun grew more important, when Travers objected to some positions contained in Hooker's sermons, and a pulpit controversy arose between them, in which the forenoon sermon spake Canterbury, and the afternoon Geneva. The consequence was, that Whitgift silenced Travers,[4] and he appealed to the council. (b) In his Supplication to the council, he tries to

(a) *Disciplina Ecclesiæ sacra ex Dei verbo descripta.* This was afterwards translated and published by Cartwright. *A full and plain Declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline,* &c. See Index to Strype.

(b) Travers' Supplication to the Council, and Hooker's answer, are printed in the end of the *Ecclesiastical Polity.* To those who are unacquainted with ecclesiastical law, the treatment of Travers may seem in some degree unjust. He argues that he was in orders because the statute (12, 13 Eliz.) directed that those who had been ordained by any other rites than those of the church of England should subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles, implying, that after that act they were fully entitled to the advantages belonging to other members of the establishment. This applied directly to the Roman Catholic priesthood, and the same law prevails now. But according to the doctrine of an episcopalian church, he who was ordained without the presence of a bishop was never ordained at all: he wants the essence of ordination, the laying on of the hands of the bishop; and this law, therefore, does not apply to him. It is difficult to determine the intention of the original framers of the law. The early practice was probably on the side of Travers (as in the case of Whittingham, to which he appeals, and which was much stronger than his own). (Strype's *Annals,* iv. 167.) The present interpretation of it is entirely in favour of the archbishop. The words are: 'Every person under the degree of bishop, which doth or shall pretend to be a priest or minister of God's holy word and sacraments, by reason of any other form of institution, consecration, or ordering, than the form set forth by parliament, in the time of the late king of most worthy memory, King Edward VI., or now used in the reign of our most gracious sovereign lady, before the feast of the nativity of Christ next following, shall in the presence of the bishop or guardian of the spiritualities of some one diocese,

[1] Strype's *Whitgift,* i. 344.
[2] Str. *Ann.* v. 353.
[3] Hooker's Answer to Travers, § 3, 4.
[4] Str. *Whitg.* i. 474.

vindicate his ordination, and licence to preach, and finds fault with the doctrines delivered by Hooker; and as this document became public, the master was obliged to return an answer, in which he vindicates himself, and states that Travers[1] was silenced for breaking an order of the Advertisements, which forbade any minister to answer the errors of other preachers except in private, or by sending information to the ecclesiastical commission. But from the Supplication of Travers, and the answers of Whitgift to his arguments,[2] there can be little doubt that his non-episcopal ordination was one very decided reason for his suspension. Travers was never reinstated, but a party was raised against the master; and it was to convince them that he commenced his immortal work of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*.

§ 455. It was towards the end of the year 1586 that the conspiracy of Babington was discovered,[3] in which the false principles inculcated by Roman Catholic teachers urged on some young, zealous, and unwary individuals, to attempt the murder of Elizabeth. They met with their merited fate, and were executed, to the number of fourteen; but their fall implicated the royal prisoner, and the fears and suspicions of the kingdom conspired to bring Mary to her trial and the scaffold. This treatment of the queen of Scots has been viewed in different lights by the partisans of opposite sides; but one or two considerations so strongly stamp its character, that however legal it might have been in England, it can never stand before the tribunal of the world. Nothing could subject Mary to an English court of justice but her own injudicious submission to it; and it is a fair question for casuists to decide, how far any act which originated from presumed force[4] can bind the person who submits to it. At all events, the conditions of the act of Parliament ought to have been complied with (1 13° Eliz.),[5] and the testimony of her secretaries have been confirmed by their being confronted to her; but few or no criminals, in those happy days, had the advantage of even-handed justice. Her guilt must ever remain problematical; and however this transaction must disgrace the name of Elizabeth, it should not be forgotten that the nation was full as guilty as the queen.[6] The policy, too, of the measure may be questioned, if indeed it can possibly be politic to do wrong.

where he hath or shall have ecclesiastical living, declare his assent, and subscribe to all the articles of religion, which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrines of the sacraments comprised in a book,' &c. &c. (13 Eliz. ch. 12, 1571.)

[1] Hooker's Answer. § 17.
[2] Strype's *Whitg.* iii. 185, No. 30.
[3] Camden's *Eliz.* 339.
[4] Ibid. 352.
[5] Ibid. 362.
[6] Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 509.

§ 456. (A.D. 1587.) The firmness of the queen during the last parliament did not damp the ardour for innovation; for on Feb. 27 a bill was brought forward which would have abrogated all ecclesiastical law, and substituted a new code in its place; but during the debate on the question, whether the book which contained it should be read, the house adjourned, and several of the more violent members were afterwards committed to the Tower by the queen.[1] The book,[2] as appears from the draft of a speech against it, would have left the minister at liberty to use what prayers he chose: would have altered several of the Thirty-nine Articles; would have taken away the patronage of livings, by making them elective, and probably have touched lay-impropriations; would have overthrown episcopacy, and all ecclesiastical distinctions; would have destroyed the supremacy, and allowed the presbytery to exercise ecclesiastical authority over the queen herself. All this was at once stopped: but some petition seems to have been presented; for an answer to one is still extant,[3] in which her majesty steadily and judiciously expresses her opinion of the ill effect of alterations, when essentials were already established, and her determination to support what the law had settled. The steps which were here taken were much under the influence of the classes of ministers of Warwick and Northampton;[4] and the proceedings of these reformers seem to indicate an idea, that if the civil magistrate did not remedy the evils complained of,[5] it became their duty to take the redressing them into their own hands. The activity of the anti-episcopalians does not necessarily imply any remissness on the part of the bishops; for in the convocation held at the same time with the parliament, some very good orders were agreed to,[6] with regard to exercises to be performed by such ministers as had not taken the degree of M.A.; their catechising and expounding the Catechism; and to compel all preachers to deliver, every year, eight sermons at least at each of their benefices.

§ 457. (A.D. 1588.) The history of this eventful year belongs much more to the civil than the ecclesiastical historian; for notwithstanding the steps which were taken to urge the Roman Catholics of England to unite in the attempt at subjugating our island, it is manifest that the mass of them viewed the matter in its true light, and joined hand and heart in the common cause, wherever the government was wise enough to employ their services. But it should not be forgotten, when we examine the treatment which they received at the hands of the Protestants, and which every well wisher to the honour of our cause must deplore,

[1] Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 488. [2] Ibid. iii. 186, No. 31. [3] Ibid. i. 494.
[4] Ibid. i. 502. [5] Ibid. i. 504. [6] Ibid. iii. 194, No. 32.

that the men who were supposed to possess the most spiritual influence among them, Cardinal Allen and Father Persons, were exerting their utmost endeavours to enslave their country. The conduct of a party must ordinarily be viewed from what is done by its leaders; and perhaps there never was a cause so cursed with injudicious leaders, as that of the English Roman Catholics. This example, however, was by no means universally followed by the ecclesiastics; for Wryght, a priest of the college of Douay,[1] and living therefore in a state of proscription, wrote a tract for the satisfaction of some Roman Catholics, in which he proves that it was their duty to defend the country against the invasion of Philip; and, together with the expressed opinions of several persons of that persuasion, we have the subsequent testimony of Burleigh, who at the very moment in which he speaks of confining them, adds, 'Yet with signification unto them, that the same is not to be done, so much for doubt of any disloyal attempts by themselves, as to notify to the rebels and enemies abroad,'[2] that the expectations which they had been led to form of assistance in England were unfounded.

§ 458. The pressure of external danger did not by any means free the church from domestic troubles; for the more violent of the puritan party had long been making preparations, and now opened a vigorous attack on the episcopalians, by publishing books which reviled the whole body, as well as the individual members. The most noted of these works was put forth under the fictitious name of *Martin Marprelate*, from which circumstance the whole class of writers who pursued a similar track, adopted, or were ranked under, the same denomination of Martins. A proclamation was directed against them in the spring of 1589;[3] and by the activity of the archbishop,[4] the press from which these libels proceeded was taken, and several of those concerned in this unchristian task were by degrees discovered and punished: but the energy which this circumstance excited unfortunately brought many of the puritans into trouble, who were not at all engaged in propagating the evil. And their own conscientious refusal to take the oath *ex officio mero*, lest they should thus indirectly accuse themselves or their friends, detained them in prison for a considerable time. Cartwright was confined eighteen months,[5] though he declared that for the last thirteen years he never wrote or procured anything to be printed which might in any sort be offensive to her majesty and the state,[6] much less had any hand, or so much as a finger, in the book under Martin's name. From the pro-

[1] Strype's *Annals*, vi. 583, No. 65.
[2] Strype's *Whitgift*, ii. 4.
[3] Ibid. iii. 216, No. 41.
[4] Ibid. i. 601.
[5] Ibid. ii. 88.
[6] Ibid. iii. 231, No. 1.

ceedings against him and others, as they are recorded (June 2) in an authentic document containing the charges and answers to them, given by the prisoners,[1] there seems to have been a decided party formed for the purpose of altering the government of the church. It was their wish to proceed by legal methods, while there was any hope of success from them; and it may fairly be doubted whether the better sort had any thoughts of employing force; for they declare that to their knowledge no minister had any other intention than that of using prayer, teaching, and humble supplication to her majesty and the parliament.[2] Yet on the other side it cannot be questioned, but that by holding assemblies, and passing resolutions as their own authorized opinions, they were taking such steps as must probably lead to rebellion;[3] and many of the warmer partisans of the presbytery manifestly intended to adopt more forcible measures. When Cartwright was brought before the star chamber[4] he refused to take the oath, to answer all questions *ex officio mero* (a): and till he had done this, his judges would listen to nothing which he had to advance in his own favour. It is the expressed opinion of some one who seemed to be their counsel, 'that there was no matter proved of any meeting or conventicles seditiously made and executed by Cartwright and his

(a) The whole method of proceeding *ex officio mero* would now-a-days appear very arbitrary and untenable. Wright the puritan, in his answers to the matters urged against him, begins, 'First, he most humbly desired that it might be considered whether any man by our laws be bound to accuse himself, upon his oath, for any deed or word, much less to declare his thoughts' (Strype's *Ann.* vi. 228, No. 23). In the case of Bainbridge and Johnson, it was referred to several doctors of the arches, who answered, that the parties were bound to answer upon oath, and added: 'And we find it harder in our learning to give a good reason of doubt, than to yield any other resolution, though there preceded in such a case neither special accusation or denunciation' (Strype's *Ann.* vi. 122). The argument in favour of oaths *ex officio* is as follows: If a man be accused before his ordinary of any crime, he is not bound to impeach himself, but if he be examined on account of some crime which, from its nature, it would be difficult to prove, and which nevertheless the judge ecclesiastical may wish to remedy, the notoriety of fame is taken for evidence against him, and he is bound to clear himself by his own oath, and by that of compurgators, declaring that they believe his oath to be true (Strype's *Whitgift*, iii. 233, No. 2). The ground of this is, that the inflictions of an ecclesiastical court are by law deemed *medicinæ*, not *pœnæ*. This argument is signed by nine doctors of civil law, and stated to be the universal practice of ecclesiastical courts. In examining the question, we must not overlook the feelings of the times with regard to such a point. Beal, clerk of the council and a puritan, would have put the Roman Catholics upon their oath twice every year, that they had not aided Jesuits or seminary priests, they being under a bond not to do so (Strype's *Whitgift*, iii. 203, No. 35). Morice, a learned civilian, wrote a tract, in which he objected to the legality of the oath (Ibid. ii. 30), and wished the matter to be referred to the learned judges of the realm, which his grace liked not (Ibid. 29).

[1] Strype's *Whitgift*, iii. 242, No. 4.
[2] Ibid. iii. 258.
[3] Ibid. i. 613.
[4] See § 554.

fellows.'[1] And the judgment of Popham, the attorney-general, does not speak a very different language.[2]

§ 459. Whatever they might do hereafter, their present plan was to use persuasion; and for this purpose they meant to form a synod, to be held either at one of the universities or London, where their assembling would not attract notice,[3] and to divide themselves, at other times, into classes, or provincial synods. In the meetings which did take place, it appear that they passed certain resolutions which tended to the subversion of all episcopal discipline; and it is not unlikely that, had they been suffered to continue, and acquire strength, they might have been able to alter the constitution of the church, if not of the state. Such assemblies, therefore, could not be allowed by a wise government; but the methods which were adopted for their prevention seem to have been calculated rather to exasperate than to convince; and though they had the effect of silencing them for the time, yet they must have produced a feeling among the people very unfavourable to the cause which they were intended to support. The petition of Eusebius Pagit, some time student of Christ Church,[4] addressed to the lord admiral, contains a pathetic remonstrance from a good and peaceable Christian. He had been forced to quit his preferment upon some scruple with regard to the service, and had continued to hold communion with the church of England, because he sincerely esteemed it to be the church of God, and endeavoured to support himself by keeping school; but from this last resource he was again driven, and his prayer goes not beyond the request that he might obtain some employment for the support of his family which might prevent him from becoming a vagabond. It must have been this severity towards the lower members of the church which so strongly exasperated the minds of the country against bishops; for, from the motions which were annually made in parliament, and the decided favour which was shown by many towards the presbyterian discipline, it is evident that the nation was beginning to advocate the cause which the archbishop endeavoured to suppress. And it is also clear that there must have been some mismanagement in the hierarchy, which concentrated all the sentiments, arising from a wish for civil liberty, in formidable array against themselves. The arguments in favour of episcopacy, if fairly advanced, are so strong, that the question, when the establishment was once fixed, might have safely been left to the force of reason, while steady moderation was used to prevent any very gross violations of the orders of the church, and the combinations of its interested opponents.

[1] Strype's *Whitgift*, ii. 84.
[2] Ibid. ii. 83.
[3] Ibid. ii. 6.
[4] Ibid. iii. 285, No. 11.

§ 460. The argument in favour of episcopacy seems to stand thus:—When the Reformation began, it found episcopacy established in the church of Rome, and possessed of distinctive offices, of which the power of ordination seems to be the most peculiar to it (a). One party of the Reformers retained it as they found it, but tried to separate it from the abuses with which it had been combined; the other rejected it altogether, and made two orders only in the church (viz. priests and deacons), appointing such superior officers as were *primi inter pares*. The point at issue, therefore, is, were there three distinct orders (b) in the primitive church? and if so, was the right and office of ordaining peculiar to the highest of these?

In the apostolical history, as contained in the New Testament, these questions are not clearly answered, and there is much indistinctness about the names of *bishop* and *priest*, or *elder*; but if we suppose, by way of hypothesis, that there were bishops, priests, and deacons, we shall find no statements which cannot be easily reconciled with the supposition (c).

As we proceed with ecclesiastical history these same traces

(a) The distinctive characteristics of a bishop, as laid down by Bishop Davenant, in his beautiful determination on Diversity of Degrees in the Ministers of the Gospel, are three: 1st, That, however many presbyters there may be, there is never more than one bishop in a city; 2nd, The power of ordination; 3rd, The jurisdiction over the clergy. To these may be added, the power of confirming, of consecrating churches, &c. In the whole of this question the reader may be referred to Bingham's *Antiquities*, a work in which he who seeks for information on any ecclesiastical subject may be almost sure to find it.

(b) Here, too, there is an equivocal term in the word 'order.' At the Council of Trent, though there was no question about episcopacy, there was a discussion as to whether bishops were a distinct order or only a different jurisdiction (F. Paul, 557). The Saxon church was governed by bishops, yet the canons declare that there is no essential difference between the two orders of bishops and priests (Johnson's *Canons*, 957, 17). This must always be taken into account in questions with regard to episcopacy. See also § 117, 279. It is not necessary to suppose that Wiclif and the *Erudition* intended to reject episcopacy, though they denied the distinctness of the orders. The real point at issue is, whether a person could be ordained in the primitive church without the presence of an apostle, or of one holding a peculiarly delegated authority, *i. e.* of a bishop. See Bingham, i. p. 81.

(c) The argument concerning the name of *bishop* is frequently mistaken. There is no doubt that ἐπίσκοπος is equivalent, in the New Testament, to πρεσβύτερος, and I am not aware that it is ever used for what we should call a bishop. But then the terms used in the New Testament for *bishop* are ἀπόστολος, or ἄγγελος, and Clemens Romanus, the third bishop of Rome, is called an apostle by Clemens Alexandrinus. *Strom.* iv. 17. The concession, therefore, of the use of the name ἐπίσκοπος proves nothing. The presbyterian is forced to say that the order equivalent to that of the apostles does not now exist in the church, which is really begging the question, and to explain ἄγγελος by *the chief pastor of the church*. So that the argument from the names is rather in favour of episcopacy.

become more decisive, till we find that at an early period the questions are both answered in the affirmative (d); and we infer, therefore, that unless it can be shown that a change in this particular took place, we may presume that the same ecclesiastical constitution existed from the time of the apostles. A presbyterian might argue, that in the apostolical history of the New Testament there is nothing which militates against the hypothesis of the two orders only, at least nothing which proves the point; that St. James might have been the chief elder, the moderator, of the church of Jerusalem; that Timothy and Titus (e) might have held no higher office than that of dean in a cathedral church, or archdeacon in a diocese; and that as the presbytery had the power of ordaining, they, as its superintendents, were directed by St. Paul to set all things in order. But then this hypothesis does not account for the introduction of episcopacy, without even a hint from the historians that any alteration in the church government was effected. When to this it is added, that there never existed a church without episcopacy till the Reformation, the proof seems as strong as moral proof can be, that it is most probable that episcopacy is derived from the times of the apostles. And this conclusion is quite sufficient to guide the conduct of a sober-minded Christian (f). But to return to the history.

§ 461. The treatment of the libellers themselves when dis-

(d) *Ignatii Epist. ad Smyrnæos*, § viii. Πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ πατρί· καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· τοὺς δὲ διακόνους ἐντρέπεσθε, ὡς Θεοῦ ἐντολήν.—(*Cotelerii*, ii. 36.)

Οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν, &c., meaning, perhaps, that without the ordination of a bishop, at least without the sanction of a bishop, no minister may perform either of the two sacraments.

Ad Philadelphinos, iv. p. 31: Ἓν θυσιαστήριον, ὡς εἷς ἐπίσκοπος, ἅμα τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, καὶ διακόνοις τοῖς συνδούλοις μου, &c. fl. A.D. 107.

(e) For myself, I cannot understand how this hypothesis can explain the words of St. Paul (Tit. i. 5). 'For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee,' &c. Titus must have had a delegated authority very different in its nature from that of a moderator in a presbyterian church. But other persons may see the matter differently.

(f) The force of this argument will be much increased by comparing it with that in favour of infant baptism, or any other parallel case, as that the sacraments are to be administered by clergymen only, or that Sunday may be observed instead of Saturday as the Christian day of rest, which presbyterians allow as well as episcopalians. The elements of the argument will in each case be the same: that at a certain time it was found existing in the church; that history states not when it began; and that the supposition of it having existed from the times of the apostles is not contradicted, but rather supported by the apostolic history. Moral demonstration hardly admits of proof more satisfactory. This argument in favour of episcopacy is much strengthened by discoveries made in our own days, of the Syrian churches on the coast of Malabar, and of the Chaldean church in Armenia. Dr. Buchanan found in 1806 the Syrian church having bishops, priests, and deacons, of which little was known, and of which the very

covered was, according to the system then pursued, much less objectionable; because the outrageous nature of their writings obviously pointed out to the civil magistrate the necessity of adopting severity.[1] Udal and Penry, who were the principal writers of some of the books which attacked episcopacy,[2] forfeited their lives to the vengeance of insulted society, by the vehemence with which they abused the established government. It may be more wise in a government on some occasions to overlook such transgressions; but if any notice be taken of them, an authority which will defend itself must inflict some punishment on such offenders. Hacket, who represented our Saviour, with Coppinger[3] and Arthington, his prophets of mercy and judgment, were candidates rather for a mad-house than a dungeon. Greenwood and Barrow,[4] who suffered for writing seditious books and pamphlets, were on the high road to introduce the horrors of anarchy which the anabaptists had exhibited in Germany.[5] These extreme cases, however, cannot fairly be charged on the puritans; for though they were the natural fruit of the proceedings of that party, yet the better sort of nonconformists utterly disliked what these persons did,[6] and were in their turns exposed to the animadversions of these ultra reformists, who regarded them as only half reformed. It may be doubtful, perhaps, even in these cases, whether gentler remedies might not have been adopted with success; but it is obvious that something more than argument was necessary for beings who made so bad a use of their reasoning faculties. And the satirical productions of Tom Nash,[7] who answered them in their own way, had probably more effect with the people than either argument or severity.

§ 462. The national alarm, excited by the conduct of foreign Roman Catholic courts, and which proved so injurious to those of that persuasion who belonged to England, had not been obliterated by the general readiness and fidelity exhibited by Roman Catholics

existence was doubted, though recognised in the days of Alfred (see § 11). When he pleaded in favour of their union with the church of England, they questioned our orders, on account of the recent origin of our church, but ultimately seemed to admit their validity, though derived through the church of Rome, and pleaded that 'they themselves had existed a pure church of Christ from the earliest ages; that if there were such a thing in the world as ordination by laying on of hands in succession from the apostles, it was probable that they possessed it; that there was no record of history or tradition to impeach their claim.' *Researches*, p. 79, ch. on Syrian Christians. See also Mr. Grant's book on the Chaldean church.

[1] Strype's *Whitgift*, ii. 96.
[2] Ibid. ii. 175.
[3] Paul's *Whitgift*; Wordsw. *Eccl. Biog.* iv. 354.
[4] Strype's *Whitgift*, ii. 186.
[5] Paul's *Whitgift*, 357.
[6] Ibid. 362.
[7] Walton's *Hooker*; Wordsw. *Eccl. Biog.* iv. 245.

themselves during the period of danger which was lately passed; and the continuance of the same threatening policy on the part of Spain and Italy, tended to continue the same cautionary and harsh measures on that of the English government. The parliament of this year enacted some very severe laws, which affected the puritans and Roman Catholics. The first subjected all above the age of sixteen, who did not frequent their parish church, to the penalty of imprisonment; and in case of their not conforming after three months they were obliged to abjure the realm, and if they returned were declared felons without benefit of clergy. Their goods were lost to them during their lives, and their friends forbidden to harbour or conceal their persons. This act more particularly touched the puritans,[1] whose conduct in 1588 had given just offence to the country. The second confined all popish recusants, who had any property, to their own places of residence, and imposed the penalty of the loss of all their possessions, in case of their removing from thence, except on specified occasions; while those who were not possessed of goods to a greater amount than twenty marks per annum, or 40*l.* actual property, were forced to abjure the realm; and in default of this, or in case of returning, were adjudged felons without benefit of clergy. There were also some executions of Roman Catholics, which kept alive the flame of animosity on the one part, and of terror on the other; and the law which treated all priests as traitors, perhaps in some cases produced the treason which it was intended to prevent; while the declarations[2] and opinions maintained by some Roman Catholics created a horror and antipathy against a religion, which could foster such sentiments, and allow of such expressions without the strongest reprobation. But the soothing hand of time was not destitute of its effects; and many of the Roman Catholics began to find out for themselves the unjustifiable lengths into which their leaders would have guided them. One of them in 1597 writes to Burleigh,[3] 'that the course they ran into tended, for aught he could perceive, to the ruin of our country, overthrow of the monarchy, destruction of all the nobility, and to bring England into perpetual bondage of the Spaniards: they neither, as it seemed,' added he, 'respecting religion (though they made it their cloak), their native soil, nor anything else but their own ambitious humour; persuaded by this means to attain to special authority and government under the king of Spain.'

In 1602, upon a quarrel between the Seculars and Jesuits,[4] the former published several books, in which they threw the whole blame of the persecution on the latter; and declared that the

[1] Bancroft, Wordsw. *Eccl. Biog.* iv. 359. [2] Strype's *Ann.* vii. 91, No. 45.
[3] Strype's *Whitgift*, ii. 369. [4] Camden's *Eliz.* 651.

kindness of the queen had continued till the ill conduct of the see of Rome and this part of her Roman Catholic subjects, had forced her to adopt severe measures. And in consequence of a proclamation which was now issued,[1] thirteen secular priests came forward, and made a formal declaration of their own fidelity. Though the effects of these circumstances came not up to our wishes, yet we may fairly conclude, that they were not destitute of their use; for, notwithstanding the invasion of Ireland by the Spaniards, and the crusade which was published by Clement VIII., in favour of Tyrone, yet the executions towards the end of the reign appear less frequent (a).

§ 463. (A.D. 1595.) The church was destined this year to meet with internal trouble, in doctrine as well as discipline; and a theological question, on which the two divinity professors at Cambridge were at variance, became the subject of discussion between the unlearned,[2] whose attainments frequently did not allow them to see even the difficulties which it involves. The opinions of many persons in Cambridge did not correspond with what had been taught by Calvin with regard to predestination; and in a sermon preached before the University, William Barret, fellow of Caius College, denied the absolute decree of reprobation without respect to sin, and the certainty of faith, asserting that Christians might fall from grace. Being called upon to answer for this supposed heterodoxy, he was enjoined to make a public recantation drawn up by the heads themselves, which act he performed in so very negligent a manner that he was again summoned before the authorities. Upon this he complained to the archbishop, and when his recantation was examined it was found to contain the denial of doctrines generally received in the church, and to be as objectionable as those opinions which he had broached (he recanted, for instance, 'that sin is the proper and primary cause of reprobation'[3]). In this part of the proceeding another dispute arose, as to the final jurisdiction of the university over its own members, and when this was amicably settled the matter was discussed in the archbishop's palace(a); and the Lambeth Articles were the fruit of the conference.

(a) It is calculated by Milner, that 204 Roman Catholics suffered death during this reign: 15 for denying the queen's supremacy, 126 for the exercise of priestly functions, and the others for being reconciled to the church of Rome, or aiding or assisting priests; 90 died in prison, 105 were banished (Butler's *English Catholics*, i. 398).

(a) Sir Phil. Warwick, *Mem.* p. 86, attributes the want of moderation visible in these articles to Fletcher, bishop of London.

[1] Butler's *Catholics*, ii. 56.

[2] Strype's *Whitgift*, ii. 228.

[3] Ibid. iii. 318, No. 22.

§ 464. 1. God from eternity hath predestinated certain men unto life,[1] certain men he hath reprobated.

2. The moving or efficient cause of predestination unto life, is not the foresight of faith, or of perseverance, or of good works, or of anything that is in the person predestinated, but only the good-will and pleasure of God.

3. There is predetermined a certain number of the predestinate, which can neither be augmented or diminished.

4. Those who are not predestinated to salvation shall be necessarily damned for their sins.

5. A true, living, and justifying faith, and the Spirit of God justifying, is not extinguished, falleth not away, it vanisheth not away in the elect, neither finally nor totally.

6. A man truly faithful, that is, such an one who is endued with a justifying faith, is certain, with the full assurance of faith, of the remission of his sins, and of his everlasting salvation in Christ.

7. Saving grace is not given, is not granted, is not communicated to all men, by which they may be saved if they will.

8. No man can come to Christ, unless it shall be given unto him, and unless the Father shall draw him; and all men are not drawn by the Father that they may come to the Son.

9. It is not in the will or power of every one to be saved.

Whatever may be the opinion of any individual reader, as to the truth of these articles, it will require but little powers of criticism to remark the dogmatical manner in which they are expressed, and to observe how different their tone is from the language of Scripture, and the articles of our church. Nor can we be surprised if such a decision failed to produce peace in the university or elsewhere,[2] and excited the displeasure of those who cared for the tranquillity of the church. One of the professors, Baro, immediately opposed the errors which these articles were calculated to produce, and was examined in consequence before the heads; and it was only by the quiet interference of the archbishop, that this poor man, who had taught divinity in Cambridge for many years with no higher a stipend than twenty pounds per annum, escaped the loss of even this trifling pittance; and that for preaching doctrines which are in perfect accordance with the articles of the Church of England.[3](a)

(a) Montague, in his *Appello ad Cæsarem* (p. 55-72), says that these articles were forbidden by public authority. And Collier asserts the same (ii. 645); but Fuller doubts this (ix. 231): and though perhaps Elizabeth might have commanded the archbishop to suppress them, yet

[1] Fuller, *Eccl. Hist.* ix. 230, and Strype's *Whitgift*, ii. 280.
[2] Ibid. ii. 286.
[3] Ibid. ii. 290.

§ 465. The advancing age of the queen and of the archbishop tended much to soften down the asperities which previous events had excited between the contending parties, and the government of Whitgift was crowned towards its latter end with more peace than had marked his early labours; and however peremptory(a) some of his conduct may appear, he was a sincere reformer of abuses, and entirely free from many faults which are but too apt to degrade the higher clergy in the eyes of the people. In the house of commons, indeed, in 1598 and 1601, some attempts were made to interfere with ecclesiastical matters, but the objects of the bills brought forward were totally changed. The framers of them now tried to reform real abuses which existed in the establishment, not to destroy and undermine the establishment itself.[1] They complained of excessive fees, of delays, of unnecessary citations, while grievous sins were left untouched, as well as other abuses in the bishops' courts. They objected to pluralities, to non-residence; and though the authority of the queen[2] put a hasty stop to these attempts, yet the attention of the government was directed to the subjects, and such remedies were devised by the archbishop and his colleagues, as were calculated to obviate the evils for the future.

§ 466. The quiet of the church was also much promoted by the maturer judgments of those who had been chiefly instrumental in causing the disturbances.[3] Robert Browne, the founder of the sect called Brownists, the first body of separatists from our church, became wiser as he grew older, and returned once more into her bosom; and Cartwright, who had fought among the foremost of the party, was so convinced of his error, that he declared his sorrow for 'the unnecessary troubles he had caused in the church, by the schism he had been the great fomentor of; and wished he was to begin his life again, that he might testify to the world the dislike he had of his former ways.'[4] The writings of Hooker and Bancroft had, under God's providence, been very instrumental

as they were drawn up by no authority, but merely by some bishops and divines who met at Lambeth, they never were the doctrines of the church of England, though they might express the opinions of some of her most exalted members at that period.

(a) Sir G. Paul speaks in such high terms of the gentleness of Whitgift, in the passage where he alludes to this charge, that the epithet may appear to have been applied rashly (Words. *Eccl. Biog.* iv. 371); but some of his expressions about Cartwright are very warm (Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 96); and in giving his sentence concerning the heresy of Christ's sinning, he says, 'This is my resolution, which I would have you, and all men to know. And those that shall impugn this, or teach to the contrary, I will prosecute with extremity, and to extremity' (Strype's *Whitgift*, ii. 65); words which are at least peremptory.

[1] Strype's *Whitgift*, ii. 374.
[2] Ibid. ii. 445.
[3] Ibid. i. 619.
[4] Ibid. ii. 460.

in producing this happy effect, and we have only to lament that the question had not been more left to the force of reason for its answer. When the nonconformists began to pursue a line of conduct which interfered with the civil rights of the establishment; when they adopted such measures as would tend to overthrow the crown, unless a timely restraint were put upon them, it was absolutely necessary that the authority of government should repress their meetings: but perhaps much of the opposition to episcopacy arose from the manner in which the judicial powers of the bishops were exercised. The final repentance of such a man as Cartwright is one of the strongest testimonies in favour of the hierarchy. He had been far from exhibiting the worst specimen of those who had opposed the cause of the established church; he had possessed knowledge for the investigation of truth, and carried with him much zeal for reformation; he had experienced some harsh treatment, and had given way to a schismatic spirit in his own proceedings; but with him the truth prevailed, and he saw his error before his death; nor is it improbable that the later kindness of Whitgift might have helped in producing this effect. It is possible that the diabolical spirit of schism, with which some of this party were infected, who, in the hopes of remedying evils which they could see, ran themselves into ten thousand greater evils, of which no one could foresee the extent, and who set at defiance every law which Christianity has given us for our guidance, might not have been restrained without the strong hand of power; but much connivance, and much more personal kindness, were perfectly compatible with the severe enforcement of general obedience; and though the peace now produced may be attributed to the previous severity, yet the success of the line of policy which had latterly been pursued, and the tranquillity which accompanied it, seem to plead most strongly in favour of lenient measures.

§ 467. (A.D. 1603.) The reign of Elizabeth was now drawing to a close, after a prosperous continuance of forty-four years, over which the disastrous troubles of succeeding times have thrown so strong a glow, that we frequently find a comparative estimate of the age in which we live falsely made in favour of this period of our history. Elizabeth, as a governor—for in this light alone is it fair to estimate her character—was possessed of considerable talent, which she generally employed to the advantage of the state: whatever her weakness as a woman may have been, she selected her servants more according to her judgment than her passions; and in most of her transactions she was well served, and consulted the good of her subjects, as far as their welfare was consistent with her own plans or ideas. She regarded, if I may

use the expression, the kingdom as her private property, and her object was to render the estate as good as possible. She had only a lifehold interest in the property, and was less careful, therefore, of the peculiar interests of her successor. From her disinclination to be controlled, she was always unwilling to make any calls upon the parliament, and sacrificed the property which belonged to the crown and the nation, for the sake of rewarding those who were about her; and thus converted to her own personal advantage that which ought to have provided for the wants of posterity. The same feeling gave a parsimonious turn to much of her conduct;[1] it made her unwilling to spend money for necessary objects, and rendered her always much inclined to receive presents;[2] it was this which made her guilty of an obvious meanness in seizing on the property of her favourite Leicester[3] immediately on his death, in order to satisfy the sum in which he was indebted to her treasury. In no point, however, was this fault so conspicuous, as with regard to the church; but the instances are far too numerous to be here recorded. The reader may be referred to an address of Whitgift to her majesty, which is given in Walton's Life of Hooker.[4] Parsimony, however, was no further used than as a means of enabling her to govern: she was unwilling to ask for money, lest she should become indebted to those who granted it. Of power, for its own sake, she was peculiarly fond, and in no species of power did she take a greater delight than in that which belonged to the supremacy; a point which was attacked by two descriptions of her subjects, the Puritans and the Roman Catholics. The treatment which she wished to adopt with regard to these two parties, and her decided temper, are characteristically marked in an observation of her own, made to Malvesier, the ambassador from France.[5] She told him 'that she would maintain the religion that she was crowned in, and that she was baptized in: and would suppress the papistical religion, that it should not grow. But that she would root out puritanism, and the favourers thereof. And that she had rather be the last of her line without marriage, than Monsieur should innovate or alter anything in her reformed church.' And this line of policy seems to have been pursued systematically on her part.

§ 468. Had the Roman Catholics allowed her to follow her own designs she would probably have used little severity towards them, as she was in some particulars certainly not adverse to them,(a) and on several occasions, even after compulsion had begun,

(a) Elizabeth may be said to have mixed up with her Protestantism many feelings favourable to Roman Catholic customs. She was fond of

1 Strype's *Smith*, 140, &c.
2 Strype's *Ann.* iv. 209.
3 Camden's *Elizabeth*, 420.
4 Wordsw. *Eccl. Biog.* iv. 233.
5 Strype's *Ann.* iv. 242.

she exhibited an unwillingness to shed blood,[1] and an inclination in their favour. But the prejudices of her Protestant subjects were offended at any kindness which was shown to their Roman Catholic brethren;[2] and we can feel less surprise that the unjustifiable conduct of the more conspicuous members of that body should have exasperated the Protestants. With regard to puritanism, which she hated, the question was totally different. This faction owed much of its existence to a spirit of insubordination, and was coupled with a strong desire of establishing the civil liberties of the subject; but its votaries carried their notions of freedom into the confines of libertinism; and Elizabeth was little likely to approve of a system which directed the speculations of its followers to the strict examination of what the law had already settled. She was a great friend to education, as the surest means of eradicating the power of the papacy; but she did not clearly foresee that the dissemination of knowledge was incompatible with the absolute power which she wished to exercise. It was with the view probably of checking investigation that she was ever hostile to multiplying sermons, and the steps which she took to put a stop to prophesyings owe their origin to the same cause. Indeed, the peremptory manner in which she decided ecclesiastical questions fell under the rebuke of Grindal,[3] who told her that church matters were to be settled according to the will of God, not her own; and that she too was mortal, and must answer before the tribunal of Christ. It was the same love of power, the same objection to being controlled in any way, which contributed to prevent her from marrying; and this disinclination to the married state in her own person, rendered her very tyrannical on this point with regard to all about her, and combined with early prejudices, made her always adverse to the marriage of the clergy.([b])

outward show in religion, as was visible in the whole question about the ecclesiastical dresses. She retained the crucifix in her own chapel (§ 408); she was adverse to the marriage of the clergy.

([b]) Sir Simon Degge tells us, 'That priests' children in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth, were fain to be legitimated. In the first and third of King Edward, all laws, statutes, and canons, against the marriage of priests, were made null and void (See § 311, 329). And by another statute in the fifth and sixth of King Edward, it was adjudged and declared, that the marriage of priests was lawful, and legitimated their children, and made them capable to endow their wives, and to be tenants by courtesy. But these laws were repealed in the first Queen Mary, and lay repealed all Queen Elizabeth's days (§ 360), till the first of King James, and then the latter acts of King Edward were revived, and made perpetual, and priests' children made legitimate' (Strype's *Parker*, ii. 461). The act was unrepealed specifically, but the Injunctions of Elizabeth (§ 406), presume the legality of the marriage of priests, and probably she deemed it virtually repealed in the general terms which abrogated all the ecclesiastical acts of Mary. It is obvious,

[1] Strype's *Ann.* v. 188, 197.

[2] Strype's *Parker*, iii. 83, No. 27.

[3] Strype's *Grindal*, 572, No. 9.

§ 469. With all this, she possessed a strong feeling of religion, was scrupulous in the observance of the outward offices of it, and from the judgment of those who were best able to decide the question[1] (as far as one human being can form an estimate of another), she was truly religious. There is an answer of hers to the house of commons,[2] towards the end of her reign; which marks a most conscientious sovereign: and the excuse for her errors, which she makes towards the conclusion of it (viz., that princes are often deceived by the interested advice of their servants, who prevent the truth from coming to them), would be valid in her favour, had not the whole political proceedings of this reign placed the broad hand of authority upon every attempt which was made to remedy evils by free and impartial discussion. Her great qualities have met with so many panegyrists, that it is unnecessary to dilate upon them. She was perhaps the greatest monarch who ever sat on the throne of England; but the present generation has every reason to congratulate itself that the real happiness and prosperity of the subject have been more substantially consulted in our own days.

§ 470. The immediate death of Elizabeth was attended with some painful circumstances, in the explanation of which various historians have amused themselves; but the ordinary decay of nature, and the sufferings of ill health, in an old woman who had always followed her own inclinations as much as the queen, seem fully adequate to account for her unpleasant condition. The earliest account of this event which is extant, and which is pro-

however, that churchmen did not think so, for Archbishop Parker calls his wife Margaret Parker, alias Harleston, and procured the legitimation of his children: her brother was the heir to Mrs. Parker. Elizabeth would absolutely have forbidden the marriage of the clergy, if Cecil had not interposed; she did actually forbid the residence of women within cathedral closes (Strype's *Parker*, i. 212); and when Fletcher, newly made bishop of London in 1594, 'married a fine lady' as his second wife, the queen banished him from court, 'as being a very indecent act for an elderly clergyman' (Strype's *Whitgift*, ii. 215). Mr. Dyce, in his new edition of Beaumont and Fletcher, has collected some particulars of the bishop, who was the father of the poet. It appears that the queen's reproof was richly deserved, and that her description of 'a fine lady' implied more than it expressed. Before his elevation to London, the bishop was outwardly decorous and in favour: neither his unseasonable attempt to proselytise Queen Mary, nor his servile begging for translation from see to see, nor his probable corrupt bargaining for Bristol by promising to grant leases at low rates, lowered him in the queen's opinion. Scarcely, however, was he preferred to London, before he shocked her by a second marriage with Lady Baker, a woman of bad character whose husband had not been dead a year. Mr. Dyce has printed a lampoon which appeared at the time, and which is not here inserted, as it contains more coarseness than point. She was equally arbitrary about the marriage of those persons connected with the court.

[1] Burnet, *Ref.* vi. 388, No. 63.

[2] Camden, *Eliz.* 635.

bably derived from the pen of some one who was present when it took place, is as follows:[1] 'The queen had for three weeks been labouring under a disorder which strongly affected her spirits, and produced a kind of stupor accompanied with appearances of insanity; she could not be induced by reason, entreaties, or any contrivance, to try the effect of medicine; and there was much difficulty in persuading her to use such nourishment as was necessary for her animal support. The sleep which she enjoyed was very little, and that not taken in bed, but among pillows, on which she had accustomed herself to recline during whole days without moving: her intellect remained to the last, though for three days she was unable to speak.' Camden, too, describes her excessive melancholy and depression, and gives the generally received opinions concerning the cause of it;[2] but adds, 'And as she had done always before, in the prime of her age, so now much more, she refused all help of physic.' She was attended in her last hours by Whitgift, Bancroft, and Watson her almoner,[3] and partook with much satisfaction of the outward consolations of religion. [4]'On March 24, she was called out of the prison of her earthly body, to enjoy an everlasting country in heaven, peaceably and quietly leaving this life, after that happy manner of departure which Augustus wished for.'

§ 471. In estimating the state of the church at this period, when it had now been established for forty years, we cannot but deplore the little progress which had been made in essentials. The time had been wasted in disputes about unimportant matters, and what had been settled, stood, as far as human institutions are concerned, on no firmer basis than such as the caprice of a monarch or the prevalence of a party might have destroyed in a moment. The chief blame of this seems to rest with the leaders of the puritanic party. There were points which they wished to be altered; and for the sake of effecting their purpose, they allowed themselves, and by their proceedings excited others, to direct their chief efforts towards non-essentials. They saw that the church of Christ was suffering from a want of attention to the important concerns of religion, and they were so far from relinquishing their prejudices, and coming forward to supply the defect, that they principally exerted themselves in fanning the flame of discord. They were perhaps unwisely dealt with; they were certainly treated with severity: but the injudicious conduct of their superiors could never be an excuse for their relinquishing their posts and duties, could scarcely even palliate the schismatic activity which many of them displayed. The blame of a want of conces-

1 Strype's *Annals*, vii. 521, No. 276. Strype's *Whitgift*, ii. 466.
2 Camden's *Elizabeth*, 659. 3 Strype's *Whitgift*, ii. 466.
4 Camden's *Elizabeth*, 661.

sion, and of harshness of treatment, must be attributed first to the queen,[1] and then to Parker, Aylmer, and Whitgift; and yet great caution is necessary in speaking of such men as the two archbishops were, to whom our church owes so much. The alteration of opinions, arising from the change of times, makes it very difficult to estimate their conduct fairly: they were both upright, conscientious men, who had to strive against the jobbing dishonesty of the mass of the courtiers, and against the prejudices and wilfulness of the queen: they were little supported by many of their brethren the bishops: for what with the general ignorance of the times, which furnished no great supply of fit men; with the appointment to ecclesiastical offices from interest rather than merit; with the temptations to which high situations in the church expose those who fill them; the government in spiritual matters seems to have rested much more on the individual character of the rulers, than is ever to be wished. Nor can it be concealed that the ill-conduct of the dignified clergy themselves added much to the burden which was imposed on those who held the highest offices in the church. Burleigh (1575), in writing to Grindal, says,[2] 'that though he liked not the unruly reprehenders of the clergy at this time, yet he feared the abuse of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, both by bishops and archdeacons, gave too great an occasion to those stoical and irregular rovers to multiply their invectives against the state of our clergy.' And in another letter to Whitgift,[3] when again speaking of filling up preferments, that 'he saw such worldliness in many that were otherwise affected before they came to cathedral churches, that he feared the places altered the men.' The universities contributed little to remedy or obviate the danger of the times:[4] the state of Oxford was deplorable; she was overrun with popery and disorder:[5] and Cambridge, to which this period owes so much, was, as we have seen, at one moment a prey to puritanism, at another engaged in disputes which tended to anything rather than edification.

The feeling which the more attentive study of these times is calculated to inspire, is the conviction of the superintendence of Providence over the church of Christ. The exertions of the best of human beings are often misdirected; are oftener thwarted by the evil passions of the interested; and yet all things work together for good to them that love God.

[1] See § 446. [2] Strype's *Grindal*, 281. [3] Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 338.
[4] Ibid. i. 610. [5] Strype's *Grindal*, 196.

A LIST OF THE AUTHENTIC COPIES OF THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES.

	Size.	By whom printed.	Copies existing.	Language.	By whom reprinted.
XLII. 1553.		Reg. Wolfe.	C. C. C. Oxf. Camb. and Pub. Lib. Camb.	Lat.	Sparrow. Lamb. Burney(a).
		Grafton (b).	Bodley.	Eng.	Sparrow. Burney.
XXXVIII. 1563.	4to.	Reg. Wolfe.	Bodley. 3 cop. C. C. C. Oxford.	Lat.	Burney.
No date.	8vo.	Jugg & Cawood.	Ch. Ch. Oxford.	Eng.	Lamb.
No date.			St. John's, Camb.		
XXXIX. 1571.	4to.	Day.	C. C. C. Camb. Ch. Ch. Bodley.	Lat.	Lamb. Sparrow.
		Jugg & Cawood.	C. C. C. Camb. & Pub. Lib. Camb.	Eng.	Lamb. Burney.
			St. John's & Jes. Cambridge.	Eng.	

(a) The reprints, to which allusion is here made, are to be found in Sparrow's *Collection of Articles*, a very useful book, but so incorrectly published as to be quite useless on all critical questions. 4to.

Articles of Religion, &c., printed in 1811, I believe by Dr. Burney, but unfortunately never published. 4to.

Dr. Lamb's *Historical Account of the Thirty-nine Articles*, Camb. 1829, 4to, a very useful but expensive work.

(b) Sparrow says, John Day. The Catechism is by Day.

N.B. These have all been subsequently reprinted with great care in Cardwell's *Synodalia*; for whose publications the church owes a debt of gratitude to the learned Editor.

APPENDIX C. TO CHAPTER X.

HISTORY OF THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES.

481. The Forty-two Articles. 482. Probably framed by Cranmer. 483. Taken partly from the Augsburg Confession. 484. Not sanctioned by Convocation. 485. Parker prepares the Articles for Convocation; subscription required. 486. The controverted clause in the twentieth Article. 487. Idea of the Author. 488. Laud, not to blame about the Article.

ALTHOUGH the value which we attach to the Thirty-nine Articles must depend on other grounds than the authority to which they owe their existence, or our respect for the individuals by whom they were framed, yet the history of their composition and the details which attended the original publication and revision of them can never fail to be interesting and instructive.

The Articles of our Church were first published in the year 1553;[1] they came forth under the title, 'The Articles agreed upon by the bishops and other learned and godly men, in the last convocation at London, in the year of our Lord MDLII., for to root out the discord of opinions, and stablish the agreement of true religion; likewise published by the king's majesty's authority, 1553.' They were published together with a short Catechism (§ 331), and were printed, as well as the Catechism, in Latin and English. They were in number forty-two, and do not exactly correspond with the present Thirty-nine. The accounts which have been handed down to us of their first composition are involved in so much uncertainty that what is generally received concerning them is more worthy of the name of tradition than of history.

§ 482. The power which had been originally granted to Henry VIII.,[2] of appointing a committee for the formation of ecclesiastical laws, and of which no use was made during his reign, was renewed in 1549 to Edward VI., by an act of parliament which limited its duration to the space of three years (ᵃ).

(A.D. 1551.) The committee was actually appointed October 6th.

(ᵃ) The fruit of the labours of this committee were published in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, § 435 (ᵃ). The early sections contain the doctrines of the Thirty-nine Articles, but the words used are not the same. They may indeed be deemed an authorized expression of the meaning of our articles.

[1] Lamb, 3.

[2] Strype's *Cranmer*, 388.

'And this year the archbishop was directed to draw up a book of Articles for preserving and maintaining peace and unity of doctrine in the church; that being finished, they might be set forth by public authority.' This he did, and they were delivered 'to other bishops to be inspected and subscribed, I suppose by them.' (b) [1] (A.D. 1552.) In the May following, the archbishop was directed by the council to send the Articles, and to signify whether the same were set forth by any authority; alluding, probably, to the power vested in the commissioners by the act of 1549, and which would continue in force till the end of 1552. In September the archbishop sent the book which he had now set in order, by supplying what was wanting, and prefixing titles to the several articles, to Sir William Cecil and Sir John Cheke[2] desiring them to take the same into their serious consideration, and to present them to the king. They, however, imagined that it would be better for the metropolitan to offer them himself; and he did so. In October a letter was addressed by the council to Harley, Bell, Horn, Grindal, Pern, and Knox, to consider certain articles, which could hardly be any other than these. The archbishop received the articles from the council Nov. 23rd, and sent them back on the 24th, expressing, at the same time, a wish that the bishops might be empowered to require subscription to them. All these details which form the whole which is known of the composition of the Articles, strongly tend to confirm the idea that they were composed by Cranmer himself; and when he was examined before the commissioners appointed during the reign of Queen Mary,[3] he acknowledged 'that they were his doings.' He is generally said to have made use of the assistance of Bishop Ridley, and the draft of them might probably have been submitted to the inspection of other divines; but it is quite uncertain whether they received any alterations from these persons, or whether they were even examined by them. It is indeed most probable that this was the case: for in the letter of Edward VI., dated June 9, 1553, and addressed to the bishops, they are called 'Certain Articles devised and gathered with great study,[4] and by counsel and good advice of the greatest learned part

(b) The first sketch of the articles was prepared in the summer of 1551; but it seems not to have contained the whole of the articles which were published in the spring of 1553. The five first, the IXth, Xth, and XVIIth, were wanting; and the clause in the XXVIIIth (the XXIXth of the Forty-two), against consubstantiation, or the ubiquity of Christ's body, was added, which was subsequently omitted in 1563 (Laurence's *Bamp. Lect.* 228, and p. 39). These circumstances are gathered from a book published at Antwerp in 1564, giving an account of a dispute which had been held between Hooper and two of his prebendaries, on the subject of these articles, in 1552.

[1] Strype's *Cranmer*, 390.
[2] Ibid. 391.
[3] Ibid. 390, ch. xxvii.
[4] Strype's *Mem. II.* ii. 105.

of our bishops of this realm, and sundry others of our clergy;' expressions which would hardly have been used, unless more bishops than Cranmer and Ridley had been concerned in their preparation.

§ 483. Whether they were composed by Cranmer, or were drawn up by any other hand, it will be curious to inquire from what sources they are chiefly derived, since it is not probable that a man possessed of so much caution as marked the general conduct of the archbishop, would have suffered a document to be prepared, which was intended to convey the authoritative opinion of the church of England, without consulting, and perhaps imitating works of the same description which had already been received among the most distinguished of the reformers.

(A.D. 1536.) Whatever use he might have made of the Helvetic Confession[1] in forming his own opinions, he does not appear to have introduced it into the work in which he was engaged: but with regard to the Confession of Augsburg (1530, printed 1531, and republished with alterations 1540), there is not only a general agreement in doctrine, but in many places the very words of the one are transferred into the other. (a) Several of the present articles are taken from papers drawn up by the committee of doctrines,[2] 1540; but as these do in two instances correspond also with the Augsburg Confession, it is not improbable that they likewise owe their origin to the pen of the archbishop himself. We may also conclude that the XIth Article, on Justification, is drawn from no other source than the laborious investigations of Cranmer. In a book of his own, wherein he had written out a large collection of quotations from Holy Scripture, as well as from different authors,[3] he sums up the argument in words corresponding, in a great degree, with those of the article; and reference is made in

(a) Articles I. and II. of the Thirty-nine are obviously taken from Articles I. and III. of the Confession: the first sentence of XXV., and most of XXXI., agree, in above half the words which they contain, with expressions used in the Augsburg Confession; the IXth and XVIth are principally derived from the same source. Articles IV. XIV. XXIII. XXVI. XXXII. XXXIV. contain expressions which leave little doubt in the mind that the Augsburg Confession was familiar to the person who was drawing them up. Articles XXIV. and XXX. might be added to these, but they were introduced by Archbishop Parker, and are not in the Forty-two Articles. The Article on the Holy Ghost (V.) is wanting in the Augsburg Confession, and so it is in the Forty-two. The term *ex opere operato* occurs in the Article of the Forty-two which corresponds with the present XXVth, and the same term exists in the XIIIth Article of the Augsburg Confession. The verbal correspondence is more strongly marked by comparing these coincidences with those parts of the Helvetic Confession, in which the same ideas are conveyed in very dissimilar language. See *Apocrypha*, 17; *Trinity*, 20; *Predestination*, 34.

[1] See *Sylloge Confessionum*.

[2] Strype's *Mem. I.* ii. 442, No. 112.

[3] Burnet, i. 288, fol. 522, 8vo.

the same article to the Homily on Salvation, though under a false title, which is generally esteemed to be the production of Cranmer. With regard to the XVIIth Article, great uncertainty prevails concerning the author; yet there are some passages in the works of Luther and Melancthon, which, from the similarity of idea, and occasionally of expression, if they formed not a text on which the framers of the articles commented, might at least have been in their view when engaged in the composition of it (b), and leave little doubt that it was derived from the German school of theology.

§ 484. From the title under which the Articles were originally published, it might be supposed that they derived their authority from the sanction of convocation; but if they were ever submitted to the upper house, which is very questionable, it is indubitable that they were never brought before the lower; while all the original mandates which remain prove that they were promulgated by a royal proclamation alone.[1] Their publication, however, was so rapidly followed by the re-establishment of popery under Queen Mary,[2] that only a small part of the clergy ever actually subscribed them.

§ 485. (A.D. 1562.) The examination of the Articles early engaged the attention of the church when it was re-established in the reign of Elizabeth; and the task of remodeling them, and of

(b) Luther wrote his preface to the Epistle to the Romans in German, and it was translated into Latin by Justus Jonas, 1523. The quotation is long, but too curious to be omitted. I have to thank my friend Dr. Burton for pointing it out to me (Works, *Whiteb.* 1554, v. 100).

'Et hæc certe stabilis sententia et immota prædestinationis necessitas summe necessaria est. Tam imbecilles enim sumus, ut si in nostris manibus situm esset, paucissimi aut nulli salvarentur, diabolus enim omnes vinceret. Nunc cum hæc stabilis et certissima Dei sententia mutari non posset, nec ab ulla creatura convelli, tum certe spes est nobis reliqua, tandem vincendi peccati, quantumvis etiam nunc in carne sævit.

'At hic *curiosuli* illi habenis cohibendi sunt, qui antequam Christum et virtutem crucis discant, abyssum illam prædestinationis scrutantur, et num prædestinati sint necne, frustra investigant. Nam hi haud dubie *in confusionem conscientiæ aut desperationem, sua hac inepta curiositate ducent et præcipitabunt seipsos. Tu vero in ratione discendarum sacrarum rerum sequere seriem et ordinem hic traditum ab Apostolo.*

'Primum disce cognitionem Christi, ut agnoscas omnes vires tuas nihil valere nisi ad peccandum. Deinde ut per fidem cum carne tua assidue lucteris, quemadmodum 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, capite docuit. Mox cum ad caput 8 perveneris, hoc est, ubi crucem et tribulationes expertus fueris, hanc *mortificationem* esse salutarem es repetendam, tum primum *dulcescet* necessitas hæc prædestinationis, tum primum senties in 9, 10, et 11, quam *plena consolationis sit prædestinatio.* Nam nisi tribulationem expertus sis, nisi ad portas inferi aliquando, ut in Davide et aliis sanctis videmus, ductum te senseris, non poteris hanc *prædestinationis sententiam*, sine periculo et blasphemo quodam fremitu naturæ contra Deum tractare.'

The passages from Melancthon, and another from Luther, are printed by Archbishop Laurence (*Bamp. Lect.* notes 4 and 6. Serm. viii. 430, &c.).

[1] Strype's *Cranmer*, 432. *Mem. II.* ii. 24, 278. [2] Cranmer, 422.

making such alterations as circumstances, or a further view of the subject, might dictate, fell into the hands of Archbishop Parker. The method which was pursued in this work was as follows. He prepared a copy of the Articles for the examination of the convocation,[1] into which he introduced considerable alterations of his own; he omitted four of those of King Edward VI., which formed the Xth, XVIth, XIXth, and XLIst, of the Forty-two. He introduced four new ones, V. XII. XXIX. XXX.: and altered, more or less, seventeen of the others, II. VI. VII. IX. X. XI. XVII. XXII. XXIV. XXV. XXVII. XXVIII. XXXII. XXXIV. XXXV. XXXVI. XXXVII. (a). The convocation which met on January 11 (1563) made several alterations in this copy prepared by Parker. They omitted XL. XLI. and XLII.; and when they were printed, the XXIXth also was left out: they altered III. IX. XXI. XXV. XXVIII. XXXIV., and the title of XVI. The Articles so changed were subscribed by the upper house of convocation on the 29th, and by the lower house on the 5th of February. They were printed in Latin and in English and consist of XXXVIII.

(A.D. 1566.) An attempt was afterwards made to bring in a bill for uniformity of doctrine,[2] by requiring the clergy to subscribe the Articles of Religion; it passed the commons, but was stopped in the lords by the queen, who deemed it an infringement on her ecclesiastical supremacy.

In 1571, the same attempt was again made on the part of the commons;[3] and Elizabeth, with that wisdom which marked her whole government, withdrew an opposition which would probably have had no other effect than that of entailing upon herself an ultimate defeat. The Articles which the clergy are by this Act called upon to subscribe are designated as comprised in a book imprinted, intituled *Articles*, &c. (b); but the extent of the

(a) Many of these alterations are taken from the Wirtemberg Confession, which was composed in 1551, and in the following year exhibited in the Council of Trent; e. g., part of the IInd, the Vth, VIth, Xth, XIth, XIIth. The Archbishop of Cashel adds the XXth (Laurence's *Bampton Lect.* 233). I almost doubt of this. The sense is the same not the words. The only changes which are worthy of remark, from proving any alteration in point of doctrine, are to be found in the VIth and the XXVIIIth. The VIth is less favourable to traditions, and draws the distinction between the canonical and apocryphal scriptures; and the XXVIIIth leaves out a sentence contradictory of consubstantiation or ubiquitinarianism. Burnet can hardly be correct in his supposition that this was done to please the Roman Catholics. Transubstantiation is denied in the sentence before, which is not altered.

(b) This can be no other than that published 1563, by Jugg and Cawood, which does not contain the controverted clause of the XXth Article. See § 486.

[1] Lamb, 13. [2] Ibid. 24. [3] Ibid. 25.

subscription is again limited, by their being subsequently confined to those 'which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments' comprised, &c.; by which expressions the XIXth, XXth, XXXVth, and XXXVIth are virtually excluded. In the convocation which was sitting at the same time, Parker commenced a review of the Articles, for the purpose of sanctioning, by the authority of convocation, the Articles to which subscription should be required of the clergy. When some trifling alteration had been made, and the XXIXth Article restored, these Articles, then consisting of the present XXXIX., were subscribed by the upper house on the eleventh of May, and afterwards published under the superintendence of Bishop Jewel ([a]), and the ratification with which they now conclude was added. But it is very extraordinary that disputes have arisen, and the greatest uncertainty still prevails, as to the copy of the Articles which may be deemed the authorised one, from this period till the point was virtually settled by the canons passed in the convocation of 1604.

§ 486. The records of the English convocations were unfortunately burnt at the fire of London in 1666, so that it is impossible to refer to the original documents; and the manuscript and printed copies of them exhibit such variety as tends rather to involve the question in greater difficulty.

The disputed clause is that with which the XXth Article now commences.

'Habet ecclesia ritus sive cæremonias ([a]) statuendi jus, et in fidei controversiis auctoritatem; quamvis' Ecclesiæ non licet, &c.

"The church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith; and yet" it is not lawful for the church, &c.

The testimonies concerning the authenticity of this clause are as follows:

It is not found,

1. In the Latin manuscripts signed by the archbishops and bishops in the convocation, 1562.

2. In the English edition of Jugg and Cawood, 1563.

3. In the English manuscript signed by the archbishop of Canterbury and bishops in the convocation of 1571.

([a]) Bishop Jewel made several minute corrections of the Articles which may be seen in Lamb, p. 30, and put the finishing hand to our present Articles.

([a]) It is curious that the words *sive cæremonias* do not exist in Wolfe's edition of 1563, nor in the transcript from the records of convocation 1562, produced at Laud's trial. The word *jus* too is translated *power*, a method of rendering it to which many an honest puritan might readily have assented, by allowing that the church had the power but no right.

[1] Lamb, 37.

4. In the Latin edition of Day, 1571.
5. In the English edition of Jugg and Cawood, 1571.

} Published under the direction of Bishop Jewel.

It is found,

1. In the Latin edition of Wolfe of 1563.

2. In one (or two?) of the later editions of Jugg and Cawood of 1571.

3. And appears frequently after 1579.[1]

(A.D. 1637). But in the examination of Laud, when the question was agitated,[2] a declaration of a notary public was produced before the star chamber, which testified that the clause did exist in the authoritative copy of the acts of the convocation, 1562, then still remaining in St. Paul's. (See the previous note (a).)

§ 487. If then, in order to reconcile these conflicting testimonies, and to mark the grounds of his own opinion of the authenticity of the clause, a writer may be allowed to hazard a conjecture, he must state that he believes the clause to be in a certain degree genuine, and to have been inserted (a) through that unquestioned sort of supremacy which was exercised by Elizabeth in ecclesiastical matters, and imagines that the discrepancies arose from the carelessness (b) of those who ought to have compared the entries in the records of the two houses of convocation: his conjecture then is as follows.

In 1562, Archbishop Parker and the bishops sent down a copy of the Articles to the lower house, not containing the controverted clause in the XXth article, but containing the XXIXth article. The lower house then, or at least those who copied their records, by the direction of Elizabeth, inserted the clause in the XXth, and left out the XXIXth article. And the articles so altered were published by Wolfe, 1563, in Latin, under the immediate authority of the queen herself (c). And it is presumed that the

(a) That this was done by Elizabeth may be presumed from the following internal evidence. The clause itself is in strict correspondence with the prepositions of a child of Henry VIII.; the XXIXth article was omitted at the same time; and Elizabeth is well known to have been favourable to the idea of the corporal presence—witness the exclusion of the rubric at the end of the Communion Service in 1560; but the subscription at the end (c) seems almost to leave the question without a doubt. It is hardly necessary perhaps to state, that the greater part of the reasoning on this question is due to Dr. Lamb's book.

(b) As a proof of the carelessness with which persons will assert the agreement of documents of which they have no reason to suspect the discrepancy, it may be observed that Strype (*Ann.* I. i. 484) calls the C. C. C. Camb. manuscript of Parker's 'a draft of king Edward's Articles, accurately writ out,' whereas there are differences amounting to eight whole articles and seventeen variations.

(c) At the end of this edition is the following notice: 'Quibus omni-

[1] *Historical and Critical Essay*, Art. XXXIX.
[2] Bennet on the Thirty-nine Articles, 167.

English editions published by Jugg and Cawood were edited nominally by the queen's authority, but really from a document furnished by some of the bishops, which was altered as to the XXIXth, but not as to the insertion of the clause in the XXth.

[1]It is assumed, then, that this difference was either not observed, or not much regarded, and that the house of commons, in 1566 and 1571, used the English as the authentic copy, and that Archbishop Parker ([d]) did the same when the Articles were written out, to be brought before the upper house of convocation, in the same year 1571. Thus then the discrepancy was continued in the records of the upper house, and in the editions published under the direction of Bishop Jewel. And it is probable that the printers, when they found that there was a difference, at first printed in both forms, to supply the wishes of their several customers, and afterwards frequently inserted the clause,[2] till the edition was published in Oxford, when Prideaux was vice-chancellor, which occasioned the discussion.

§ 488. The clause then may be considered genuine, as far as Laud is concerned; for it was originally published by the authority of the queen, although it had probably never passed through the upper house of convocation. Add to which, that with regard to ecclesiastical affairs, the authority of the copy of the XXXIX. Articles must in 1634 have depended on the clause in the 36th canon of 1604, and that edition of the articles which the two houses then subscribed; and this was that of Deputies of Christopher Barker,[3] of 1593, which does contain the controverted clause. The question therefore, as far as Laud was concerned, or as far as relates to our subscription in the present day, seems to be set at rest; but it seems equally clear that Archbishop Parker and the bishops did not mean to authorize this clause in 1562 or 1571, for they introduced that at the end of the XXXIVth article, which contains a milder assertion of the same doctrine, and which appears almost a tautology as the Articles stand at present.

bus Articulis serenissima Princeps Elizabeth, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, regina, fidei defensor, &c., per seipsam diligenter prius lectis et examinatis regium suum assensum præbuit.'

([d]) We must either suppose that Archbishop Parker did this by inadvertency, or that he presumed to oppose the wishes of the queen: the former supposition seems the least liable to objection, as the attention of the bishops would not be drawn to a question which had never been agitated.

[1] § 485 ([b]).
[2] Lamb, 36.
[3] Bennet on the XXXIX. Articles, p. 358.

CHAPTER XI.

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

491. Reformation in England and Scotland compared; gradual in England; 492, and carried on in connection with the government. 493. Rapid in Scotland, and resisted by the crown and the church; objects of Cardinal Beaton; his persecution of Wishart; and, 494, own death; siege of St. Andrew's; the French and English take part in the contest; the plans of each: the congregation established; the use of the Common Prayer enjoined. 494. Arrival of Knox; his character; establishment of the Reformation; the power by which it was established marked the character of it; its political independence, and difference from the church of England in this respect. 495. The fault of his principles. 496. General view of the Reformation; opposition to government. 497. Preference to be given to the Reformation in England.

§ 491. It will hardly be possible to understand clearly the mutual bearings of the two churches, which are now amicably flourishing within the same island, and which have contributed much to the injury of each other, without taking a general view of the Reformation as it had been carried on in Scotland (a). The events which there contributed to throw down the power of the church of Rome are so totally different from those which produced the same effect in England, that it was scarcely to be expected that the two nations should regard their church in the same light: and as the conduct of the mass of any people must in great measure depend on the ideas prevalent among them, we shall perhaps obtain the object which we have in view most easily by examining the more striking features which distinguished the two Reformations. The limits of this work preclude the idea of entering into any history of the Reformation in Scotland; but a few pages may enable us to estimate the causes which produced that marked dissimilarity between these two events; and to account, in a certain degree, for the existence of prejudices and opinions fundamentally different from each other.

The seeds of the Reformation must have been sown in every country where mankind had begun to reason for themselves, and where such abuses existed as could not fail to attract the notice of the most careless, and to excite the regret of all who wished

(a) The reader is referred to Cook's *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, and McCrie's *Life of Knox*; more particular reference is hardly required concerning remarks so general as those which are here made.

well to religion. But the necessity of a total change in the whole system, the unsoundness of the very foundations on which the papal power was built, would have been discovered at very different periods by different individuals or different nations, and have given rise to very different opinions as to the methods by which the change was to be effected. All truths, and particularly moral truths, are likely to be disseminated to the greatest advantage when the process is slow, and when the several steps are gradually communicated to those most interested in their admission or rejection. In England, the class of reformers was numerous long before the time of Luther. It is not of consequence to the argument whether any of the light spread throughout Germany were borrowed from England; but most certainly the Bible was appealed to in England as the standard of opinion long before the dawn of the Reformation in Germany (b). The English reformers had advanced but few steps in the progress of the Reformation; but these points were to a certain degree established long before they were to be brought forward as the basis of a new system. Nor was the knowledge necessary for preparing the minds of the people for the Reformation confined to any small portion of society; it was generally diffused, and therefore partially admitted, by many who were not prepared to receive it entirely; and persons so affected are much more likely to use moderation in their proceedings than those on whom the force of truth has suddenly broken in, and carried off perhaps some things which are valuable, as well as the errors which had been before received. The worst of systems which has been long established must possess some advantages, which it would be unwise to destroy unnecessarily; and the most perfect may require such a perfection in those who adopt it, as to render the use of it, if suddenly imposed, dangerous in the extreme. Every system of human affairs must require a constant change, and that government in church or state is best, which provides that the changes shall be moderated by prudence, and not received till their necessity is apparent. A wise and good government will endeavour to guide the opinions of its subjects, a bad one will try to resist them; but in human affairs, that nation may be deemed fortunate in which the government gradually follows the progress of the opinions of its more enlightened subjects.

(b) Without referring to the time of Wiclif and the prevalence of his opinions, which had never been eradicated from England, it may be remembered, that Warham, in 1510 and 1511, compelled many persons to recant opinions which are now universally admitted among Protestants, and that several persons more were condemned to death. See Burnet. Instances of persons burnt before 1517 may be found in Fox, vol. ii.; *e.g.*, Sweeting and Brewster in 1511.

§ 492. In England, it was not any wisdom in his plans of government which induced Henry VIII. to destroy the papal power, but the providence of God made the passions of the monarch take the same direction as the wishes of the more enlightened of his subjects. The friend of the Reformation, the moderate Roman Catholic, and the political patriot, who regarded not the interests of religion, all wished that the temporal authority of the pope should be discarded, and the prospect of a divorce contributed to inspire the king with the same desire. The same parties beheld the excessive power and wealth of the clergy, and they wished therefore that this should be diminished; they had different objects in view, and possessed, perhaps, different opinions, as to the method in which this alteration should take place; but their combined wishes coincided with the rapacity and avarice which made the king regardless of justice and of policy. The acts, therefore, of the government not only agreed with the wishes of the more enlightened members of society, but probably opened the eyes of many who were ready to observe these advantages when placed before them. Henry did not innovate so much as the reformers would have desired, but he outstepped the wishes of the Roman Catholics. He could not be said to guide the opinions of the country, but the acts of the government lay between the extremes into which the parties which composed it would have fallen; and therefore the Reformation, as far as it proceeded during the reign of Henry, tended not only to remedy actual abuses, but to render the opinions of the people better prepared for estimating or directing future amendments. It left the sincere and enlightened Protestant exposed to persecution, but it had paved the way for real reformation, by destroying the only power which could have effectually resisted it; and by showing the world, not only that reformation was required, but that it might be carried on beneficially. It made the friends of reform cautious, and the opponents of it more moderate.

§ 493. The course of events which took place in Scotland were at total variance with these circumstances. Dr. Cook begins his *History of the Reformation in Scotland* (1528) with the martyrdom of Patric Hamilton, who had derived many of his opinions from Germany, and received them from men who had already proceeded to extremities in rejecting the Roman authority. The greatest caution was necessary on the part of one whose heart was bent on introducing the truths of the Reformation into his native country, in consequence of the violence which even the appearance of favour towards the doctrines of the reformers excited among the clergy: but all his prudence and caution were rendered useless through the treachery with which he was assailed; and Campbell, who first insinuated himself into the confidence of Hamilton, and

then betrayed him, not only disgusted the feelings of the community, but his own subsequent fate and that of Hamilton formed a striking contrast, and tended to fix in the minds of the nation a dislike to the persecuting, and a love for the suffering, portion into which the church was divided. Campbell having witnessed the burning of Hamilton was so conscience struck, that he died in a state of insanity or despair. This may be deemed the commencement of the Reformation, and the effects of such a persecution rendered further severities more and more necessary, while the political circumstances of the country prevented the possibility of carrying them on. They were renewed, however, after five years; and Forest, a Benedictine friar, was convicted of heresy by means equally disgraceful as those with which the condemnation of Hamilton had been connected; his private confessions to a priest formed the ground of his condemnation. The persecution was by no means confined to this victim; but the minds of the people were excited by this combination of cruelty and treachery; and in addition to the general causes which contributed to spread the Reformation, the property of the church disposed the nobility to favour opinions, which held out the hopes of converting this superfluous wealth into a means of enriching themselves.

The crown, on the other hand, could not help regarding the church as the easiest means by which it might hope to control the aristocracy, and James V. supported the clergy with the view of emancipating himself from that thraldom in which he was held by his barons; and to conciliate the favour of the church, he suffered them to prosecute the Reformers, and intrusted most of the offices of the state to their administration. The power of the crown was in England enormous during the same period, for the power of the nobility had been previously reduced, and the king joined himself to the other branches of his subjects in attempting to destroy the exorbitant influence of the church; whereas in Scotland the king endeavoured to shelter his own weakness by calling in the aid of the clergy. This was the state of things when Cardinal Beaton became primate; and he entered on his office with the determination of rooting out heresy, and re-establishing the power of the pope; but his proceedings tended only to increase the number of those who became hostile in their feelings to the government. The death of the king and the intrigues of the cardinal had nearly thrown the whole authority of the kingdom into the hands of Beaton; but the manner in which Arran afterwards attached himself to him, and the severities which as regent and primate they were together enabled to inflict, united a much larger portion of the nation in hostility to the legal authority of the kingdom, than almost any other combination of circumstances could have effected. Many an enlightened and sincere Roman Catholic might have been

pleased with the progress of events in England, he might have hoped that his own religion would have been established, while the political pretensions of Rome were discarded. In Scotland he could have expected nothing favourable to it, but from the suppression of the whole power of the Reformers. In England, the man who wished to free his country from papal influence would have joined himself to the king. In Scotland, this man could have entertained no hope of success, but in destroying the Roman Catholic church and reducing the power of the crown. In England, the higher members of the church were divided between reformers and anti-reformers, and their power was nearly balanced. The changes, therefore, which did take place in England were effected by the councils of the government. In Scotland, the more exalted members of the church, whose opinions coincided with those of the Reformation, could only be safe by throwing their whole influence into the hands of the party which was opposed to the crown (1546). It was not wonderful that Cardinal Beaton should misunderstand the power which religion possessed in the country, or that he should hope to suppress it by severity; but it was extraordinary that he should so act as to throw the whole of the stigma on the church, and endanger a separation between that body and the authority of the crown; and the victim whom he selected, and his own dreadful fate, produced a very marked effect upon the subsequent character of the Reformation in Scotland. George Wishart was possessed of those qualities which peculiarly rendered him an object of pity: he was well born, had received a good education (he had resided in Cambridge, and travelled into Germany), while his personal qualifications corresponded with his literary acquirements, and he had begun to preach the gospel successfully at Dundee. His apprehension, too, was accompanied with a certain degree of treachery; for Bothwell (the father), when Wishart was surrendered into his hands, promised to answer for his safety, and his execution was accompanied with many irritating circumstances; it was carried on, not only without the concurrence of the civil power, but in opposition to the wishes of the regent Arran; and the prelates who condemned him were themselves present when he died (a).

§ 494. All these circumstances contributed to create so strong a hatred against Beaton, that in a short time he was treacherously murdered in his own castle; and the conspirators, retaining possession of the fortress, commenced that open resistance to the govern-

(a) Wishart had tied bags of gunpowder about him; and some persons are so sensitive concerning the honour of martyrs, as to question the Christian propriety of this. Surely it would be no imputation on the firmness of a man who was about to be beheaded, that he wished the axe to be sharpened.

ment with which the whole of the Scotch Reformation was accompanied. The conspirators who defended St. Andrew's, were the advocates of the Reformation, and engaged in open hostility against the government of the country; the favour which was shown them by Henry VIII. excited a corresponding exertion on the part of the friends of the papacy, and the castle was ultimately forced to surrender, in consequence of the assistance afforded by the French to the besiegers.

Here, then, was a new element of discord. The crown, the clergy, and the French, were arranged against the nobles, the reformers, and the English; and the connexion formed by the royal family with France, which introduced many Frenchmen into places of emolument and trust in Scotland, prevented the people or the nobility from being pleased with that alliance. It was the policy of France to reduce Scotland to a province, and to connect the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion with this event. The policy of England was to marry Edward to Mary, and to form the whole island into one country; and notwithstanding the rough method of courtship which was exhibited at the battle of Pinky (1547), the money which was brought from England maintained a strong hold over the interests of many individuals among the Scotch nation, and the obvious advantage which would be derived to both countries from a closer intercourse contributed to give the preponderance to the side of the reformers.

In England, during the reign of Edward, the Reformation was carried on chiefly by the government, which outstepped the opinions of the people. In Scotland, the feelings of the people were favourable to the Reformation, and the only hope of its final establishment was connected in their minds with the prospect of success entertained by those who must be viewed as rebels. The castle of St. Andrew's had been reduced, but the spirit and the feelings of the people could never be overcome, and from this time, to the establishment of the Reformation in 1560, the mind of every reformer must have been more or less hostile to the government. The persecutions of Mary in England, to a certain degree, produced the same effect in Scotland as was caused by them in the southern part of our island; and while they alarmed the fears, they united the efforts and the wishes of all who favoured that cause which they were intended to overpower. The political circumstances in which the regent was placed, prevented her from using persecution; but the danger and fear of it at length embodied the reformers of Scotland in the Congregation, and induced them to frame and subscribe a deed of union, or bond of mutual support, for resisting the tyranny which might be exercised against the professors of the true religion (A.D. 1557, Dec. 3). It is curious that one of the

early resolutions of this body directs the use of the Common Prayer,[1] probably that of England; so that the book which from mismanagement became the abomination of every true son of the church of Scotland, had been originally regarded in a very different light, and perhaps contributed to forward the Reformation among the ancestors of those who subsequently rejected it with so unnecessary indignity.

§ 495. Notwithstanding the strength which the Protestant party had now acquired, the Roman Catholic clergy were not wise enough to discern their true policy; and the cruelty which was exhibited in the execution of Mill (1558), an old minister of above eighty years of age, served but to excite the feelings of men, who could not fail soon to learn their power, and tended to consolidate a force which was sure to triumph in the end. It is probable, however, that the arrival of Knox gave a new turn to the proceedings of the reformers; and the comparison which is here instituted will be imperfect, unless something is said of this person, who held so conspicuous a place in the subsequent transactions of Scotland.

The natural impetuosity of his character, and the sufferings to which he had been exposed, prepared his mind for the great struggle in which he had soon to be engaged, but gave to his conduct the air of patriotic exertion in the cause of religious and civil freedom, rather than the appearance of Christian endurance in the defence of truth. The disturbances, and destruction of the monasteries, which took place at Perth, immediately after his preaching there, have cast an obloquy on the Scottish reformer, which he probably little deserves; but whatever portion of human policy there might have been in destroying the buildings in which the religious orders might again have assembled, and from whence there might subsequently have issued a fresh band of defenders of the church of Rome, this circumstance, and the consequences of it, gave the Reformation here, as well as in England, an appearance of destruction, which must be deplored by every friend of sober Christianity. The dishonesty of the regent prevented the possibility of a quiet settlement of the question, and after mutual successes, and a variety of fortunes, the death of the queen dowager, and the interference of Elizabeth, paved the way for the settlement of the Protestant religion in Scotland, by the parliament in 1560, and the publication of the Confession of Faith (a). Whatever was here established, was gained from the crown and the clergy by the

(a) The Confession of Faith is printed in Calderwood's *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 14; the *Form of Church Policy*, in Spotswood's *History*, p. 152.

[1] Spotswood, 117.

armed interference of the Protestants; and though the population was convinced by force of argument, the concessions were obtained from the government by mere force of arms. During the whole of this contest, Knox had much influence in the civil as well as ecclesiastical transactions, and his exertions and success could not fail to give a marked character to his own opinions, and to those which were adopted by the church. He learnt 'to bind their kings with chains, and their nobles with links of iron;' and seems to have introduced among his followers the idea, not only of the independence, but of the superiority of the church over the lay government of the country;—a superiority nominally confined indeed to spirituals, but which might easily extend itself to the temporal concerns of the kingdom (b). The Articles of the Church of England say, 'General councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes;' in the act of the general assembly of Scotland, August 27, 1647, approving of the Confession of Faith set forth by the assembly of divines, this point is distinctly denied; 'It being also free to assemble together synodically, as well *pro re nata*, as at the ordinary times, upon delegation from the churches, by the intrinsical power received from Christ.' Occasions may arise when it may become the duty of the minister of Christ to do many things contrary to the general line of his ordinary proceedings; but these circumstances create an exception, not a law; and it will be difficult to draw a line to mark our duty, if the possibility of such circumstances is to frame a general rule for our guidance.

§ 496. Of the sincerity and boldness of Knox there can exist little doubt. But the Christian wisdom and prudence of his method of proceeding may reasonably be called in question; and while we admire his virtues, we may avoid his faults, and examine the consequences of them. His harshness never convinced Mary, and the conduct of his successors failed in reforming James, while they certainly created in both these personages a great dislike to the religious principles which were supposed to sanction such conduct. There may be occasions when the preacher may be called on to animadvert on the conduct of his hearers in personal allusions; but men of that period must have differed much from the rest of their fellow-creatures, if they were likely to be reformed by such addresses; and the clergy who adopted such a freedom must have been possessed of most extraordinary humility and self-command, if there were not great danger of their misusing such a

(b) It may be remarked, that in this particular the church of Scotland maintains a doctrine corresponding with that of the church of Rome. The position here taken from a document of a later date was, I believe, always maintained by the church of Scotland.

licence. Granting that Knox always kept in view 'that he might gain the sinner to the Lord,' we may well question the wisdom of the means which he adopted for doing so. To institute a comparison between Cranmer and Knox would be an invidious as well as a difficult task; but while we thank God for the Reformation which they each produced, we may remember that the meekness of the one was as effectual as the sternness of the other; that an unyielding stoicism is as much a worldly temper as a compliant facility; and that the character of a firm yet mild gentleman, is much nearer to that of a Christian patriot, than the world will generally allow.

§ 497. In examining the Reformation in Scotland as a whole, it is impossible to overlook its political tendencies. The changes which took place in England were moderate, because they were guided by the government. All that could be preserved in the constitution of the church remained, because the highest members of the clergy were employed in carrying on the alterations. In Scotland, the bishops were hostile to the Reformation, which triumphed over the temporal authority of the country, and conquered by the sword of the flesh as well as by that of the Spirit, threw down bishops, from nearly the same reasons as destroyed episcopacy in the reign of Charles I. The principle which supported the Reformation in Scotland was a spirit of resistance to civil as much as religious tyranny; and though our gratitude is due to the great Disposer of events when he produces good out of evil, yet under whatever name we may conceal it, rebellion is rebellion. He who argues in favour of resistance on the ground of the ultimate necessity of it, reasons on principles which can hardly be denied: but before he can apply his doctrine to any particular case, it will be incumbent on him to prove that the evil in question admitted of no remedy short of the dereliction of a positive law of God. He must show that the patient sufferings of Cranmer, and our other English reformers, did not as certainly produce the Reformation in England, as Knox and his friends were the authors of that blessed event to their native country. He must show that the one line of conduct was as much according to the will of God as the other. To plead the necessity of doing evil that good may come, is to destroy a belief in the providence of God; and it would probably prove much sounder historical reasoning, as well as sounder theology, if we were to attempt to discover how men who obey the spirit of the Gospel triumph in their meekness, rather than to endeavour to demonstrate, that circumstances change the nature of God's laws; how Knox might have produced the Reformation in Scotland by imitating Ridley or Hooper, rather than by joining in direct opposition to his sovereign; how in later days the

covenanters and parliament might have brought Charles I. to reason, rather than have dethroned and murdered him. No one would wish to question the readiness of God to pardon those who err in their zeal for his service, or to doubt his mercy in producing good effects from the worst passions of mankind; but he permits those things which he does not approve, and he may prosper that, in which the individual instruments are not working according to those laws which he has laid down.

§ 498. If these views of the question be correct, it follows that the temper with which the Reformation in England was carried on was likely to lead to a more satisfactory settlement of religion than that in Scotland: that the instruments, being governed by more Christian principles, were more likely, humanly speaking, to frame a moderate and more Christian constitution of a church in our own country, than in that of our northern neighbours: that too great a deference to the temporal power was more likely to form a sound Christian community, than that opposition to the government, which marked the events of Scotland. And I believe that a quiet examination of the real state of things at the accession of James would lead us to this conclusion. With the evils which have since grown up in England and Scotland, we have nothing now to do; but with this view of the subject we can hardly help concluding, that the alteration in the church which had taken place in England was, with all its imperfections, a reformation; while that in Scotland bore a nearer resemblance to a revolution in the church. The temper of mind created by the one or the other in the breasts of the individual members of society must in some degree depend on the tendency of the change itself; and probably this predisposition to control the power of the crown by force, which was engendered by the Reformation in Scotland, contributed in a great degree to stamp its features on the events with which we shall presently be engaged; but it is only at the day of judgment that we shall learn how far these forcible exertions of Christians are approved by Him from whom the blessings of civil government are primarily derived. It is the office of the ministers of God to teach their brethren what God will approve, not what he may pardon; and it is the office of the historian to point out how God brings good out of evil, and to show mankind how the evil might have been avoided, without relinquishing the prospect of good to which our earthly hopes are directed.

CHAPTER XII.

THE REIGN OF JAMES I. FROM 1603 TO 1625.

501. Impression in favour of James. 502. Millenary petition; objections of the puritans. 503. Proclamation for the conference at Hampton Court. 504. First day; Prayer Book. 505. Second day; Articles. 506. Confirmation; Articles. 507. Catechism; lessons from the Apocrypha. 508. Cross; surplice; ring; prophesyings. 509. Third day; conclusion of it. 510. Barlow's account of the conference. 511. O her accounts. 512. Convocation; new canons. 513. Parliament; state of parties. 514. Powder-plot. 515. Statutes against Roman Catholics. 516. Oath of allegiance; treatment of Roman Catholics. 517. College at Chelsea. 518. Heretics; persecution. 519. Book of Sports. 520. Synod of Dort. 521. James's letter about preaching. 522. Necessity of examining politics. 523. Character of James; tolerably wise, but very weak. 524. His high notions of prerogative in church and state. 525. The light of the Reformation opened men's eyes about politics. 526. James could not tolerate this in either church or state. 527. Tolerant towards Roman Catholics: the question of toleration ill understood.

§ 501. The tranquil manner in which James succeeded to the throne enabled the most active politicians to turn their full attention to ecclesiastical matters. All men recognised the justice of his title and hailed the prospect of his succession, although the general temper of the country, and the circumstance of the king's having been bred up in a church differing much from that of England, prevented the friends of the establishment from being entirely free from doubts as to the result of his coming to the crown.

Dr. Neville, dean of Canterbury, was commissioned in the name of the archbishop and bishops to present their congratulations to his majesty in Scotland. The answer returned by James, that he would uphold the church of England as it was established by Queen Elizabeth, together with the anxiety which he exhibited to be informed on ecclesiastical subjects, and concerning the present state of the church, contributed to create in the minds of those who were interested in his future proceedings a strong impression in his favour.

§ 502. The circumstances which had tended to alarm the friends of episcopacy gave life to the exertions of the opposite party, and applications of various descriptions were made at court, to induce the king to examine and remove whatever offended the scruples of the weak or the prejudices of the wilful.

With a view of advocating this cause many petitions were prepared, and among the rest one which, from the supposed number of ministers who subscribed it, was called the Millenary, although the names never actually amounted to above seven hundred and fifty. This document is chiefly valuable in presenting to us the most important points complained of by the puritan party. The topics on which it treats are,[1] 1. Objections to the church service. 2. Pluralities, non-residence, and unpreaching ministers. 3. The better maintenance of the parochial clergy, which might be effected by restoring to them the greater part of ecclesiastical impropriations, and a sixth or seventh of all lay ones. 4. The redress of church discipline. The three last of these were points on which the governors of the church were equally eager, though their views, perhaps, did not coincide exactly with those of the reforming party, since they perceived difficulties which were not taken into due consideration in the sweeping complaints of the others. The king himself was fully alive to them, and it was by his direction that Whitgift[2] (June 30th) addressed a letter to his suffragans, enjoining them to make all due inquiries into the condition of their dioceses, with regard to the number of recusants, the state of the incumbents, and the value of the preferments. James wished for information, too, with respect to the Common Prayer, and though obviously favourable to the church of England, he was anxious to arrive at the truth, by hearing whatever might be advanced against it.

§ 503. It was with this view that he summoned certain divines to a conference at Hampton Court. He is accused by Rapin[3] of insincerity in holding out the prospect of a free discussion, on the points at issue between the church and nonconformists, which he never meant to realize: but if we are to judge by the public documents, no charge can be less founded. In the proclamation[4] under which this assembly was held, he twice declares his own perfect approbation of the doctrine and discipline as by law established, and his conviction that it was agreeable to the word of God and the forms of the primitive church; and that the object which he had in view was to reform such corruptions as had been introduced by time, as well as to furnish himself with information, in order that he might be able to judge of the enormities which were objected against the ecclesiastical government and the services. Much too is frequently said of the alarm experienced by the hierarchy at this period; but though they could not fail to be anxious at such a moment, they neither seem to have entertained any very violent fears, nor to have had any grounds for

[1] Fuller, x. 22.
[2] Strype's *Whitgift*, ii. 470.
[3] ii. 162.
[4] Strype's *Whitgift*, ii. 416.

them. Whitgift, as he was bound, made every preparation for the approaching conference, and particularly consulted Hutton, archbishop of York, on several important points.[1] His answers were partially quoted at the conference, and it is not improbable that application was made to other divines for their assistance in the same manner.

§ 504. The establishment was represented by Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, Bancroft, bishop of London, T. Matthew of Durham, Bilson of Winchester, with five other bishops, together with ten divines, who were chiefly deans. The other party consisted of Reynolds, president of Corpus Christi College, and Dr. Sparks from Oxford, and Knewstubbs and Chaderton from Cambridge.

In the first day's conference (Jan. 14th) the church party alone were admitted, and the object to which the attention of the meeting seems to have been directed was to furnish his majesty with information on certain points connected with the question.

In the Prayer Book, it was pointed out that confirmation, as used in the church of England, affected not the fulness of the sacrament of baptism, which had been before administered; and was established on the authority of the apostles, and the custom of the primitive church. That the absolution was merely a declaration of God's pardon, through Christ, pronounced by an authorized minister, and addressed, in its most general forms, to the whole congregation; but in the Visitation of the Sick (where the expressions are applicable to an individual, and seem to presume a greater authority on the part of the minister), that it was used in the case of those only who desired such consolation for the clearing and quieting of their conscience. That the use of private baptism[2] by women and laics was never admitted except in case of necessity, according to the use of the primitive church; and that the words of the rubric were left general, as to this particular, in order that the sacrament might not be omitted on occasions where no minister was present. In each of these cases the decision of the meeting was, that it should be left to the discretion of the bishops, whether such words should not be inserted in the several rubrics as would leave these points no longer doubtful; and it was agreed on all hands that some other coercion might be used to enforce ordinary ecclesiastical discipline without having constant recourse to the severity of excommunication.

§ 505. (Jan. 16.) The proceedings of the second day become

[1] Strype's *Whitgift*, iii. 392, No. 44. [2] See § 424 (a).

infinitely more interesting, inasmuch as they may be presumed to contain all the objections to the details of the church of England, in which a moderate nonconformist would then have desired alteration. Dr. Reynolds arranged what he had to bring forward under four heads: 1st, of doctrinal points; 2nd, of such things as pertained to the appointment of ministers; 3rd, to the remodelling of the Common Prayer; 4th, and to church government.

The particulars objected to in the Articles were, that the doctrine of final perseverance ought to be stated in a manner more consistently with that of predestination than it was in the XVIth and XVIIth articles, and it was argued, that this would be effected by inserting in the XVIth article, immediately following the words 'after we have received the Holy Ghost we may depart from grace,' the qualification of this expression in some such terms as these, 'yet not totally or finally;' and it was proposed that the Lambeth Articles[1] should be introduced into the text of the Thirty-nine. These proposed alterations were not received with any favour, and the king, in conclusion, remarked, 'Meantime I wish that the doctrine of predestination may be tenderly handled, lest on the one side, God's omnipotency be questioned by impeaching the doctrine of his eternal predestination, or, on the other side, a desperate presumption arreared by inferring the necessary certainty of persisting in grace.'

Unfortunately, during this part of the discussion, Bancroft suffered himself to be carried away by the violence of his temper, and attempted to put a stop to the whole proceeding; but the king reproved him with much dignity and propriety, and the argument was resumed.

§ 506. When the question of confirmation was brought forward, and the texts (Heb. vi. 2, Acts viii.) had been quoted, it was soon reduced into a more narrow compass by the concessions of the complainants, who objected not to the institution, but wished that the administering of the rite might no longer be confined to the bishops alone, since their extensive dioceses rendered them totally unable to examine the whole of the candidates properly. As no period could be assigned at which such a custom had been admitted in the church, the proposal was laid aside, and it was left to be subsequently decided, whether the words, 'an examination,' should be introduced into the rubric before confirmation (a).

(a) See Bingham's *Antiquities*, vol. iv. p. 385, xii. ii. 3, who gives a considerable account of the custom of the early church on this particular, corresponding with the present practice of the church of England.

[1] See § 464.

Again it was objected, that the XXIIIrd article allowed a layman to preach out of the congregation, because it asserted only that it was not lawful for him to preach 'in the congregation,' unless he were duly called. That the XXVth article called confirmation a corrupt following of the apostles. That in the XXXVIIth article, it was enough to say 'that the bishop of Rome had no authority in this land,' unless it were added, 'that he ought not to have any.' But it was of course utterly useless to attempt to answer such unimportant cavils. When Dr. Reynolds wished that it might be inserted in the Articles, 'that the intention of the minister is not of the essence of the sacrament,' the king objected, as about the Lambeth Articles, to the introduction of any more than was absolutely necessary into the body of the Articles; since every addition tended to encumber the book, and by destroying its perspicuity, to obviate the very purpose for which they were framed.

§ 507. Some objections were then raised to the Catechism, because Dr. Noel's was deemed too long, and that in the Prayer Book too short; and upon the suggestion of the king, an intermediate step was adopted, of adding somewhat to the old. It is to this that we owe the explanation of the sacraments with which the present Church Catechism ends.[1]

All parties agreed in wishing that the Sabbath might be observed with greater propriety, and that a new translation of the Bible should be prepared.

There was some small discussion with regard to seditious and popish books, which arose from the permission which had been occasionally given for their introduction, in order that they might be answered; but this question was soon dismissed, as being one of policy, rather than suited to theological inquiry.

The petition of Reynolds, that learned ministers might be appointed in every parish, was seconded by one from Bancroft, who requested that we might have a praying ministry; that the homilies might be read till a preaching ministry could be provided; and that *pu'pits* might not be made *pasquils*, where every discontented fellow might traduce his superiors. These complaints serve to point out the state of the times, but were in their nature too general to admit of any definite remedy.

With regard to the Common Prayer, the custom of reading lessons taken from the Apocrypha was objected to; and the king, with great propriety and fairness, desired Dr. Reynolds to mark those chapters which were objectionable.

§ 508. The cross in baptism, and the question proposed to the

[1] See § 747 (a).

children, were complained of; but after the antiquity of the one, and the unexceptionable nature of the other, had been pointed out, and when it was shown that the cross was not otherwise used than as a ceremony, Mr. Knewstubbs seemed to doubt how far the church had authority to impose such a ceremony; and his majesty declined entering into the question, as to how far the subject is bound to obey, by quoting the parliamentary words, *Le roi s'avisera.*

The wearing the surplice, the words, 'With my body I thee worship,' and the use of the ring (a) in the marriage-service, were also mentioned, as well as the churching of women; but the observations on these topics were shortly dismissed, on account of their being deemed, as they really are, frivolous objections.

The question, whether ecclesiastical censures should be imposed by laymen, was not entered into, since it had been previously settled by the king and the bishops; and when Reynolds proposed that certain provincial assemblies should be held for the purpose of conference, at which *prophesyings*, as they were formerly called, might be established, James, who had long smarted under presbyterian tyranny, broke forth into a lively description of the steps by which the reformers of Scotland had first triumphed over the bishops, and then over the crown, and ended by quoting his favourite apophthegm, 'No bishop, no king.'

§ 509. (Jan. 18.) The meeting on the third day can hardly be called a conference. It was now that the bishops brought up their conclusions on certain points which had been previously referred to their consideration, and at the same time those questions which did not admit of an immediate decision were left for the examination of committees. His majesty was particularly eloquent in favour of oaths *ex officio*, and made a long speech to prove their utility and necessity. This topic so pleased the episcopal party, that the archbishop declared that the king spoke by the especial assistance of God's Spirit, and the Bishop of London returned thanks to the Almighty for his goodness in setting such a prince over them—a line of compliment too well received by James himself, and unfortunately repeated by most of the courtiers who were present.

It was the observation of the king, that the scruples of the nonconformists were mere matters of weakness, and that if there-

(a) The giving a ring as a marriage pledge is an old Roman custom (Juv. vi. 27).

Conventum tamen, et sponsalia nostra
Tempestate paras; jamque a tonsore magistro
Pecteris, et digito pignus fortasse dedisti.

fore they were honest and good men, they would be easily won to conformity, if not, that they were better out of the church than members of her ministry; and on two occasions he made use of very harsh expressions concerning them, threatening to 'harry them out of the land,' in case they obeyed not, and adding, that if they conformed not, 'they ought to be hanged.' The preachers promised for themselves to perform all duty towards the bishops, and to join against the common enemy; but Mr. Chaderton made a petition in favour of certain ministers in Lancashire, that they might be allowed to omit the use of the surplice; to which his majesty kindly consented, as far as the Bishop of London would allow him; for the bishops were justly afraid that if any connivance were shown, excepting for a limited period, the effect would be to undo all the good which they had promised themselves from the conference. But when the same request was again made for certain ministers in Suffolk, by Knewstubbs, the king answered the petitioner sharply, and animadverted with much reason on the ill-conduct of men who preferred their own scruples to the unity of the church; who would run the risk of any difficulty which might arise, rather than give up a point which they had once advocated; and in whose disinclination to obey, their own personal vanity was more consulted than the good of the community. During the whole of the conference there is nothing more striking than the superiority of the king himself over both parties: he not only surpassed them in temper and fairness, but apparently in learning and knowledge of the subject: notwithstanding the insignificance of the objections raised, and in some cases their senseless futility, he heard them with patience: wherever there seemed any reason for alteration, he was ready to adopt it, and the bishops exhibited a great facility in assenting to his proposals. The only appearance of want of judgment consisted in the terms in which he threatened the nonconformists.

§ 510. The account of the conference which is here given is taken almost entirely from one published by Barlow, dean of Chester, who, having assisted in the discussion, was deputed to write the history of it,[1] and probably aided in the task by Whitgift. It is, however, so favourable to the episcopal party, that it has not failed to be attacked; but as it was published in the year which followed the conference, and was not contradicted as to its contents, there seems no reason for doubting its correctness. What is said of the conference on the second day was examined and approved by many who were there present, and such original

[1] Strype's *Whitgift*, ii. 492.

memoirs as have come down to us correspond with sufficient accuracy with what is here detailed (a).

§ 511. The only authentic document of which I am aware, which seems to throw any discredit on this piece of history, is a letter from Mr. Galloway, a Scotch divine, who was present at the second day's conference, and who wrote to the ministers at Edinburgh. Concerning this letter Calderwood observes,[1] that this account is very unlike Barlow's; yet, after a minute and careful comparison of the conclusions here drawn up, with those of Bancroft's which are printed in Strype (a),[2] I am convinced that

(a) See a letter from T. Matthew, bishop of Durham, to Hutton, archbishop of York (Strype's *Whitgift*, iii. 402. No. 45). Strype himself fully approves of it, and Fuller, who must have been a very good judge on the question, introduces it almost verbatim into his history. The original pamphlet is not rare in libraries, and has been reprinted in the *Phœnix*, and in the *Churchman's Remembrancer*, No. iv.

(a) *A note of such things as shall be reformed in the church.*

'1. The Absolution shall be called, The Absolution or general remission of sins.

'2. The Confirmation shall be called, The Confirmation or further examination of Children's faith.

'3. The Private Baptism, now by laymen or women, shall be called, The Private Baptism by the ministers only; and all those questions in that Baptism, that insinuate it to be done by women, taken away.

'4. The Apocrypha, that hath some repugnancy to the canonical scripture, shall not be read; and other places chosen, which either are explanations of Scripture, or suit best for good life and manners.

'5. The jurisdiction of the bishops shall be somewhat limited, and to have either the dean and chapter, or some grave minister assistant to them in ordination, suspension, degradation, &c. (See 122nd Canon.)

'6. The excommunication, as it is now used, shall be taken away both in name and nature. And a writ out of the chancery, to punish the contumacies, shall be framed.

'7. The kingdom of Ireland, the borders of Scotland, and all Wales, to be planted with schools and preachers as soon as may be.

'8. As many learned ministers, and maintenance for them, to be provided in such places of England, where there is want, as may be.

'9. As few double-beneficed men and pluralities as may be; and those that have double benefices to maintain preachers, and to have their livings as near as may be one to the other.

'10. One uniform translation of the Bible to be made, and only to be used in all the churches of England.

'11. One Catechism to be made and used in all places.

'12. The Articles of Religion to be explained and enlarged. And no man to teach or read against any of them.

'13. A care had, to observe who do not receive the communion once in the year: the ministers to certify the bishops, the bishops the archbishops, the archbishops the king.

'14. An inhibition for popish books to be brought over: and if any come, to be delivered into their hands only that are fit to have them.

'15. The high commission to be reformed, and reduced to higher causes and fewer persons; and those of more honour and better qualities.'

Calderwood's account of the matter is as follows (*History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 472):—

'A conference was appointed to be holden at Hampton Court the

[1] *History of the Church of Scotland*, fol. 474. [2] *Whitgift*, ii. 501.

they furnish a strong confirmation of the account published by Barlow. Neither Galloway nor Bancroft seems to make an accurate distinction between matters which were discussed, and recommended to the use of the clergy, without being authoritatively enforced, and those on which some actual alteration was founded. Thus, for instance, both of them state as a point established, that in ecclesiastical censures, particularly of ministers, the bishop should not proceed without the assistance of the dean and chapter,

fourteenth of January, betwixt some bishops on the one side, and ministers on the other. The good professors in England were put in hope of a good beginning of Reformation, and letters were sent by them to sundry parts of the country, to take a survey of the ecclesiastical estate, and of the grievous abuses of the court; but they were disappointed of their expectation. Two or three were appointed of the sincerer side, that were not sound, and only to spy or prevaricate. Sundry reports went of the conference different from that relation which is set forth in print by Barlow. I have therefore set down here that relation which Mr. Patric Galloway sent from London to the presbytery of Edinburgh, after it was revised by the king himself.

'" Beloved brethren, after my very hearty commendations, these presents are to show you, that I received two of your letters, one directed to his maj. and another to myself, for the using thereof; the samine I read, [*sic in orig.*] closed, and three days before the conference, delivered it unto his maj. hands, and received it back again, after some short speeches had upon a word of your letter, as *the gross corruptions of this church*; which then was exposed, and I assured, that all corruptions dissonant from the word, or contrary thereto, should be amended. The twelfth of Januar was the day of meeting, at what time the bishops called upon by his maj. were gravely desired, to advise upon all the corruptions of this church, in doctrine, ceremonies, and discipline; and as they will answer to God in conscience, and to his maj. upon their obedience, that they should return the third day after, which was Saturday. They returned to his maj. and there apposed as of before, it was answered, all was well. And when his maj. in great fervency brought instances to the contrary, they upon their knees, with great earnestness craved, that nothing should be altered, lest popish recusants, punished by penal statutes for their disobedience; and the puritans punished by deprivation from calling and living for nonconformity, should say, they had just cause to insult upon them, as men who had travelled to bind them to that, which by their own mouths now was confessed to be erroneous. Always after five hours' dispute read by his maj. against them, and his maj. resolution for reformation intimated to them, they were dismissed that day. Upon the sixteenth of Januar, being Monday, the brethren were called to his maj. only five of them being present, and with them two bishops, and six or eight deans. Here his maj. craved to know of them, what they desired to be reformed: but it was very loosely and coldly answered. This day ended after four hours' talking, and Wednesday the eighteenth of Januar was appointed for the meeting of both the parties. Whereas before, the parties being called together, the heads were repeated which his maj. would have reformed at this time; and so the whole action ended. Sundry, as they favoured, gave out copies of things here concluded: whereupon myself took occasion, as I was an ear and eye witness to set them down, and presented them to his maj. who with his own hand mended some things, and eked other things which I had omitted. Which corrected copy with his own hand I have, and of it have sent you herein the just transumpt

or some other grave ministers. The subject, according to Barlow, seems to have been briefly mentioned by the king; and it is not improbable that a regulation so recommended should have been at once admitted as beneficial, wherever it could be adopted. It is indeed incorporated in the 122nd canon, so that we may easily account for its insertion in the two sets of conclusions without impugning the accuracy of Barlow, who is less particular in his mention of it.

word by word—and this is the whole. At my own returning, which, God willing, shall be shortly, ye shall know more particularly the rest. So till then taking my leave, I commit you to the protection of the Most High, and your labours to the powerful blessings of Christ. From London, this tenth of Februar, 1604.

'"Your brother in the Lord to his uttermost, "M. P. GALLOWAY.

'"The cause of my delay to write, was my awaiting on his maj. leisure, to obtain that copy spoken of before, as it is, that so I might write, as it was allowed to stand, and to be performed."'

A note of such things as shall be reformed.

'I. *Of Doctrine.*

'1. That an uniform short and plain Catechism be made, to be used in all churches and parishes in this kingdom. There is already the doctrine of the sacraments added, in most clear and plain terms.

'2. That a translation be made of the whole Bible, as consonant as can be to the original Hebrew and Greek; and this to be set out and printed without any marginal notes, and only to be used in all churches of England, in time of divine service.

'3. That no popish nor traitorous books be suffered to be brought in this kingdom, and that straight order be taken that if they come over, they be delivered or sold to none, either in country or universities, but to such only as may make good use thereof, for confutation of the adversaries.

'II. *Of the Service Book.*

'1. That to the Absolution shall be added the word of pronouncing the remission of sins.

'2. That to Confirmation shall be added the word of catechising or examination of the children's faith.

'3. That the private Baptism shall be called, the private Baptism by the ministers and curates only: and all those questions that insinuate women or private persons, to be altered accordingly.

'4. That such Apocrypha, as have any repugnance to canonical scripture, shall be removed, and not read; and other places chosen for them which may serve better, either for explanation of scripture, or instruction in good life and manners; and specially the greatest part of such places as were given in writ.

'5. The words of Marriage to be made more clear.

'6. The cross in Baptism was never counted any part in Baptism, nor sign effective, but only significative.

'III. *Of Discipline.*

'1. The bishops are admonished to judge no ministers, without the advice and assistance of some of the gravest deans and chaplains.

'2. That none shall have power to excommunicate, but only their bishops in their dioceses, in the presence of these aforesaid; and only upon such weighty and great causes, to which they shall subscribe.

'3. The civil excommunication now used, is declared to be a mere civil censure; and therefore the name of it is to be altered; and a writ out of the chancellary to punish the contumacy, shall be framed.

'4. That all bishops nominated to that effect, shall set down the matters, and manner of proceeding, to be followed hereafter in ecclesiastical courts; and modify their fees.

§ 512. In order to give effect to the decisions of the conference at Hampton Court,[1] the convocation, which was assembled together with the parliament, was directed to frame and incorporate a new body of canons. Little is known in detail of the history of their composition, excepting that they chiefly consist of a digest of old canons, to which some new ones were added. They are in number 141, and at the present day form the basis of ecclesiastical law, as far as the clergy are concerned; for as they were never ratified by

'5. That the oath *ex officio* be rightly used, id est, only for great and public slanders.

'6. That the bishops be careful to cause the ministers note, in every parish of their dioceses, the names of all recusants; as also the names of such as come to church and hear preaching, but refuse to communicate every year once; and to present the same to the bishop, and the bishop to the archbishop, and the archbishop to the king.

'7. That the Sabbath be looked to, and better kept throughout all dioceses.

'8. That the high commission be rightly used, the causes to be handled, and the manner of proceeding therein to be declared; and that no person be nominated thereto, but such as are men of honour and good quality.

'IV. *Of the Ministry.*

'1. That the reading of ministers that are of age and not scandalous, be provided for, and maintained by the person preferred to preach in his room, according to the valor of the living: and that the unlearned and scandalous be tried, and removed from these places, and learned and qualified be placed for them.

'2. That as many ministers as may be had with convenient maintenance for them, may be placed in such places, where there is want of preaching, with all haste.

'3. That learned and grave ministers be transported from the parts, where the Gospel is settled and planted, to such parts of the kingdom, where greatest ignorance is, and greatest number of recusants are.

'4. That ministers, beneficed men, make residence upon their benefices, and feed their flocks with preaching every Sabbath day.

'5. That pluralists and such as presently have double benefices, make residence upon one of them; and that these their benefices be as near other, as he may preach to the people of both, their week about: and where they are further distant, that he maintain therein a qualified preacher.

'V. *For Schools.*

'1. That schools in cities, towns, and families, throughout all this kingdom, be taught by none, but such as shall be tried and approved to be sound and upright in religion; and for that effect that the bishops, in every one of their dioceses, take order with them, displacing the corrupted, and placing honest and sufficient in their places.

'2. That orders be taken with universities, for trial of masters and fellows in colleges; and that none be suffered to have the cure of instructing the youth, but such as are approved for their soundness in religion; and that such as are suspected, or known to be otherwise affected, be removed.

'3. That the kingdom of Ireland, the borders of England and Scotland, and all Wales, be planted with schools and preachers, as soon as may be.

'The ministers have been this long time past, and shall be in all time coming, urged to subscribe nothing but the three articles, which are both clear and reasonable.'

(Then follow the three articles in the thirty-sixth Canon.)

[1] Fuller, x. 28.

act of parliament, though sanctioned by the royal assent, they are in law held not to bind the laity *proprio vigore*, that is, not inasmuch as they decide, but only where they speak the language of the previous law. Many of them have been superseded by subsequent acts of parliament; and the hand of time, together with the change in customs, has rendered them so generally neglected as a code, that it is much to be wished that they were remodelled, and sanctioned by a legal enactment. The account of the translation of the Bible, and the alterations in the Prayer Book, will occupy a portion of distinct chapters on those subjects.

§ 513. In parliament,[1] the security of the revenues of the establishment was effectually guarded by an act, making all alienations of church property to the crown illegal; a measure which marked at once the weakness and the honesty of the king, who, fearing his own facility, lest he should concede to his courtiers whatever they requested, deprived himself of the power of doing injustice. The parliament likewise renewed the severity of former statutes against Jesuits, seminary priests, and recusants.

These proceedings, inasmuch as they were highly favourable to the church of England, were proportionably displeasing to those parties in the kingdom who opposed that body. The puritans had hoped for much relief and favour from a presbyterian king, but they found that their new monarch was as fond of exercising his supremacy as his predecessor; that two proclamations had already issued from the throne, to enforce the laws against the nonconformists; and that James himself had used expressions, with regard to his own intentions, which were far from being wise or moderate. The Roman Catholics had looked on him as the son of Mary queen of Scots; their wishes for greater toleration had been converted into expectations; but they too now saw, that whatever the private sentiments of the king might be, the nation was about to relax none of the severities against them.

§ 514. It was the prevalence of these opinions which induced the framers of the powder-plot to enter into that most diabolical conspiracy for destroying the hopes and prospects of the Protestant part of the community; a scheme not more remarkable for its atrocity than for the little probability of its final success, even though the first step in this dreadful tragedy had prospered. It is well known that Catesby and Percy formed the plan of blowing up the king, lords, and commons, on their assembling in parliament on the 5th of November, 1605. For this purpose they hired a cellar below the house, in which they concealed thirty-six barrels of gunpowder; but on the eve of its execution a discovery

[1] Fuller, x. 27.

was made, by means of a letter sent to Lord Monteagle,[1] probably from his sister, Mrs. Abingdon ([a]). The conspirators fled from London, but were overtaken in arms in Staffordshire, and the ringleaders slain. Several others were subsequently taken and executed; and among the persons whose names were connected with the conspiracy are those of four individuals who belonged to the Society of Jesus, Garnett, Oldcorn, Gerard, and Greenway; the last of these, on the discovery of the plot, fled beyond seas, a step which, in the opinion of the world, must have implicated him in the guilt of the treason, if the dreadful manner in which others were examined by means of torture, had not furnished a sufficient reason for any precautions which an innocent man might take to avoid so dreadful a species of trial. Gerard was tortured, but made his escape from the Tower. Oldcorn was executed for concealing Garnett, who shared the same fate. The criminality of this last prisoner has been called in question by members of his own church, and is pretty fully discussed by Butler,[2] in his *History of the Roman Catholics*. His plea was, that all he knew of the conspiracy came from the private confession of the prisoners, which as a priest he was bound to conceal: but supposing this to be true, let it be remembered, on the other side, that this private confession to a priest, as well as the secrecy with which it is attended, is a human invention, not founded on any divine command, merely a tradition of men, and in this case diametrically opposed to the word of God and the spirit of the Gospel. It seems probable that Garnett was criminally implicated with the conspirators, though there was little evidence to convict him before a jury of the present day. Although no one can fairly charge this treason on the Roman Catholics as a body, yet that church, by sanctioning the absurd miracle of the straw ([b]), and beatifying the man, who, whether guilty or not, suffered as a traitor, did all that was possible to implicate the innocent members of her communion in the guilt of this horrid transaction: nor should it be forgotten, that the promotion of the Roman Catholics' cause was the ostensible motive on which the whole was founded and carried on. (A.D. 1606.) The effects of this transaction were disastrous in the extreme to all in England who held communion with the church of Rome. No

([a]) Welwood, *Mem.* p. 22, says, that the letter was a contrivance of James himself, who had been informed of the conspiracy by Henry IV. of France. He wished to exhibit a proof of his own sagacity in the discovery of the plot.

([b]) A picture of Garnett was pretended to be seen on a straw which had been sprinkled with his blood. It was for this miracle that he was beatified (Fuller, x. 40).

[1] Butler's *Rom. Cath.* ii. 441. Nash's *Worcestershire*, i. 585.
[2] ii. 164, &c.

great bigotry was requisite to exasperate the minds of men against a religion which was supposed to sanction such enormities; and the bills which were brought into parliament, in consequence of the supposed insecurity of the Protestant government, strongly mark the exasperation which prevailed.

§ 515. By the first,[1] Roman Catholics who attended their parish churches were obliged to receive the sacrament once in the year, or they might be convicted under a penalty of 20*l.* for the first year, 40*l.* for the second, and 60*l.* for the third. Popish recusants convict were to pay 20*l.* per month during their recusancy, provided the whole sum did not amount to more than two-thirds of their property, and the crown had the choice of demanding the 20*l.* per month, or the two-thirds of their income. Bishops, or justices of the peace, might require Roman Catholics to take the oath of allegiance, which, if they declined, they were liable to be imprisoned till the assizes; and if they continued in the same refusal were subjected to the penalties of a præmunire. The act of reconciling any one to the see of Rome, or of being so reconciled, was declared to be treason; while to serve in a foreign army without taking the oath of allegiance, or having entered into a bond not to be reconciled to the pope, rendered all who were guilty of it felons in the eye of the law. Notwithstanding the severity of this, the disqualifications which the next act imposed must have been much more galling. Great rewards were offered for the discovery of recusants who harboured popish priests in their houses: and a penalty of 100*l.* was imposed on any recusant convict who appeared at court. They were under most circumstances forced to reside on their own property, and unless exercising a trade in London, prevented from coming within ten miles of the metropolis. They were disabled from being barristers or attorneys, physicians or apothecaries; from being officers of courts, or holding commissions in the army or navy: they could be advanced to no employment in the commonwealth, and were liable to all the legal disabilities of excommunicated persons. They were subjected to large fines and disabilities in case they were married, or allowed their relations to be christened or buried, otherwise than according to the rites of the church of England. They were forbidden to send their children abroad for education, and none but Protestants were licensed to teach in England; the children themselves could not inherit any property till they had taken the oath of allegiance; a disqualification which extended to all those who were out of the country without licence. So that in every respect the Roman Catholics were treated as persons hostile to the government, and

[1] Statutes of the Realm.

who could in no way be trusted. The only comfort is, that the severity of such laws must soon render them nugatory in practice.

§ 516. The intention of the government in imposing the oath of allegiance was undoubtedly wise and enlightened, yet the form[1] of words was so constructed that a conscientious Roman Catholic, entertaining every opinion which his Protestant monarch could require of him, might scruple to take it. He might sincerely detest the obnoxious doctrine, 'that princes excommunicated by the pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects;' yet he might still feel unwilling to call that heretical and impious which was the approved doctrine of the church, which he erroneously looked up to as the only church of Christ on earth. The oath, if fairly examined, seems as much calculated to alarm a weak and conscientious Roman Catholic, and to prevent him from taking it, as to bind the honest papist, who objected not to it, and whose fidelity might have been secured by terms more general and less offensive. In all probability Paul V. aimed at this particular, when without specifying the point of objection, he declared that a Roman Catholic could not take the oath in question, without grievous wronging of God's honour. The church of Rome naturally disliked a declaration which, if true, must sap the foundations of her assumed temporal power; and the framers of the oath, by the words which they introduced, gave her a handle which she might turn against any well disposed and scrupulous Roman Catholic who took it. Many persons indeed who belonged to this communion seem originally to have done so; and when the first brief was issued which forbade it, the majority of them would not believe that it was genuine, till it was confirmed by a second; and, after all, Blackwell,[2] arch-priest of England, not only took the oath, but persisted to his death in asserting the legality of his conduct, though in so doing he drew down on himself the vengeance of the apostolic chair, which was followed by his deprivation.

At the same time, the laws against Roman Catholics were put in force with all the activity which zeal and terror could excite;[3] twenty-eight priests and seven laymen were executed, and an hundred and twenty-eight priests banished; while the fines upon recusancy were levied with extraordinary severity. However greatly we may deplore such effects, we cannot be surprised at them; passion has always much more influence over mankind than reason; and the Protestants, in their eagerness to punish their supposed enemies, comprehended every Roman Catholic under the same ban, and drew the line of separation, not between

[1] Fuller, x. 42. [2] Butler, *Rom. Cath.* ii. 211. [3] Ibid. ii. 183.

the loyal and the traitorous, but exactly where it was the policy of the court of Rome to have it established, between those who did, and those who did not hold communion with her.

§ 517. The general quietness of this peaceful reign, however beneficial to the country, presents comparatively little for the pen of the historian. A monarch of James's character was much better suited to moderate the plans of others, than to put his own projects into execution; and the same facility of temper and easiness of compliance, which softened the asperity of those with whom he had to deal, rendered his own plans totally unsuccessful. One of these was the erection of a college at Chelsea,[1] for the promotion of controversial divinity. Its members were to form a corps prepared to defend the church of England against the assaults of the regular orders among the papal clergy; but the design lived not much beyond the completion of the buildings, and was destroyed for want of funds and countenance. The establishment itself was little required; since if but a small portion of the higher situations in our cathedral churches were set apart to reward learned divines, the wants of the establishment in this respect would easily be supplied. James, with all his good intentions, was but a weak man, fond of meddling with all matters, and particularly vain of his theological acquirements, which were indeed considerable.

§ 518. When Conradus Vorstius was appointed to the divinity chair at Leyden,[2] the king, who had been displeased at some of his opinions which were unorthodox, not only answered them with his own pen, but applied to the government to deprive him of his professorship, a step in which the states were not at all inclined to show as much obedience as his majesty expected. In England, the result of the same temper was far more injurious: Bartholomew Legate was delivered over to the secular arm by the bishop of London, and burnt in Smithfield. The king himself had often reasoned with this man, and every species of kindness seems to have been shown him, till the time of his final condemnation; but it was not until the experiment had been tried here, and in the case of Wightman at Lichfield, that James discovered this great truth, that, in matters of opinion, wherever error of judgment is punished rather than viciousness of life, severity tends more to display to the eyes of the world the appearance of honest firmness on the part of the sufferer, than to convince mankind of his guilt; and the man whose tenets would be generally condemned, is, by his voluntary submission to death, often converted into a martyr. For the future therefore it was determined not to execute heretics,

[1] Fuller, x. 51. [2] Ibid. x. 60.

but allow them to waste out their lives in prison; a line of treatment dictated by the soundest policy. Had the enemies of Christianity pursued it from the first, they would have destroyed one of the most powerful engines by which our most holy faith was spread. Had it been adopted by Mary, it is impossible to determine how much it might have retarded the Reformation in England. But God, who was pleased to water his church with the blood of his martyrs, has hardly yet taught mankind that erroneous opinions can only be combated by truth, while ill conduct must be restrained by the strong arm of the law.

§ 519. (A.D. 1618.) A diversity of opinion had long been entertained by different members of the church with regard to the observance of the Sabbath day (a). The party most friendly to the puritans had been strenuous in their endeavours to check that laxity of amusements which had formerly prevailed throughout the country; and in their so doing, they possibly went beyond what the times would bear, and were occasionally guilty of some extravagances. It was this circumstance probably which created an opposition, on the part of those who did not coincide with them in ecclesiastical matters, and to this party the king joined himself. In his progress during the last year he had observed a disposition to interfere with the games of the common people in Lancashire, and consequently issued a proclamation in favour of liberty on the Sabbath day, commonly called the 'Book of Sports,'[1] in which he sanctioned a much greater licence of recreation than the habits of succeeding generations have allowed. Many of the most orthodox clergy disapproved[2] of what was here done, and were in considerable alarm lest the court should oblige them to publish this declaration: no such step, however, was taken generally (b).

§ 520. The king's attention was probably directed[3] to another object which had much greater attractions for a person of his disposition. The differences of doctrine between the Calvinists and Arminians were, in the United Provinces, mixed up with

(a) During the reign of Elizabeth all sorts of amusements had been entered into on the Sunday (Strype's *Annals*, iii. 585). On her reception at Kenilworth, 1575, 'the lords and ladies danced in the evening with lively agility' (Ibid. v. 202). There were sports at the Paris Garden; the lord mayor was presented to the queen; plays and interludes were acted (Ibid. v. 211, 495).

(b) It appears to have been enjoined in and about London. Abbot refused to allow of its being read at Croydon. Perhaps this appearance of opposition prevented James from pressing it any further (See Wilson's *Life of James*, p. 709, and Welwood's notes; *Complete History of England*).

[1] See § 558, &c. It is said to have been drawn up by Bishop Moreton.
[2] Fuller, x. 74, &c.
[3] Ibid. x. 77.

much of political opinion; so that the Calvinistic and ruling party was well pleased that the credit of their synod, held at Dort, should be strengthened by the presence of certain delegates from the church of England, whose sentiments, from the known bias in the mind of James, would probably coincide with their own. The persons selected by the king for this employment were, Carleton, bishop of Llandaff; Hall, afterwards bishop of Exeter, who was forced to return before the end of the session, from ill health; Davenant and Ward, both heads of colleges in Cambridge; Balcanquall, who represented the episcopal church of Scotland; and Goad, who was substituted for Hall. The treatment which these delegates received from the states was most honourable, and their presence contributed, in some degree, to calm the violence of party spirit; but as the Arminian advocates would not argue the question, because they were not allowed to do so in their own method, and were therefore condemned unheard, very little good was done on the subject, and hardly any other effect produced, save that its decisions gave one party in that country a handle for persecuting the other. The five heads of difference are:[1] 1st, on predestination and election; 2nd, the death of Christ, and the redemption obtained thereby; 3rd, on human corruption; 4th, on conversion to God, and the method of it; 5th, on the final perseverance of the saints. Whatever opinions the readers of this work may entertain on any of these abstruse topics, I am convinced that every Christian mind will agree that the decisions of this synod are far too peremptory, inasmuch as they define beyond what the revealed word of God has declared. Whoever will compare them with the corresponding articles of our church, will have abundant reason for admiring the cautious manner in which the same subjects are there laid down, and for approving the nearer approach to the spirit of the Bible, which her tenets exhibit as they are there publicly displayed (a).

§ 521. (A.D. 1622.) Towards the end of the reign,[2] the eagerness

(a) No further account is given of this synod, because the subject is far too extensive for a note. The opinions of the author on the five points are printed in his sermons, preached formerly before the university; but the reader is advised to form his own judgment from no human standard. A brief account of the proceedings of this synod is given in Allport's *Life of Bishop Davenant*, prefixed to Davenant on the Colossians, p. 122, &c. The best information on this history is to be found in Hale's *Golden Remains*. The proceedings of the synod were very disgraceful, and they are represented, perhaps, even worse than they were. Brant's *History of the Reformation in Holland*, treats fully of it. What was here done had, probably, a considerable effect in changing the opinions of the people of England, and introducing greater moderation.

1 Sylloge Confessionum.

2 Fuller, x. 100.

which the king felt for the Spanish match, induced him to show much more favour towards the Roman Catholics than the majority of his subjects approved. The connexion itself could not fail to be displeasing to the nation; but Count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, well knew the disposition of the monarch with whom he had to treat, and was always esteemed sufficiently clever to have taken every advantage of this circumstance.

When James issued his directions to the justices of assize, to release all recusants confined on account of religion, the opinions of his Protestant subjects were hostile to a step, which seemed to set at defiance the laws enacted against the church of Rome, and to free its members from those severities which the legislature had deemed necessary; but when the prince, and the most influential man in the kingdom, had become, as it were, connected with the political friends of the papacy, by throwing themselves into the arms of Spain, the alarm and irritation was rendered far more general. In consequence of this state of things, Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, addressed a letter to the king, in which he inveighs most strongly against toleration:[1] 'By your act,' says he, 'you labour to set up that most damnable and heretical doctrine of the church of Rome, the whore of Babylon:' and the feelings of the country soon exhibited themselves in the tone displayed in the sermons of the generality of preachers. Politics, together with the most abstruse points of theology, became the ordinary topics on which they dilated; and it was particularly observed, that at court the obedience of the subject was enforced, while the duty of the king was insisted on in the country.

Such were the causes which induced James to address a letter[2] to the Archbishop (Aug. 4), accompanied with directions concerning preaching. He orders that no preachers besides bishops and deans, and they only on festivals and state holydays, should take occasion to run into any other discourses than such as may be fairly drawn from the Thirty-nine Articles or the Homilies; that their evening sermons shall dwell solely on the Catechism, and subjects connected with it; that abstruse points of divinity should be avoided; that the power of the prince should not be touched upon, nor any attacks made on Papists or Puritans; that great caution should be used in licensing preachers, particularly lecturers, who formed a new body in the church, and were, in a great degree, severed from the rest of the clergy; and that to these no licences should be given but through the archbishop of Canterbury, on the recommendation of the bishop of the diocese. These directions, however, were composed in a strain far too high to answer the

[1] Fuller, x. 106. [2] Ibid. x. 108.

purpose for which they were intended. Had they been given as advice, the sound sense with which they are written might have influenced many (a). Had the government from which they issued been as strong as it was weak, they might have been quietly enforced, to the benefit of the congregations; as it was, they were attacked by the captious, and in some cases insisted on with an undue severity, which must have rendered them liable to objection, even in the minds of the well disposed.

§ 522. The policy of the state is so entirely mixed up with the history of the church, that it is almost impossible to understand the one, without examining the other; and the field is at the same time so wide, that the ecclesiastical historian incurs considerable danger in venturing to enter upon it: yet he can hardly render himself intelligible, unless he gives, at least, a general view of those portions of state politics which influenced ecclesiastical matters. This object will, perhaps, be obtained most effectually, if we try to examine into the character of the king, and to deduce our observations from his proceedings, as the influence of the court was felt in every part of the administration, and particularly in the church.

§ 523. James might perhaps have proved a good king, if his weakness as a man had not rendered it almost impossible for him to perform the duties of his station. For the observation, which is in some degree applicable to all, viz. That even in the common concerns of this life, 'no weak man can prove an honest one,' is infinitely more true, when applied to those who are invested with supreme authority. That mental superiority on which James always presumed, and which, to a certain degree, he possessed, induced him to endeavour to make himself the guide, and if I may use the expression, the state tutor of Europe; while his personal imbecility prevented him from being able to govern his own house. It was this weakness, probably, which made him so insincere with regard to his word; an evil which is apt to become the source of an infinitely greater degree of weakness, by preventing him who is guilty of it from carrying into effect even the good resolutions which he has formed.

(a) Much of the advice of James contained great good sense. Early in this century, it had become the custom to put into the hands of young students in theology, some epitome, generally Calvin's *Institutes*, from which they drew their opinions (Words. *Ecc Biog.* v. 479, note). King James observed the inconvenience, and prescribed a remedy, by sending instructions to the universities, bearing date Jan. 18, 1616; wherein he directs them to bestow their time on the 'fathers, councils, schoolmen, histories, and controversies; and not to insist too long on compendiums and abbreviators' (Ibid. v. 343, note). So that they might begin at the fountain-head, and search for primitive truth in the primitive writers.

§ 524. His own opinions, with relation both to the state and to the church, were peculiar, and upheld with a pedantic semblance of firmness which made his concessions always appear like the effect of fear; while the display of these sentiments, on occasions where they were inopportunely introduced, often added to the suspicions which his subjects entertained as to the objects which he had in view. In politics, he had formed so high an idea of the regal prerogative, that in an answer to the parliament in 1610, he said,[1] 'That as it was blasphemy to dispute what God may do, so it is sedition, in subjects, to dispute what a king may do in the plenitude of his power.' A monarch who had formed such a notion, could not help wishing to make himself absolute, however much he might desire to benefit his people by the exercise of his authority: and the party who in the state were adverse to these regal pretensions, were in church matters opposed also to the arbitrary proceedings of the bishops' courts, and frequently to the whole system of church government; so that, in the mind of the king, and the general language of the times, the term of *puritan* conveyed these two ideas, of dislike to the government of the church, and opposition to that of the state; which are indeed more closely connected than may at first sight be supposed.

§ 525. The great point which the Protestant had gained by the Reformation, was the establishment of the feeling of moral responsibility in the minds of the mass of society. The Roman Catholic teacher would fetter the freedom of the opinions of his flock, even though he enforced the doctrine, that each man is answerable for his actions; for with regard to actions, the duty of obedience to superiors, as it is generally insisted on, will often sanction a line of conduct little approved of by the conscience of him who enters on it; obedience in itself is not a duty, unless it be according to the word of God. The early promoters of the Reformation had taught the people to think for themselves, by referring questions to the criterion of their own judgments; but they were not at all disposed to carry the principle to the length to which it must be extended whenever it is allowed to exist. The crown had destroyed the papal authority in England for nearly a century, but the power exercised by the government was only different from the papal interference inasmuch as it had not the same interest to support abuses. It sought to bring the church back to the apostolic times; at least such was its ostensible object: and probably, if we take into consideration the change of times, and the difficulties against which it had to contend, it did, in great measure, accomplish this end; but the means employed were far from apostolic. As the

[1] Rapin, ii. 178.

mass of the inhabitants began to be enlightened, the same process took place with regard to politics. From beginning to observe the conduct of the government in the state, most men ventured to form a judgment on what was going on, and by degrees wished to exert their own influence in the direction of affairs.

§ 526. This was, doubtless, very much the case during the reign of Elizabeth; but, during her reign, when the more active spirits began to pry into state matters, they found a government, with all its faults, promoting the good of the people: they found a monarch wilful, indeed, but anxious to benefit her subjects: they found a power above them ready and able to repress every step on the part of the governed to interfere with what did not belong to them: yet whenever any real difficulty occurred, this same power, which they knew to be most formidable, was wise enough to give way before matters were brought to a crisis.

When James took the helm, the whole prospect was changed: his notions of the regal authority were higher than those of his predecessor, yet he had no prudence or self-restraint which could support a force adequate to assert his kingly power: his motto, *Beati pacifici*, had but little connexion with Christian peace, which must be founded on justice: it was but a pretext for his cowardice; he acted as if he had never learnt that a government, in order to maintain peace, must make itself feared as well as respected; and as he became the laughing-stock of foreign nations, he lost all due authority at home. The administration of public affairs would not bear to be examined; and the king, the victim of his own favourites, became tyrannically oppressive without desiring it, in order to conceal his own weakness and the maladministration of his servants. His objection to parliaments arose partly from this cause, but chiefly from the theoretical prejudices which he entertained. He would look on his authority in no other light than as an absolute monarchy; and when the house of commons began to talk of those privileges which were their birthright, the speculative autocrat and legislator could endure it no longer. His theory of ecclesiastical government was closely allied to his civil code, and in like manner referred rather to his own interest as a king, than to any other standard. In his youth he had found himself very hardly treated by the presbytery in Scotland; and he seems, during his whole life, to have retained a strong aversion from that form of church government, through which he had suffered so much, and which had acted towards his mother and himself with so little of the mild spirit of Christianity; and yet he professed himself the firm friend of it,[1] calling the service of the Common Prayer an

[1] Calderwood's *History of Scotland.*

evil mass, said in English. No sooner, however, was he seated on his new throne, than he discovered his mistake, and became attached to an establishment, which, with all its imperfections, is probably the most perfect which ever existed in the world, and which coincided more nearly with his own preconceived notions of subordination. Of his sincerity in these professions we have no further reason to doubt, than from his former want of candour; and all his observations concerning the church are marked with much sound sense, excepting in some few cases, in which he suffered his temper to get the better of his judgment. With regard to the Roman Catholic religion, he seems to have entertained very enlightened views.

§ 527. The power of dethroning and punishing kings was the only tenet which he deemed inadmissible in practice; and if left to follow the bent of his own inclinations, he would have allowed of a toleration almost as liberal as what is now enjoyed by the members of this communion; but when he came to act, his insincerity to both sides was apparent. He renewed the severe and bloody laws against seminary priests, Jesuits, and recusants, although in his first speech to the parliament[1] he had declared his wish to meet the Roman Catholics half way. The state of the country and the feelings of the people were not yet ready to admit of toleration as it is now established, and James nominally gave way to the wishes of his people while he was trying to act in direct opposition to them. The distinctions in the question which now seem so important, were then apparently little thought of. To us no two ideas seem more different and separable than, 'the being allowed the use of their religion, as a religion,' and 'the being invested with temporal power;' yet were they debarred the former, a privilege which should be denied to no one: while many of the important offices in the state were filled by them, and they retained their legislative authority, a point concerning which a difference of opinion may legitimately be entertained. They were invested with power, and yet subjected to such burdens, as were indeed to be bought off without any difficulty, but which could have little other effect than that of making them discontented with the government, and hostile to the puritanic party, who were as uncharitable towards Roman Catholics as the worst bigots of that church are towards all other Christians. The conduct of some of the Roman Catholics was such as must have alarmed any friends of social order, and the whole mass were implicated in the crimes of a few. Many sincere supporters of the monarchy were dissatisfied with the moderate treatment which the Roman Catholics ex-

[1] Rapin, ii. 166.

perienced; and by having raised their voices against the measures of the government in this particular, they were connected in the eyes of the court with the puritanic party. Many more patriotic spirits were frightened at the inroads which the king was apparently making in the constitution; and by supporting the interests of the people, were confounded with such as were hostile to the church. The constitution of the court of ecclesiastical commission enabled it to proceed in an arbitrary manner, and its proceedings assisted the other causes in augmenting the number of both these classes of persons, whom the impolicy of the court comprehended under the general denomination of puritans. Thus all who were eager for the liberty of the subject, all who feared concession to the Roman Catholics, all who hated episcopacy, were confounded in one common mass, and all had too little reason to rely on the wisdom or sincerity of James.

The king himself was probably little under the influence of any religious feeling. He talked about religion, and wrote on subjects connected with it, but he swore profusely in his ordinary conversation, and was the companion of libertinism; while the favouritism in which he indulged made him unjust to his most faithful servants, and produced a venal disposal of every office in the court (a): and yet the weakness of James was probably the chief source of his faults, and more than overbalanced all the talents which he possessed.

(a) Nothing tended more to weaken the crown than the power which James exercised of alienating the royal property (Burnet's *Own Times*, i. 26).

DATES RELATIVE TO THE USE OF THE BIBLE IN ENGLISH.

1536. Cromwell orders every parson to cause a Bible in Latin and English to be set up in the choir for the perusal of the people. Fox, ii. 324.

1538. Cromwell orders a Bible of the largest volume to be set up in every church, in some place convenient for reading. Fox, ii. 325.

1539. A licence for printing the Bible granted to Cromwell, that all persons may have the free and liberal use of it. Burnet's *Records*, iii. No. 15.

1540. May. A king's proclamation orders a Bible of the largest volume to be provided by the curate and parishioners, under a penalty of 40*s.* per month.

1541. A brief published directing the same.

1543. The Bible was again suppressed. Strype's *Cranmer*, i. 121. Lewis, 148.

1546. A proclamation against Tyndale's and Coverdale's *Bible*. Strype's *Cranmer*, i. 197.

1547. Edward's injunctions directed that the whole Bible in English, of the largest volume, should be set up in every church. Lewis, 156.

1559. Elizabeth issued the same injunction. Lewis, 212.

TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

Date.		Authority.
706.	Adhelm, Saxon Psalms	Mant's preface.
721.	Egbert's Four Gospels	—
734.	Bede's St. John's Gospel	Fuller's Ch. Hist. 99, p. i.
880.	Alfred's Version of the Psalms	Ibid. i. 121, § 44.
1340.	Rolle's (or Hampole's) Psalms, &c.	Lewis, p. 13.
1380.	Wiclif's Bible	p. 19.
1526.	Tyndale's New Testament	p. 59.
1530.	——— Pentateuch	p. 70.
1531.	——— Jonas	p. 73.
	G. Joye, Isaiah	p. 78.
1534.	——— Jer. Psal. Song of Moses	p. 87, 88.
1535.	Coverdale's Bible	p. 91.
1537.	Matthew's Bible (*i. e.* J. Rogers)	p. 105.
1539.	Great Bible, Cranmer's	p. 122.
	Taverner's Bible	p. 130.
1560.	Geneva Bible	p. 207.
1568.	Bishops' Bible (Parker's)	p. 235.
1582.	Rhemes New Testament	p. 277.
1609.	Douay Bible	p. 286.
1611.	Authorized Version	p. 306, &c.

APPENDIX D. TO CHAPTER XII.

HISTORY OF THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

531. The division of the subject; various readings from alterations of the text. 532. There has been but one translation, which has been frequently corrected. 533. Saxon Translations: Hampole's, Wiclif's. 534. Tyndale's Translation. 535. Coverdale's Bible; Matthew's. 536. The Great Bible, or Cranmer's; Taverner's. 537. Geneva Bible. 538. Bishops' or Parker's Bible. 539. Rhemes and Douay Translation. 540. The Authorized Bible.

§ 531. The history of the English Bible will naturally divide itself into four periods:—

1. That before any printed translations.
2. The reign of Henry VIII.
3. From thence to the end of the reign of Elizabeth; and
4. From thence to the publication of the Authorized Version.

But before we enter on the history, it may be observed, there is one circumstance which frequently creates a difficulty in examining these various translations, whether in MS. or print, and which has made them appear much more numerous than they really are (a). The persons who transcribed the copies, or who superintended the printing, seem to have introduced alterations into the text, without any other authority than that of their own judgment. The variety of readings exhibited in the MS. Bibles of Wiclif has led Dr. James[1] and subsequent historians to call this corrected version a distinct translation; but the various readings are not more numerous than those which might probably be found in different editions of what is called *Tyndale's New Testament*.

§ 532. In speaking of the different translations of the Bible, such expressions are frequently used as would lead those who are unacquainted with the facts, to suppose that they formed so many independent works; but we shall take a more correct view of the subject in asserting, that there is but one version of the Protestant Bible in print, altered indeed and improved by different hands,

(a) The authorities followed in this abstract are Lewis's *History of the Translations of the Bible*, reprinted 1818. Newcome's *Historical View of English Biblical Translations*, Dublin, 1792. Many of the observations have been verified by examining the different works themselves. There is much useful matter in Baber's preface to his reprint of Lewis's *N. T.* See also Cotton's Editions of the Bible.

[1] Lewis, 43.

and which has received the subsequent amendments of many learned men, but from the first to the last there has been but one actual translation. Let any one compare the earliest and the latest, and he will find a diversity indeed of words, but such a similarity of expression as cannot be accidental. Let him then look at two independent translations of the same book, of *Thucydides*, for instance, by Hobbes and Smith, and the difference will immediately become visible. The resemblance in the versions is so great that it might safely be maintained that none of the authors of a new one undertook the task without the full assistance of such previous translations as had been made. The wisdom of proceeding by this method is obvious, unless there be some actual error of translation, for the mere fact that the version has been already received, and is familiar to the ears of the people, is a strong reason why nothing should be altered.

§ 533. The Saxon church seems to have enjoyed at an early period the benefit of possessing the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue; for, independent of many different portions translated by various persons, Bede is said to have given a Saxon version of the whole; and though this statement is probably incorrect,[1] yet he wrote a comment on most of the books in the Bible,[2] and translated St. John's Gospel, or at least a part of it, immediately before his death.[3] Alfred is said to have translated the Psalter,[4] the whole Bible or Testament, into Saxon; but the selections which he made for his own use appear to have been confounded with a general translation. Elfric,[5] about the end of the tenth century, undertook his translation of the Scriptures from the Latin; and from the different styles of the Anglo-Saxon versions of the Gospels, they must have been translated oftener than once (ª). Archbishop Parker, in his anxiety to prove that the proceedings of the Reformation were not novelties, has published a Saxon version of the four Gospels.

The oldest English translation, now extant, is due to a priest of the name of Rolle, who was a hermit at Hampole in Yorkshire, and translated the Psalms, and several other canticles from the Scriptures, and wrote a running commentary on them (he died in 1349); and it seems that at least parts, if not all the New Testament, were about this period rendered intelligible to those who understood only their mother tongue. (1380.) But the first person who published the Bible in English was John Wiclif (ᵇ); his trans-

(ª) See more particulars to the same effect in Lingard's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 423, note 96.

(ᵇ) This account is taken from Lewis's *History of the Translations*, p. 19. In the *Life of Wiclif*, published 1720, there is a considerable account of his way of proceeding,

[1] Baber, pref. lix. [2] Turner's *Hist. Anglo-Saxons*, iii. 381, 385.
[3] Fuller, i. 99. [4] Turner's *Ang.-Sax.* ii. 95. [5] Ibid. iii. 472.

lation is made from the Vulgate, as he was unacquainted with the original languages; but he was so desirous of translating literally, that he has rendered it frequently very obscure to those who are unacquainted with the idiom of the Latin. Notwithstanding the opposition which was raised to the distribution of this work, numerous copies of it still remain (c).

§ 534. The difficulty (a) of multiplying copies must have created a constant hindrance to the general use of the Scriptures, had not Providence ordained that the discovery of the art of printing should, as it were, open a way for the reformation of the church, and materially assist its progress. The first person who printed any part of the Bible in English was William Tyndale. He had received his education in Oxford and Cambridge, and having been driven into Flanders, he published, with the assistance of John Frith and William Roye, a translation of the New Testament from the Greek (b). (1526.) He was proceeding in this task, and had printed translations of the Pentateuch and the prophet Jonas, when he was exalted to a better world through the trial of martyrdom; a crown to which both his associates were afterwards called. George Joye, who was employed by the Dutch booksellers

which Mr. Lewis seems subsequently to have erased, as it is not in the edition of 1820, Oxford. This states that he and his friends first framed, by collating different copies of the Bible, the best Latin text they could, and compared it with the Hebrew occasionally; and that they did not translate word for word, but according to the sense. In the same omitted paragraph is a catalogue of the books of the Old and New Testament, which distinguishes the Apocrypha, that is 'withouten authorite of Byleve,' p. 73, 1720. I know not why it was omitted.

(c) Two editions of the New Testament of this version have been published, one by Lewis, fol., 1731, to which his *History of the English Translations* formed a preface. And again, 4to, 1810, by H. H. Baber: this is merely a reprint of the other, with a preface. Mr. T. H. Horne, in the *Introduction to the Scriptures*, ii. 238, speaks of a translation older than Wiclif's to be found in three libraries in Oxford. After having examined the MS. in Christ Church library, I am myself convinced that this is not the case, and perhaps a true solution is to be found in § 531; and that this MS. is a copy of Wiclif's Bible, with which liberties have been taken and glosses introduced. In some respects it resembles Mr. Douce's, spoken of by Mr. Baber.

(a) Archbishop Usher tells us that, in 1429, one of these Testaments cost 2*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* (170 groats), which is as much as would now buy forty Testaments (Lewis, 25); but this is a very inadequate view of the matter. By Raignier's tables a quarter of wheat, in 1425, cost 5*s.* 8*d.* (17 groats). The price of the Testament was therefore ten quarters of wheat, or about 30*l.*, a sum which would purchase at least 400.

(b) This edition is by Strype called the *New Testament* translated by Hotchyn (that is, Tyndale); Fuller calls him Tyndal, alias Hichins (*Memor.* i. 113; Fuller, v. 224, § 37). The reason for this name is as follows: Hugh, baron of Tyndale, of Langley Castle, Northumberland, escaped from the field of battle when the Yorkists were overcome by the Lancastrians, lost his title and estate, and took refuge in Gloucestershire under the assumed name of Hutchins. Preface to the reprint of the New Testament. William Tyndale was the grandson of the baron.

in publishing an edition of this New Testament, took the liberty of making alterations in the text, though it was still printed under the name of Tyndale; a circumstance which caused an unseemly dispute between them. Joye himself continued the work by translating Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Psalms.

§ 535. But the glory of putting forth the first English Bible in print was reserved for Miles Coverdale, afterwards bishop of Exeter, who, in 1535, published what he calls a *special translation*, a term which has been generally conceived to mean that it was not borrowed from any other source, which is hardly true, unless the expression be received under great latitude of interpretation, as the translation bears evident marks of having been in some degree taken from the former, though many expressions in it are varied. The book is dedicated to the king, in consequence of the directions which he had given for translating the Scriptures, and the favour which he showed towards the undertaking generally; for, upon the remonstrance of the clergy, who objected to Tyndale's translation, on account of the supposed heresies which it contained, it was ordered to be destroyed; and the king directed that a more correct version should be formed for the use of the people. Coverdale, however, was not peculiarly suited to the task, as he was unacquainted with the original languages, and translated from such different Latin and Dutch copies as he could procure.

(A.D. 1537.) The edition which passes under the name of Matthew's, is partly taken from Tyndale, partly from Coverdale; and was put forth under this fictitious name, probably by John Rogers, who wished to conceal himself, through the fear of persecution. It was of this Bible that an impression of 2500 copies was burnt at Paris, in 1538, by the inquisition, though Francis had given leave for its being printed there.

§ 536. (A.D. 1539.) The Great Bible ([a]), published under the patronage of Cranmer, is rather another edition of that called Matthew's, than a new one; and has acquired the name of the archbishop from a preface which he wrote to the second edition, as well as from the support which he gave to the publication. Cranmer, indeed, intended that this work should undergo a thorough correction; and for that purpose, having required the aid of the convocation in 1542, he proceeded to apportion the several parts to the different members; but found so much opposition among the bishops, that he persuaded the king to refer the matter to the universities, a step which might have produced some good effects, if the next parliament had not proved so favourable to the other party as to counteract all these designs.[1] A Bible,

([a]) It is from this version that the Psalms in the Prayer Book are taken, with very slight variations.

[1] See § 222.

recognised by Richard Taverner, was published also during this year, which is so much altered as almost to merit the title of a new translation. He had belonged to Cardinal's college, in Oxford, and was subsequently taken into the protection of Sir Thomas Cromwell, afterwards earl of Essex, under whose patronage he executed the work. Upon the fall of Cromwell he was for a time imprisoned in the Tower, but speedily restored to the favour of the king. He was famous for his great knowledge of Greek.

§ 537. (A.D. 1560.) The refugees assembled at Geneva during the reign of Mary, employed themselves, among other useful pursuits, in forming a new translation of the Bible from the original languages. The persons said to have taken part in this work are Coverdale, Goodman, Gilby, Whittingham, Sampson, and Cole; to these are sometimes added Knox, Bodleigh, and Pullain. The work, as might have been expected, was in part new and in part a revision of the old translation. Little need be said to prove its excellency, since, on comparing them, we should find that the present authorized Bible differs but little from it; and that those who engaged in the two subsequent versions, frequently adopted expressions taken from it into their own work. There are many marginal notes and glosses subjoined, which occasionally point out the political bias in the minds of the composers: a circumstance which induced James I. during the conference at Hampton Court, to say that it was the worst[1] of all the translations: one instance among many, where the judgment of that monarch was overcome by his kingly prejudices; for it is certainly better than any before it. It was much used in private families, but never authoritatively introduced into the church (ª). The division into verses was first adopted in this Bible (ᵇ).

§ 538. (A.D. 1568.) When a new edition of the Great Bible[2] was required for the use of parish churches, in the reign of Elizabeth, Parker was unwilling to put it forth again without endeavouring to correct all the errors which had been observed in it; and for this purpose employed a certain number of divines to aid him in the task of making it as perfect as possible. As the majority of the persons employed were bishops, the Bible itself has

(ª) N.B. It is sometimes called the *Breeches Bible*, from Genesis iii. 7, where Adam and Eve are said to have sewed fig-leaves together to make themselves breeches.

(ᵇ) The Old Testament was divided into sections and verses, marked off by points, perhaps as early as the time of Ezra; a method adopted for the sake of interpreting it from Hebrew into Chaldee. The division into chapters is of much later date, and was made by Hugo de Sancto Caro, or Cardinalis, who composed the first Concordance to the Vulgate (1240). It has been used in the Hebrew since Rab. Nathan made his Concordance, 1445. Robert Stephens divided the New Testament, and his son, Henry, printed it so (1551). Prideaux, *Con.* iii. 81, fol. i. 266.

[1] Fuller, x. 14.

[2] Strype's *Parker*, i. 414.

been ordinarily denominated the Bishops' or Parker's Bible, and is the one which formed the basis for the last or authorized translation. The persons engaged in it were Alley, Davis, Sandys, Horne, Grindal, Parkhurst, Cox, and Guest, all bishops; besides Peerson, Becon, Pern, Cole, and Goodman. This may more properly be called a corrected edition of the Great Bible, for nothing was altered unless from the fear that it might give occasion to an error. A large preface is prefixed to it (a) as well as several tables, one of which forms that of the degrees of kindred within which matrimony is forbidden, inserted at present in our Common Prayer Book.

§ 539. The Roman Catholics, finding that of the numerous copies of the Bible some must of necessity fall into the hands of members of their communion, wisely determined to put forth a translation of their own. The New Testament was printed at Rhemes in 1582: the whole Bible at Douay in 1609. It is made from the Vulgate, and abounds with expressions, in which, from retaining the words of the original, the sense is scarcely intelligible to an ordinary reader. The persons who were deeply engaged in the work were Cardinal Allen, Greg. Martin, and R. Bristol;[1] others ascribe the version of the New Testament to William Reynold. The work was accompanied by marginal notes by Thomas Worthington; and in order to recommend its adoption, Greg. Martin published an attack on the translations in general use in this country, and was answered by Fulke.

§ 540. In consequence of certain objections raised against the Bishops' Bible in the Conference at Hampton Court, a new translation was agreed on, and every step taken which could render it worthy of our church and nation. The king called upon the principal divines of the nation to assist in carrying on the work, and invited all who had any acquaintance with the subject, to lend their aid with regard to such texts of Scripture as they had found to be incorrectly rendered in the former translations. The number of persons engaged in the work itself amounted to forty-seven (a),

(a) Printed in Strype's *Parker*, No. 84.

(a) The translators were divided into six classes, and were to meet at Westminster, Cambridge, and Oxford. Lewis, 310.

These met at Westminster.

Andrews, D. of Westminster, Overall, D. of St. Paul's, Saravia, Clerke, Layfield, Leigh, Burleigh, Kinge, Thomson, Bedwell.	Pentateuch. The story from Joshua to the first book of the Chronicles exclusive.	Barlow, D. of Chester, Hutchinson, Spencer, Fenton, Rabbett, Sanderson, Dakins.	The Epistles of St. Paul and the Canonical Epistles.

[1] Newcome, 89.

who were divided into six committees, and sat at Westminster and the two universities. The different portions of the Bible were assigned among them, but each portion was, on its completion, subjected to the other committees for examination; and in case of any difficulties, a final committee was to be formed for their discussion. In order that the clergy so employed might not be unrewarded, all persons possessed of any ecclesiastical patronage were urged to bestow whatever happened to fall vacant on some of the translators, and the king exhorted ecclesiastical bodies to be liberal in contributing money for the support of the undertaking. The rules laid down for the performance of the task were judicious. As little alteration as possible was to be made in the Bishops' Bible; and wherever this did not agree with the original text, recourse was to be had to former translations. No notes were to be affixed beyond what the literal explanation of the Hebrew and Greek words adopted into the text might require; and a few marginal references, and only a few, were to be appended. The commissions were issued in 1604; the persons appointed entered on the work itself in the spring of 1607,[1] but the Bible was not printed till 1611, so much time and caution was used to prevent inaccuracies.

Above two hundred years have now elapsed since this review of the Bible; and the church has subsequently contented itself with discovering inaccuracies, without attempting to correct them. The whole question of a new translation is one of considerable

The classes at Cambridge were

Lively, Richardson, Chaderton, Dillingham, Harrison, Andrews, Spaldinge, Birge.	From the first of Chronicles with the rest of the story, and the Hagiographa, viz. Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Cantica, Ecclesiastes.	Duport, Braithwaite, Radcliffe, Ward, Downes, Boyse, Warde.	The Prayer of Manasses and the rest of the Apocrypha.

At Oxford.

Hardinge, Reynolds, Holland, Kilby, Smith, Brett, Fareclowe.	The four greater Prophets, with the Lamentation, and the twelve lesser Prophets.	Ravis, D. of Ch. Ch., Abbot, D. of Winches., Montague, D. of Worces., Thomson, D. of Windsor, Savile, Perin, Ravens, Harmer.	The four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Apocalypse.

[1] Johnson, 97.

delicacy; but the opinion of Archbishop Newcome, supported as it is by the concurrent testimony of nearly thirty divines of considerable weight, together with his own judicious remarks, which was given to the world almost forty years ago, ought not to have remained without due and public attention. If prudential reasons forbid the publication of a new version, yet surely there could be no danger in the correction of such mistakes as are obvious to all men (for some passages are scarcely intelligible), and of such as are acknowledged by all who are acquainted with the original languages. These amendments might be introduced into the margin, and sanctioned by authority, so that they might be used at the discretion of the minister; a step which would at least prepare the way for their ultimate introduction into the text, and show a wish to make use of the growing knowledge of the country, for the improvement of the services of the church. Our present translation is, probably, the best in existence; yet this circumstance need not prevent the attempt of lessening its imperfections.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE REIGN OF CHARLES I. 1625 TO 1649.

551. Causes of the fall of the church. 552. Montague, Mainwaring; impolicy of the court. 553. Forced loans promoted by the clergy. 554. Star chamber. 555. High commission; Williams; Abbot. 556. Feoffees of impropriations brought before the exchequer. 557. Arminianism; declaration prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles. 558. Sabbatarian controversy. 559. Book of Sports 560, 561. The question discussed. 562. Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton. 563. Williams, Osbolston. 564. Scotch Liturgy. 565. Episcopacy in Scotland. 566. Charles I. does not govern wisely. 567. In 1637 he endeavours to introduce the Liturgy; the canons sent down previously. 568. Tumults in Edinburgh; the covenant framed and signed; civil war successfully carried on against the government. 569. Laud; ceremonies. 570. Canons of 1640. 571. State of England. 572. Long Parliament. 573. Bishops deprived of their votes. 574. Destruction of the church. 575. Causes of the war. 576–579. Outline of the war. 580 Self-denying ordinance; Fairfax; Cromwell. 581. Their campaign. 582. Lord Strafford; Laud. 583. His character. 584. And trial. 585. Usher's episcopacy; the assembly of divines at Westminster. 586. The parties in the assembly. 587. Presbyterians, their church government. 588. Independents; Erastians. 589. Thirty-nine Articles altered; church government; ordination. 590. Works of the assembly, directory, &c. 591. Presbyterian government. 592. Set up in London and Lancashire; earnestness exhibited in its favour. 593. The growth of independency. 594. Fate of the king. 595. His discussions on episcopacy, (a) present state of church discipline. 596, 597. Character of Charles. 598. Sufferings of the clergy. 599. Cambridge. 600. Oxford.

§ 551. (A.D. 1625.) In the period of history on which we are about to enter, it is difficult to distinguish between the portions which belong to the civil, or to the ecclesiastical historian. The interests of church and state are so intimately blended, that they admit of no real separation: yet the multiplicity of affairs, in this eventful reign, renders it absolutely necessary that much should be omitted, and that a decided line should be drawn between the two. Strictly speaking, perhaps little can be referred to the church alone, but during the whole of the earlier government of Charles, churchmen not only influenced his councils to a great extent, but the influence which they possessed tended greatly to overthrow the monarchy, and to swallow up the ecclesiastical establishment in its train. The causes which had contributed to transfer to the church much of the popular odium which was due to the civil government, not only continued to exist, but some accidental circumstances tended to augment the evil; it must therefore be our first object to enter on the detail of these, that we may

understand how the church and monarchy fell together, and how each assisted in promoting the destruction of the other.

§ 552. Montague,[1] in an answer to a Roman Catholic book (a), had made some concessions which offended many Protestants, and when attacked, had defended himself by publishing an appeal to the king, which tended only to increase the storm. When objections were raised against these books in the house of commons, the king injudiciously advocated the cause of the writer, till deterred from doing so by the displeasure which this conduct created among his subjects.

The necessities of the court induced those who governed, to have recourse to many expedients for raising money, and as these depended for their success on the strength of the royal prerogative, whatever augmented it became peculiarly acceptable to those in authority. Mainwaring,[2] who was one of the chaplains to the king, preached and printed two sermons on this subject (1628), which gave great offence to the commons, and he was severely punished. Montague was held to bail in 2000*l.* (the dissolution of the parliament probably prevented further proceedings against him); Mainwaring was fined 1000*l.*, and declared incapable of holding preferment, or of preaching before the court. Yet both these men were subsequently made bishops. The punishments which had been thus inflicted by the commons, were perhaps tyrannical, but it argued in the court a great contempt for the opinions of the nation, when the animadversions of the parliament were to prove the road to preferment, and naturally connected the church, in the minds of the people, with the party which was adverse to the civil liberties of the subject. These may be regarded as accidental circumstances, yet they strongly mark the temper of the times, and the inclination of the court to convert the church into an instrument for enlarging its power; a design which was more strongly displayed on other occasions.

§ 553. When in the year 1626 the court,[3] on the dissolution of the parliament, adopted the method of forced loans, in order to meet the necessities of the state, the king sent a circular letter to the bishops, instructing them to urge their clergy to show their zeal in promoting these objects through their sermons: a step which, if successful, could not fail to give the clergy a close connexion, in the eyes of the people, with the abuses under which so many real friends of liberty were groaning. Laud was probably the author of the plan, as well as employed to draw up the letter; and indeed the

(a) The book which he answered was called, *A Gag for the New Gospel*; his answer, *A New Gag for an old Goose*. He published also a treatise on the invocation of saints, and a work entitled *Appello ad Cæsarem*. Collier, ii. 736, gives a full account. Neal's *Puritans*.

[1] Fuller, xi. 119. [2] Ibid. xi. 129. Collier, ii. 743. [3] Heylin's *Laud*, 162.

whole of his policy went upon the idea that he was benefiting the church by making churchmen contribute to the direct support of the state, and thus divesting them of their spiritual character. Connected as church and state must be, we cannot entirely separate them, but the very notion of a priesthood, set apart for the service of God, seems to imply that, as far as such a separation is possible, it should be maintained. Laud was probably an honest and pious man, but he seems not to have seen that the improvements which he was sincerely anxious to promote, were incompatible with the government which he endeavoured to support; since arbitrary authority, in either church or state, must have the tendency of corrupting those who command, and debasing those who obey. The steps by which the house of commons were inclined to assert their right of paying no taxes which they had not imposed on themselves, appeared to Laud to sap the foundations of government, and to give the subject an indirect power over his prince; in attempting, therefore, to obviate this difficulty, he appealed to the people through the clergy; but in so doing, he made the latter appear to the eyes of their flocks to be the tools of the court.

§ 554. When more churchmen were admitted into the privy-council, and the same individuals became members of the star-chamber and of the court of high commission, it was not unnatural that the people should connect in their own minds the two latter courts as constituting one and the same authority, and thus the odium attached to either the one or the other, combined to create a hatred against the church. 'The star-chamber[1] was a court of very ancient original, but new modelled by statutes 3° Hen. VII. ch. 1, and 21° Hen. VIII. ch. 20, consisting of divers lords, spiritual and temporal, being privy councillors, together with two judges of the courts of common law, without the intervention of any jury. Their jurisdiction extended legally over riots, perjury, misbehaviour of sheriffs, and other notorious misdemeanours, contrary to the laws of the land. Yet this was afterwards, as Lord Clarendon informs us, stretched to the asserting of all proclamations and orders of state: to the vindicating of illegal commissions, and grants of monopolies; holding for honourable that which pleased, and for just that which profited; and becoming both a court of law to determine civil rights, and a court of revenue to enrich the treasury; the (privy) council table by proclamations enjoining to the people that which was not enjoined by the laws, and prohibiting that which was not prohibited; and the star-chamber, which consisted of the same persons in different rooms, censuring the breach and disobedience to those proclamations by very great fines, imprisonments, and corporal severities; so that any disrespect to

[1] Blackstone's *Commentaries*, iv. ch. 19.

any acts of state, or to the persons of statesmen, was in no time more penal, and the foundations of right never more in danger to be destroyed.' The severity frequently exercised by this court must have been sufficient to excite a great dislike to it, had all its acts been legal; in many cases they inflicted the punishments of whipping, branding, cutting off the ears, and slitting the nose: and this, not on thieves and vagabonds, but on writers of political and religious pamphlets;[1] and sometimes to gratify private malice, for the interest of the court was readily called into action, whenever the character of a privy counsellor was attacked.

§ 555. The court of high commission had been created by the eighth clause in the act of supremacy;[2] and during the reign of Elizabeth considerable corruptions and much oppression had originated from it; but when many of the laity were made parties in the contest about ceremonies, it became in several dioceses a source of very serious hardship ([a]), and irritated the body of the people against the whole government of the church.

The faults also of Laud were, by a species of reasoning which is not uncommon, reflected on the body to which he belonged: and the general anger against the court, which arose from the dissolution of so many parliaments, one after another, was in a great measure directed against him. This dislike was increased by the treatment experienced by two churchmen, who, though high in situation, were oppressed by the court, and subjected to the malice of their enemies. Williams, bishop of Lincoln[3] and lord keeper of the seals, was deprived of this latter office from the enmity of the duke of Buckingham (A.D. 1627); and Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, suspended from exercising any ecclesiastical functions, because, according to Fuller,[4] he had accidentally killed a gamekeeper some years before. He had, however, ever since continued to perform the duties of his office, had been cleared from all irregularity by a commission which was formed for this purpose soon after the accident took place,[5] and no mention of this reason is made in the commission by which he was suspended. His real offence, probably, consisted in his refusal to license a sermon of Dr. Sibthorpe ([b]), who had preached in favour of the legality of loans. The effect of these severities was, as might have been expected, to create a further ill-will towards the court and Laud, and a general sympathy in favour of the sufferers.

([a]) Mrs. Hutchinson says, i. 129 (8vo. edit.), such of 'the puritans' as could not flee, were tormented in the bishops' courts; fined, whipt, pilloried, imprisoned, and suffered to enjoy no rest, so that death was better than life to them. However exaggerated, this must have been in some degree true.

([b]) In Collier, ii. 740, there is some account of this sermon; see too Rapin, ii. 259.

[1] Fuller, xi. 136. [2] § 428. [3] Collier, ii. 735. [4] xi. 127. [5] Collier, ii. 740.

§ 556. (A.D. 1632.) Another cause of discontent[1] arose in the suppression of the feoffees for impropriations. The poverty of the church had induced many persons to contribute money for the purpose of obviating this evil, and twelve feoffees were constituted for carrying this pious object into execution, which was to be effected by the purchase of impropriate rectories. They consisted of four divines, four lawyers, and four citizens, who acted without any legal authority, or charter of any sort, and large sums of money were raised for furthering their ends. The first check which was given to this society arose from a sermon[2] preached at Oxford in 1630, wherein the preacher inveighed vehemently against those who managed its concerns, accusing them of carrying on their own political plans under the mask of religion. They were said to retain all the impropriations so purchased in their own hands, and not to transfer them to the livings to which they had belonged: to employ the proceeds in maintaining factious preachers in market-towns, and in supporting silenced ministers and their families. Such an establishment was liable to be turned to the very worst of purposes, but if well directed, might have produced much good; and it was said that White,[3] one of the feoffees, privately offered Laud to submit the whole to his lordship's direction; yet the fear of what might happen, induced those who directed the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom, to bring the matter into the exchequer, where the incorporation was overthrown, the property forfeited to the crown, and the feoffees subjected to such punishment as the star-chamber chose to inflict: this last part, however, was never carried into effect. Had Laud, by joining in this society and putting himself at its head, attempted to guide, instead of opposing it, the result might have been very beneficial to the church and creditable to himself; as it was, he, for the time, carried his point, and violated the better feelings of those who could hardly perceive the danger, however real it might be; and in the end, the bitterness which was thus created tended to destroy what remained of the establishment.

§ 557. Notwithstanding the countenance which the church of England had given to the decrees of the synod of Dort, the opinions of the Arminians so gradually prevailed among the higher clergy, particularly among those who had the disposal of preferment, that to entertain sentiments in favour of Calvinism was the greatest bar to the advancement of any clergyman. Bishop Morley, when chaplain to Lord Carnarvon,[4] was asked by a country gentleman who wished to know something of their doctrine, 'What the Arminians held?' 'They hold,' says he, 'the best bishoprics and

[1] Fuller, xi. 136.
[2] Heylin's *Laud*, 210.
[3] Fuller, xi. 143.
[4] Clarendon's *Life*, 50 or 26.

deaneries in England' (a); a bon mot, which sufficiently shows how far party feeling was allowed to prevail on every subject, and will partially account for the bias which the religious part of the community, particularly the lower clergy, took against the equally strong prejudice of the court; and it should be remembered that there is an anti-Calvinism which is as much at variance with the doctrines of the church of England and with Scripture as the decrees of the synod of Dort can be.

(June 14, 1626.) Early in the reign the king had issued a proclamation[1] enjoining his subjects, particularly the clergy, to abstain from all innovations with regard to religion: and in order to cooperate with this injunction (1628), a declaration (b)[2] was prefixed to a new edition of the Thirty-nine Articles, in which all persons were forbidden to interpret them in any but the grammatical sense; and it is no small proof of the temper of the times, that this was deemed to be in favour of the Arminian side of the question,[3] and that the Calvinists were about to petition against it. Yet the conduct of the court did not correspond with this apparent temperance in its declarations, for when Bishop Davenant[4] (March, 1631) had preached on the subject of predestination, and in so doing offended the king, he was brought before the council, and severely reprimanded, for that which, according to his own answer, was done in ignorance, and perfectly in accordance with the published injunctions of the court. Something of the same sort took place with regard to some preachers in Oxford, on which Fuller observes, 'The expulsion of these preachers expelled not, but increased the differences in Oxford, which burnt the more for blazing the less; many complaining that the sword of justice did not cut indifferently on both sides, but that it was more penal for some to touch, than others to break the king's declaration.' The natural effect of all this was to render every one who entertained Calvinistic opinions, hostile to the court, and to make them connect a dislike to the government of the church with the hatred which they bore towards the state.

§ 558. The Sabbatarian controversy, too, contributed to injure the cause of the church in the minds of the people. During the period in which the Roman Catholic religion had prevailed in this country, much laxity had existed with regard to the day set apart for God's service, a laxity which had been continued during the

(a) The fact is alluded to in the remonstrance which was made to the king by the House of Commons, 1628. Collier's *Hist.* ii. 744.

(b) There is a copy of this original edition, 1628, in Christ Church Library: the date of this publication is sometimes questioned.

1 Heylin's *Laud*, 154.
2 Sparrow's *Collection*, 87.
3 Collier's *Hist.* ii. 746.
4 Fuller, ix. 138.

reigns of Elizabeth and James[1] by the practice of the court, though a sentiment of disapprobation against such proceedings seems gradually to have spread throughout the nation. The question, indeed,[2] involved a considerable number of heads, which were variously argued, but the chief difference of opinion consisted with regard to the manner in which this day ought to be observed.

While one party admitted of no other term for its designation than that of the Sabbath, this appellation was the abomination of another; and moderate and indifferent persons called it by the several names of Sunday, Sabbath, or Lord's day.

Its beginning and duration formed another subject of dispute; some confined its continuance to the time occupied by the service of the church; and others were as strenuous in enjoining a strict observance of it from the Saturday evening till the following night.

One party founded the institution on the sole authority of the church, others attributed the change in the day to the appointment of the church founded on apostolic usage, while the original dedication of one day in seven rested on the command given by the Almighty at the creation: this contained virtually the question of the legality of any alteration in the day, and it appears that the church of Geneva had once thought of adopting Thursday as their day of rest.

But the point which was agitated with the greatest warmth, was as to the manner in which this day ought to be kept holy. The advocates of the greatest strictness would allow of no amusements but walking, while the maintainers of the contrary opinion devoted those parts of the day, which were not occupied by religious services, to every species of enjoyment. The ordinary amusements[3] in country parishes were called church-ales, clerk-ales, and bid-ales, besides the revels or feasts of the dedication of the church: they were merry-makings, consisting of drinking and sports, particularly dancing, which took place either every Sunday or on particular occasions. Such meetings necessarily led to disorders, and the religious part of the community, in their anxiety to repress them, occasionally fell into the opposite extreme (a), and in their

(a) 'Some preachers went so far as to maintain, that to do any work or servile business on the Lord's day, is as great a sin as to kill a man or to commit adultery; that to throw a bowl, to make a feast, or dress a wedding dinner on the Lord's day, is as great a sin as for a man to take a knife and cut his child's throat. That to ring more bells than one on the Lord's day, is as great a sin as to commit murder. And I know also a town of my acquaintance, the preachers there brought the people to that pass, that neither baked or roast meat was to

[1] See § 519 (a).
[2] Fuller, xi. 144, &c.
[3] Neal's *Puritans*, ii. 214.

animadversions on the unruly, became uncharitable towards those who differed from themselves, and unjustly severe on the lower orders, whose excesses might probably have been checked without any open interference in the magistracy.

§ 559. In 1633, Chief Justice Richardson, at the request of the magistrates in Somersetshire,[1] ordered the Sunday ales and wakes to be suppressed, and directed that the order should be read by the clergy in their several churches; an interference with ecclesiastical matters which the archbishop, whose influence was now supreme, highly resented. The judge, therefore, was brought before the privy council, and commanded to rescind his order at the next assizes. To correct this spirit of what was called puritanism, the king, probably at the suggestion of Laud, issued a proclamation, which is generally known by the name of the *Book of Sports*. It contained a proclamation[2] which had been formerly issued by James I., and was accompanied with a declaration, that the king would not allow any curtailing of the liberty of his poorer subjects with regard to their amusements on the Sunday. The clergy were enjoined to read this in their churches, a command which became a stumbling-block to many sincere men. Some,[3] indeed, approved of the contents, others paid a partial obedience to the injunction by reading the proclamation, and immediately repeating the fourth commandment, or preaching on the due observance of the Sabbath; while others utterly refused all compliance with the order. Among the bishops there was a great difference in the severity with which they animadverted on those clergymen who had been guilty of neglect in this particular. Some deprived those who persisted in their refusal: others declined becoming the accusers of their brethren; while much moderation was exhibited by a third class, who exercised severity on a few only of the most obstinate refusers.

§ 560. The subject itself is one on which so few directions are contained in the Scriptures, that much latitude of opinion might naturally have been expected with regard to it. Its name, perhaps, and its exact duration, are of less practical importance; but the nature of the institution, and the manner in which it ought to be observed, are of the greatest consequence. The generally received opinion, and that which tallies best with the institutions of the church of England, seems to be, that the dedication of one day in seven to the service of God is part of the moral law; that the change of this day from Saturday to Sunday is sanctioned by

be found in all the parish for a Sunday's dinner throughout the year,' &c., &c. Preface to Prideaux *on the Sabbath.*

[1] Rushworth's *Coll.* ii. i. 191. [2] Ibid. ii. i. 193, § 519. [3] Fuller, xi. 148.

the custom of the apostles; and that the Christian's liberty will allow of any method of keeping this day which answers the command of abstaining from work, and of keeping it holy. Amusements in the abstract contain nothing which need infringe on this holiness; yet it is obvious, that some amusements will so far unfit the mind for religious duties, that they must be totally inadmissible; that to persons situated in different spheres of life a different rule may be applicable; and that all recreations which offend against the religious scruples of our brethren, ought out of charity to be avoided. In this case, therefore, it seemed an act of great impolicy, to say no worse, to make the clergy exhort their parishioners to join in dancing, leaping, vaulting, archery, and May games; amusements which were little likely to promote the spirituality of the Sabbath employments, even if we grant that they were not actually wrong; and the issuing such a proclamation must have had the tendency of alienating from the government the affections of all those who had any doubts on these points. The effect in Somersetshire[1] seems to have been, that the laity were petitioning to have these disorders on the Sabbath put down by authority, while the high-church party requested that these amusements might remain; a state of things, which if it produced no other consequence, must have raised a very unfavourable impression in the breasts of the people concerning their spiritual guides.

§ 561. Had this proclamation confined itself to its proper province, had it condemned in general terms the profanation of the Lord's day, while it forbade magistrates to punish any who were not engaged in unlawful pursuits, the object of the king might probably have been furthered; for on these points, the law, as it now stands, seems to be well calculated for procuring a due observance of the Sabbath. While gross violations of propriety are punishable as misdemeanours, pragmatical interference with the amusements of the people is prevented by the silence of the law, and every sincere observer of the Sabbath is at liberty to influence by his example and advice others who are less strict in their practice; a species of persuasion which is at once the most effectual, and in which every step is sure to be accompanied with the moral improvement of those who make it(a).

§ 562. (A.D. 1637.) A piece of severity[2] exercised on three

(a) There are two acts of parliament during this reign against profaning the Lord's day; 1° ch. i. forbids bull-baiting, bear-baiting, interludes, common plays, and other unlawful exercises and pastimes; people are forbidden to go out of their own parishes for any amusements. 3° ch. ii. carriers and wagoners are forbidden to travel on the Sunday, and butchers to kill meat.

[1] Neal, ii. 215. [2] Fuller, xi. 151. Heylin's *Laud*, 328.

members of the learned professions produced more effect in spreading a general hatred against Laud and the government, than the victims of this severity perhaps deserved. Prynne, a common lawyer, Bastwick, a physician, and Burton, a clergyman, had each of them published pamphlets offensive to the court, and when brought before the star-chamber, they severally put in pleas of such a nature as were not admitted. The prisoners, therefore, were convicted as not making any defence, though they wished to be allowed to plead for themselves, and were condemned to lose their ears in the pillory, to be imprisoned in remote places during pleasure, and fined 5000*l.* each. Prynne was also branded. Such a punishment produced much more irritation than if they had been sentenced to death; and it so happened that, after having been sent to Guernsey, Jersey, and Scilly, they were, upon the assembling of the long parliament, brought back in triumph, to the disgrace of the court. Their faults, which were great, were overlooked in the indignity of their punishment; and the blame was thrown on the church, because each of their libels had been directed chiefly against the bishops and their government.

§ 563. Williams, who was a turbulent man,[1] after having been deprived of the office of lord keeper, for which he was probably unfit, had resided at his episcopal house at Bugden, where he allowed of greater freedom in talking about the government than was well suited to his situation. He was indicted in 1637 for betraying the king's secrets, being a privy councillor, a charge which was soon dropped, as being frivolous; and another brought against him, of suborning and tampering with witnesses. Whether innocent or no, he endeavoured to escape by offering to make a composition with the king, in which he was prevented by some of his enemies, and sentenced to pay a fine of 8000*l.*, and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure. In this transaction Laud took an active part, and the bishop afterwards complained that he had not been allowed to impugn the testimonies of the persons brought against him, who, as being king's witnesses, could not be excepted against; that Secretary Windebank had caused all those who would have given evidence in his favour to be imprisoned under royal warrants till the trial was over; and that those pleas of his, which the court was ashamed to set aside publicly, were overruled in private. Another charge was brought against him while he was in the Tower, which, for the severity of the punishment, and the absurdity of the crime, rivals anything recorded in history. Lambert Osbolston, sometime student of Christ Church, master of Westminster-school, and prebendary of that church, had

[1] Fuller, xi. 155. Heylin's *Laud*, 343.

been much favoured by Williams, who was dean there; and taking part with him in his enmity against Laud, he on some occasion wrote to the bishop a letter which contained the following sentence:[1] 'The little vermin, the urchin, and hocus pocus (Laud), in this stormy Christmas at true and real variance with the Leviathan' (Lord Treasurer Weston). This was found among Williams's papers when his house was searched, and the bishop was sentenced to pay another fine of 8000*l.* for not having presented this libellous letter to some justice of the peace; and Osbolston condemned to pay 5000*l.*, to have his ears tacked to the pillory in presence of his scholars, as well as to be deprived of all his preferments. The personal part of the sentence he escaped by flight, and his sufferings made him afterwards a favourite with the commons, till the madness of their proceedings induced him to join the king. More, perhaps, has been said on this point than it deserves; but it must ever appear not only to affix a deep stain on the character of Laud, but to furnish a proof of the personal insecurity under which every man must have lived; and show how impossible it was that such a government should continue, when a prime minister could be guilty of such open tyranny.

§ 564. As the events connected with the liturgy in Scotland may be said to have formed the first step in the civil war, and to have contributed much to give the rebellion a turn so peculiarly hostile to the church of England, it will be necessary to look back into the history of the Reformation in that country, and to touch on some points to which no previous allusion has been made, in order to comprehend the whole under one view. The alterations in the church, which had taken place in that kingdom, had been carried on in opposition to the bishops, who had often made themselves the instruments of the persecutions inflicted on the friends of the Reformation; a circumstance[2] which rendered the mass of the people inimical to the order. The nobility, too, were equally hostile to bishops, since the avarice of the upper ranks had contributed greatly to introduce the Reformation, with the view of dispossessing the ecclesiastical owners of their property; and the tenures, therefore, by which these possessors held their newly acquired domains, were very doubtful. Elizabeth had fostered the animosities of the people, and the apprehensions of the nobles, for the purpose of keeping up a party in Scotland; and, under the nominal plan of introducing a conformity between the churches of the two nations, had been seeking her own interests, and promoting divisions among the Scotch. The general assembly had, from the first, assumed to itself a considerable power, independent of the

[1] Fuller, 165. [2] Sir P. Warwick's *Mem.* 98, &c.

government; and in 1566 had decided on the adoption of the Geneva discipline, which virtually destroyed the spiritual authority of the bishops, though they retained in some measure their lands and their seats in parliament. The properties, indeed, and the higher situations connected with the abbeys, were generally in the hands of laymen; but the bishoprics were still filled by ecclesiastics. The authority possessed by the bishops varied at different times, depending in a great degree on the policy of the successive regents and favourites of James. Till 1592, the assembly had generally rejected episcopal interference,[1] and the court retained sufficient power to prevent the legal establishment of the presbytery. In that year, however, this step was effected, and soon after, in consequence of a tumult in Edinburgh, connected with the presbyterian ascendancy, the life of James was endangered; an event which gave him a continual dislike to that form of church government, and a decided preference to episcopacy, independently of the consideration of the political influence which the votes of the bishops furnished to the court. He obtained for the bishops, in 1597 and 1700, a concession of their right to sit in parliament; but this was fettered with such restrictions as rendered the spiritual authority of the order almost nugatory;[2] and they accepted what was granted, though they never seem to have conformed to the stipulated condition; and when he came to the throne of England, he formed the wish of reducing the two churches to an uniformity of discipline and service; a wish reasonable indeed in a king of Great Britain, and in correspondence with the desires of every friend of the two countries, but the plan was not likely to succeed, unless attempted by honourable and fair means.

§ 565. (A.D. 1610.) In the assembly at Glasgow[3] he so contrived to collect a body suited to his own views, that he carried all his points in favour of episcopacy, and presently set up a court of ecclesiastical commission. Episcopacy, therefore, now began to gain ground,[4] and James was very careful in the selection of the men whom he advanced, consulting the older bishops, and bringing forward such men only as were suited to promote the real interests of the church. It was by these steps that the assembly of St. Andrew's was enabled to consult about introducing a liturgy (1617), which some of its members began to form, or rather to copy from the Prayer Book of the church of England; and the assembly of Perth (a) to establish the five points connected with the rites

(a) These articles are, from their number, which was five, sometimes mistaken for the Five Articles of the synod of Dort, with which they are in no way connected. They are printed in Spotswood's *Hist. of*

[1] Guthry's *Memoirs*, 4.
[2] Rapin, ii. 296.
[3] Ibid. ii. 299.
[4] Guthry, 13.

and ceremonies of the church (1618). James would probably have gone further, had not the difficulties with regard to his daughter's kingdom prevented his doing anything which might embroil him at home.

§ 566. On the accession of Charles I.[1] (1625), the presbyterians addressed a petition to him, but found that he was not at all disposed to comply with their wishes; the interests of the anti-episcopal cause, however, were kept up by the appointment of a secret fast, which was observed at stated periods, among their friends throughout the kingdom (1633). When the king visited Scotland, they had prepared a petition, which they purposed to have presented to him, had he not forbidden the earl of Rothes to do so: and the next year, Lord Balmiranoch, having this petition in his possession, which he imprudently showed to a friend, was imprisoned, and most unjustly condemned to die[2] (1634), a sentence which, though immediately remitted, made him for ever an enemy to the court, and induced him to combine with others, who saw the danger to which the lives and properties of every one must be exposed under so arbitrary a government, and to form plans by which the chief authority might be transferred into their own hands.

These circumstances had enrolled the lovers of civil freedom among the enemies of episcopacy. The prejudices of the common people were against it, and the lower clergy exerted their influence to increase this dislike; the nobles were afraid that their titles to the church property which they held would be called in question (a), and to this was added a considerable irritation among them, particularly in the earls of Traquair and Argyle (then Lord Lorn),[3] by the appointment of the archbishop of St. Andrew's to the chancellorship, and the advancement of other churchmen to high civil offices. Fuller[4] insinuates that the bribery which James had carried on among the leading presbyterians now ceased, and that this, among other causes, contributed to the subsequent opposition; and whether this were so or no, it is difficult to determine how much blame attaches to Charles I. in all these proceedings. He

Scotland, p. 538; Neal's *Puritans*, ii. 101; see also Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biog.* v. 298.

The 1st enjoins the posture of kneeling in receiving the Lord's Supper.

The 2nd allows of private communion in case of sickness.

The 3rd allows of private baptism in case of danger.

The 4th enjoins the use of catechising and confirmation.

The 5th enjoins the observance of holy days and festivals.

(a) See an Abstract of the Acts of the Scotch Parliament which affected this species of property, passed during this session. Collier, ii. 755.

[1] Guthry, 7, &c.

[2] Guthry's *Mem.* 9.

[3] Ibid. 12, and Collier, ii. 770.

[4] xi. 163.

had been much less careful than his father[1] in appointing proper men to the several sees as they became vacant, and in the selection of those whom he chose, he had been guided by personal favour, as well as the hope of promoting his own political ends; and probably much influenced by Laud, who fancied the advancement of churchmen into the higher offices of state was likely to benefit the cause of the church. But the great evil in Scotland was, that party was allowed to trample on law and justice, so that men sought for power in self-defence; and when further disturbances arose, neither the one side nor the other had any other principles than those of using to the utmost the power with which they were invested. The ruling party was, for the time, generally the most in fault, as having the greater means of doing wrong; and from 1610 to the date of these events, the country had been oppressed by the episcopalians, and their opponents were in secret brooding over their discontent and the prospects of revenge.

§ 567. (A.D. 1637.) It was at this time, and under these circumstances, that Charles[2] endeavoured to introduce the new liturgy. He had originally intended to send down the English Common Prayer Book, but the advice of some of the Scotch bishops had induced him to alter this plan, and to substitute one which might belong peculiarly to themselves, though it corresponded very nearly with that of the church of England (a). This was drawn up in Scotland,[3] chiefly, in all probability, by Weederburn, dean of the Chapel Royal, Edinburgh, but overlooked by Laud, Juxton, and Wrenn. In the year 1635 certain canons[4] had been sent down to Scotland as the first step in the intended alterations: and these, without any other sanction than that of a proclamation from the king, directed throughout that the forms of the liturgy, not then published, should be used. If the king had possessed a right of imposing canons and a liturgy without the concurrence of the church, a right quite incompatible with the political existence of any church, this method of proceeding would have been very impolitic, as it could only irritate the nation, and prepare them for resistance whenever any tumult should give them an opportunity of showing their dislike. The discontented party had long been in correspondence with the nonconformists in England, and they well knew the strength which their friends possessed in that country. The persons who were chiefly engaged[5] in promoting this step, with regard to the canons and liturgy, were some of the Scotch bishops who had been most lately raised to their

(a) See App. E. *History of the Common Prayer*, § 748 (b).

[1] Guthry, 14. [2] Fuller, xi. 160. [3] Collier, ii. 767.
[4] Heylin's *Laud*, 298. [5] Guthry, 14.

office, and who, having been advanced by interest, not dependent on the older bishops, never cordially joined with them, but hurried on the introduction of the liturgy without foreseeing the danger. Laud[1] had frequently urged them to take care that their proceedings were according to the law of Scotland, which he did not pretend to understand; but they, supposing probably that the power of the court and the archbishop would carry them through in a point on which the king's heart was much set,[2] and neglecting the advice of the older bishops, prepared the liturgy, and procured its adoption without any of those authorized forms with which it ought legally to have been received.

§ 568. When therefore it was first read at Edinburgh (July 23), it is not wonderful that it was received with so much tumult, that the lives of those who performed the service were endangered, and that there was no readiness on the part of the magistrates or nobility to defend the insulted prelates, or to punish those who were guilty of the disturbance. The enemies of episcopacy rejoiced in these failures, and the mass of the nobles, and those in authority, were not sorry to observe the overthrow of a project, which had been carried on without their advice by churchmen, of whose exaltation into civil offices they were peculiarly jealous. Those among the lower clergy who were friends to episcopacy, and who probably would have shown themselves in greater numbers, if the interests of the bishops had been managed with any prudence, were offended that the introduction of the liturgy had been carried on without their advice, or the forms which were necessary to render it legal, and therefore little disposed to befriend or support steps which were thus imprudently taken. After several applications had been made to London, Hamilton, as commissioner from the king, ultimately rescinded all that had been done, convoking a general assembly at Glasgow, and calling a parliament for the next spring. He is generally[3] accused of duplicity and cunning in all these transactions, and there is some evidence apparently against him; but his line of policy was in reality much sounder than that of Laud, and his fidelity seems adequately established by his subsequent sufferings and death. It is obvious that any friend of the court of Charles I. would have been esteemed a traitor, who had given that advice which we should now deem to have been for the real advantage of the king and the nation; and, be it remembered, that the marquis of Montrose,[4] who was undoubtedly a patriotic royalist, was at this time on the side of the covenanters. This appellation was assumed by those who were enemies to the

[1] Heylin's *Laud*, 326. [2] Guthry, 16. [3] Ibid. 34–48–109. [4] Ibid. 32–49.

liturgy, and to the arbitrary power of the throne, from a solemn league and covenant(a) now framed, and to which the subscriptions of all those who approved of the cause were affixed. Hardly any steps could have tended more strongly than this, to mix up church politics with civil: for among the various objects of the confederacy, the second was to root out prelacy, *i. e.* church government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors, commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy; and the third, to preserve the privileges of parliament and the kingdom. The proceedings of the assembly at Glasgow[1] (1638), were such as might have been expected. The church had been tyrannised over for a time, and when allowed to express its feelings, broke down all barriers, continued its sessions after it had been legally dissolved by the king's commissioner, and went on to rescind at once all that had been established since 1605, *i. e.* episcopacy, the articles of Perth, the canons, and liturgy. These steps naturally and necessarily led to a civil war. Leslie was appointed to the command of the army which they levied; the castle of Edinburgh fell into their hands, and the king was forced to treat, and make peace with his rebellious subjects.

§ 569. The same steps had been leading silently to the same result in England. The power exercised by Laud, not only disgusted the nobility who might be deemed his rivals, and who found themselves supplanted by churchmen, but the severity exercised by some of the bishops on their nonconformist brethren, was likely to render the lower and more numerous portion of the members of the establishment hostile to the government of the church, and consequently not friendly to that of the state, which

(a) N.B. There were two covenants: the first signed by James I., 1580, and the one here mentioned. They are far from corresponding. They are printed in the *Confession of Faith*, &c., of the assembly of divines at Westminster. This may be found in Fuller, xi. 201, and in many other historians; the abstract of it is as follows. The preface declares the deplorable state of religion in the three kingdoms to be the origin of this act; in which, after the custom of this and other godly nations, they enter into the following covenant:

1. 'That they should reduce the church of England and Ireland to the same model as that of Scotland. They agree—

2. 'To extirpate popery, prelacy, and superstition, and to establish godliness.

3. 'To defend the rights of parliament and the liberty of the kingdom, the person and authority of the king.

4. 'To discover and punish all malignants, hinderers of reformation, &c.

5. 'To preserve the peace of these kingdoms.

6. 'To defend and assist all those who have entered into the covenant.

7. 'To humble themselves for the sins of the nation, and to try to reform them.'

[1] Guthry, 41.

upheld it. When Laud was made archbishop[1] (1633), he pressed conformity, and attended much to the ceremonies of the church, so that a preacher was censured for saying, that the night was approaching, since shadows were growing so much longer than the bodies, and ceremonies regarded more than the power of godliness. In his eagerness in this respect he not only enforced those ceremonies which had been appointed, but took great delight in increasing the number of them. He had put up a crucifix on the altar[2] in Westminster Abbey at the coronation; had used considerable pomp in the consecration of churches, adopting an office (a) composed by Andrews, bishop of Winchester, which corresponds almost entirely with the service of the church of Rome; had directed the communion tables to be surrounded with rails, and the communicants to approach the altar, and caused various genuflexions and bowings to be used on entering and leaving the church. Most of which ceremonies were in themselves very innocent, and it was natural, at a time when the neglect of them was growing into fashion, that a man of Laud's views should studiously observe them; but it was madness to suppose that the enforcing them would cure the evil, or fail to irritate and augment the disorder. Pure Christianity, when placed near fanaticism, or formalism, will ordinarily soon gain the ascendant over either the one or the other, but extremes are little likely to produce a cure to their opposite evils.

§ 570. Laud,[3] however, was not contented with putting in force the existing laws, or practising such ceremonies as he himself approved; but when, in 1640, Charles was compelled to call a parliament, which he so soon dissolved, to the regret of all good men, the convocation which was then assembled proceeded to frame a body of canons, and continued their session beyond the existence of the parliament. These canons were put forth to the world at a moment when every one was ready to cavil at the acts of legitimate authority, and under circumstances which might have rendered them questionable at any other time, inasmuch as it was presumed by many, that upon the dissolution of the parliament its sister assembly ceased at the same moment. The convocation was in fact now changed into a synod, in which capacity, to use the words of Lord Clarendon,[4] it 'made canons, which it was thought it might do; and gave subsidies out of parliament, and enjoined oaths, which certainly it might *not* do: in a word, did many things, which in the best of times might have been questioned, and therefore were sure to be condemned in the worst; and

(a) See an outline of the history of this office, § 750.

[1] Fuller, xi. 150. [2] Collier, ii. 736. [3] Fuller, xi. 168. [4] *Hist.* i. 148.

drew the same prejudice upon the whole body of the clergy, to which before only some few clergymen were exposed.'

The canons themselves are such as prove the violence of those who framed them, who must have been actuated by despair or fatuity to select such a time for their publication. They enact[1] that every officiating minister shall, on some one Sunday in every quarter, insist on the divine right of kings, and on their prerogatives, in which the power of taxing was indirectly implied. That the day of the king's inauguration shall be carefully observed. They were very severe against Papists, Socinians, and all sectaries. In order to support the establishment, an oath was imposed against innovations, in which every clergyman, or person taking a degree, was to swear, 'that he would not consent to alter the government of the church by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, &c.;' a form sufficiently equivocal, and which acquired for the oath the name of the '*et cætera* oath.' It was ordered that the communion table should stand as in the cathedral church; that it should be railed in, and the people approach the holy table when they received; and that on entering and quitting church they should do obeisance. Every preacher was directed to enforce in his sermons, twice every year, conformity to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England (a).

The effects of such a proceeding were obvious. The state of the question between the king and the people at this moment was, whether they should be governed constitutionally by law, or by the arbitrary proceedings of the court, whether they should possess the right of taxing themselves, or whether the security of their property were to depend on the necessities of those who governed them: whether the petition of rights were to be observed or no. Whoever, therefore, among the clergy had followed these canons, as to their spirit, must have taken a part in the great question at issue, in favour of the court. The words indeed of the canon are very cautiously chosen, so as to assert in general terms only the right of kings to tribute, custom, and aid, while the property of the subject is secured, a position which no Christian will deny; but the question was, whether the king had a right to collect that tribute as he pleased, and to dispense with the laws of the country.

§ 571. It is difficult to give a distinct view of the feelings of the country with regard either to church or state, without entering into a protracted discussion, which must be little suited to this work; but as it is impossible to understand the condition of the

(a) Walker, in his *Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 7, supposes that these canons are now as much binding as those of 1603. This is very questionable; see § 756, or the Act 13° C. II., ch. 12.

[1] Sparrow's *Collection*.

kingdom without doing so, a brief outline must be attempted. Every real friend to his country, who understood the circumstances under which England was then placed, must have desired a reformation both in church and state. The power of the king was so ill defined, that it was scarcely possible for an honest man to have served him without great compunction; and however little Charles might have wished to play the tyrant, it is difficult for a king to restrain his ministers, if arbitrary power be once placed in their hands. Such a power indeed might be easily borne by the people, were it not for the ramifications to which it is liable; for a monarch, unless he be unbendingly severe on his immediate servants, becomes, against his will, a tyrant to every one of his subjects who is exposed to the arbitrary government of those whom he trusts. The court of ecclesiastical commission had frequently exercised severity, and sometimes cruelty, on those who were called before it, and the people had indistinctly mixed up the idea of the church government under which they groaned, with episcopacy and the higher offices in the church. It was this which gave rise to the supposed necessity of imposing the *et cætera* oath; and the very nature of that oath tended to countenance the error. Laud and his party were justly alarmed at the spirit of innovation which they beheld; and in their attempts to maintain what was valuable, they were too fearful to allow that any part of the fabric was unsound, and endeavoured to defend the whole, corruptions and all. The honest party, on the other side, who were anxious for the correction of abuses, found that they had no hopes of accomplishing their projected reforms, except by breaking down the barriers of what was in itself excellent; but which they were forced to couple with the evils which they wished to remedy, because the same defence was thrown around both: nor can it be doubted, that the enemies of the ecclesiastical constitution rejoiced to perceive the church thus imprudently connected with the errors of the state. The three parties, therefore, in the kingdom, with reference to the church, were: 1, the high church party; 2, those who were desirous to see the church reformed, and the excessive power of the hierarchy diminished (a); and 3, those who were eager to establish the presbyterian government at the expense of the higher offices in the church. This latter part was at first in all probability very small,[1] till political circumstances augmented their

(a) Baxter says (*Life*, i. 33), 'Almost all those afterwards called presbyterians were before conformists;' and 35, 'that those who were the honour of parliament, were previously conformists. It was an episcopal and Erastian parliament of conformists that took up arms in England against the king' (iii. 149); 'they knew but one presbyterian in the House of Commons.'

[1] Clarendon, ii. 283. Heylin's *Laud*, 503.

power, and threw the preponderance into their hands; but the impolicy of which Laud was guilty, consisted of alienating the moderate party, and driving them into the interests of the enemies of the state. The same observations will apply with almost equal truth to the political parties which existed in the kingdom; and indeed the whole discussion appears to belong to the state rather than to the church. Episcopacy, presbytery, and independency, were made the watchwords of parties; but the real question throughout was a political one, and took its religious aspect rather from the connexion with Scotland, than because the parties in England were contending about the government of the church. The political reformers attacked the church, partly because a churchman was governing the country, and partly because the feelings of the people were irritated against the power of the church as an engine of oppression, and partly because the votes of the bishops gave a preponderance in the House of Lords to the friends of the court. The mass of the country wished perhaps that the episcopal authority should be curtailed, but there was probably no general objection to episcopacy itself.

§ 572. Such seems to have been the state of parties when the long parliament was assembled (Nov. 6th), and one of its earliest acts was to appoint a committee of religion,[1] consisting of the whole house: this subsequently branched off into divers sub-committees, one of which took the appellation of 'the committee for providing preaching ministers and removing scandalous ones' ([a]). The practical effect of these committees was to intimidate the clergy, as well as to bring them into disrepute; for the mere fact of being brought before a tribunal, usually called 'the committee of scandalous ministers,' could not fail to load the obnoxious clergymen with a certain degree of obloquy. The crimes which were ordinarily charged on the unfortunate delinquents who were brought before this mock court of justice, were with regard to those ceremonies which by law they were bound to observe: and the reformers who were forward in maintaining the sanctity of the law, when the other party violated it, were guilty of the same injustice when power fell into their own hands. Indeed, one great misfortune during the whole struggle was, that neither side could feel secure under the protection of the laws: the royal prerogative had first taught the people that all bands were too weak to secure their liberty; and when the day of retribution

([a]) The several chairmen of these committees, by whose names they are frequently designated, were, White, Corbet, Sir Robert Harlow, Sir Edward Dering.

White's was probably the same as that for plundered ministers, formed to provide for such godly ministers as had suffered through the king's soldiery: it was nick-named 'the committee for plundering ministers.' Walker, *Suff.* 62–83.

[1] Walker's *Suff.* 62, 63.

came, the popular faction sought to make themselves safe by overturning the whole power of their adversaries.

§ 573. The chief attacks against the church, during the early session of this parliament, aimed at destroying its civil authority; because, when that was effected, no one could expect to find any great difficulty in overthrowing the whole fabric of the establishment. It is perhaps in the abstract desirable, that men peculiarly dedicated to the service of God should possess as little temporal power as possible, for every act wherein coercive authority is used, must tend to destroy the influence of our spiritual advice, which is the proper province of the clergy; but he must be very ignorant of human nature, who supposes that property can fail to confer power, or that the attempt to take away the power, which is alone able to defend it, can be made without creating an insecurity to the property itself. The attack began by a general outcry against the temporal power of the church; the lord keeper was ordered to leave out the clergy from the commission of the peace; and a bill was brought forward, though without success, to deprive the bishops of their votes in the house of lords. Sir Edward Dering, indeed, proposed one which would have destroyed at once bishops, deans, and chapters; but the question was moved rather as an experiment to try the house, than from any idea that it would pass. The clamour, however, which was raised by the mob without, and the countenance which they received within the house, at length drove the bench to a step[1] which led to their final exclusion; for towards the end of the year, the population of London became so violent against episcopacy, and threatened the lives of the bishops with so much vehemence, that, having been forced one night to fly from the house by stealth, they met together, and signed a protest against any of the proceedings of the house of lords during their forcible and involuntary absence. This document was put into the hands of Lord Keeper Lyttleton,[2] in order to its being produced when it had been approved by the king; but he unadvisedly, if no worse, brought it forward at once, and the poor bishops were sent to the Tower on a charge of high treason; a charge so absurd in itself,[3] that one of the lawyers friendly to the parliament declared, that they might as well have been accused of adultery. They were there detained for some time, till deprived of their votes, and presently after of their property. The hardship of these proceedings is described in a very Christian manner by Bishop Hall, in the tract here referred to. The coercive power of the spiritual courts had been before taken away by the act which deprived the high-commission court of its authority, when

[1] Fuller, xi. 186. [2] Hacket's *Williams*, ii. 178.
[3] Hall's *Hard Measure*; Wordsw. *Ecc. Biog.* v. 320.

its sister power of the star chamber had justly experienced the same fate. The destruction of these two courts was an act which well deserved the blessing of posterity, and we cannot but lament that these prosperous beginnings were so soon clouded by tyranny and oppression; but it was by the popularity of such acts that the parliament acquired its power, till the wickedness of some of the members, and the weakness of the king, broke down the barriers of right and wrong, and admitted all the miseries which the rebellion introduced.

§ 574 These steps met with less opposition than might have been expected from a nation which, on the whole, seemed favourable to the church; but it may be observed that they extended only to the diminution of the power of the hierarchy, and not to its utter destruction. Many friends of episcopacy might be glad to see the bishops dispossessed of their votes in the house of lords, and no friend of religion could be sorry to witness the downfall of the high-commission court; and this was the ultimate point which received the sanction of the king. When the war broke out, the parliament soon found the church, particularly the higher members of the establishment, not only faithful in their allegiance, but earnest in the cause of loyalty; and the consequence was, that they were forced to destroy them as partisans of their enemy; and many more clergymen[1] were dispossessed of their preferments as malignants, than as scandalous ministers. These circumstances ruined individual clergymen and weakened the body; but in all probability the adverse faction would never have been able to alter the constitution, and thus to annihilate the church of England as a church, had not the hopes[2] of bringing over the Scotch to their cause, ultimately induced those who were anxious to carry their political objects at any rate, to consent to the establishment of a presbyterian government.

§ 575. It may be expected that something should here be said of the growth of a faction which converted the monarchy into a republic, and a church governed by bishops into a presbytery; that some account should be given of the means whereby these steps were accomplished: but after having detailed most of the false measures which connected the church with the downfall of the state; after having premised that the government was such as no wise man could wish to support, while those who were at the head of it resisted all legitimate reform springing from parliamentary discussion, it need hardly be added, that the instruments corresponded with what might naturally have been expected. Factious lecturers and preachers will never be wanting where there are violent parties in the church, and reasonable causes of com-

[1] Walker, *passim*. [2] Clarendon's *Hist.* ii. 117.

plaint. Demagogues are the production of every country and period, but they are only dangerous when the sober and thinking part of the population are discontented. The strong arm of power may put them down for the moment, but a strong arm, unless supported and nourished by a healthy body politic, will tend but to weaken the system, through its unnatural exertions. The nation, by observing abuses, became overheated and restless, and the court dared not feel the pulse of the public by calling a parliament, till the fever was too violent to admit of ordinary remedies. The concessions made by the king in the different acts of parliament which he passed, might have satisfied the kingdom, had they been offered at an earlier period, when they would have been received as a favour; but being, as it were, torn from his grasp by the violence of the houses, the very facility with which they were yielded, made those who had obtained them doubtful whether they were sincerely granted; and the leaders of the commons, with the view of securing their own safety, demanded that the militia should be intrusted to such men as they could confide in, *i. e.*, to themselves; and because the king wisely refused to resign this last bulwark of the throne, they put themselves in a posture of defence, and began the civil war.

§ 576. As the fate of the church depended for a time on the state of the war, it may not be amiss to exhibit a brief outline of its progress, particularly as the complicated nature of such a warfare must render it difficult to acquire an accurate notion of what took place as a whole (a).

A.D. 1642. August 25. The royal standard was raised at Nottingham,[1] under most unfavourable prospects; but the loyalty of the nation soon put the king at the head of a respectable force, with which he encountered the Earl of Essex at Edge-hill, and gained a considerable advantage over him (Oct. 23). This gave the royalists the command of the centre of the kingdom, and established their head-quarters at Oxford, a town peculiarly well suited for carrying on the war, as well from the influence of the place itself, as the associations fixed in the minds of many of those who were destined to take a part in the contest. It was, too, from its central position, in a military point of view, an acquisition of no slight importance. His majesty afterwards advanced towards London (Nov. 13), and was engaged for some days at Brentford; but the citizens, supported by the remnant of Essex's army, contrived to defend the ground which they had occupied, and he was forced to retire to Oxford, leaving a garrison at Reading.

(a) The following abstract of the war is taken from Clarendon and Ludlow.

[1] Clarendon, i. 720.

§ 577. (A.D. 1643.) In the next spring the Parliament were able to recover Reading, but the general appearance of the contest was decidedly against them. In the west, Sir R. Hopton had made himself master of the open country, and proceeded to aid the royal forces in taking Bristol (July 25); and had not the king foolishly wasted time in the siege of Gloucester, there would probably have been no army sufficiently strong to prevent his marching to London. This delay, however, allowed the parliament to collect a considerable body of troops; and when (Sept. 5) they advanced towards the royal army, the siege was raised, and the first battle of Newbury (Sept. 20) subsequently fought, which obliged the king, though he was not beaten, to retire upon Oxford, instead of prosecuting the campaign.

§ 578. (A.D. 1644.) In the beginning of the next year the Scotch army began its march southward. They had been urged and invited so to do by commissioners sent down for this express purpose, who, on their return to London,[1] brought back with them the solemn league and covenant, which the Scotch were particularly anxious to enforce on their English brethren. The English wished to have made a civil alliance, but the presbyterians would consent to no terms without the alteration of the church government; and the necessities of the parliament induced them to consent to this unreasonable proposal. Up to this period, the war was in favour of the king, and in the beginning of this very year, the relief of Newark (March 22), by Prince Rupert, and his other successes, made the general aspect continue so, till the loss of York, after the battle of Marston Moor (July 2), reduced the whole of the north of England under the power of the parliament. The Marquis of Newcastle had been exerting himself in the preservation of the interests of the king, not only against the forces which were raised in the north of England for the parliament, but against the Scotch army, under Leslie, and was besieged by them in York. Prince Rupert had succeeded in throwing relief into the place, and all might have done well, had he been wise enough to have been contented with this; but in his hasty anxiety to gain a victory, which, if won, could produce little effect, he put the whole to the issue of a battle, lost it, and with it, not only York, but the whole of the king's interests in that part of the country. This blow might have been fatal to the whole cause, had it not been balanced by the surrender of the forces of the Earl of Essex[2] in the west, who, having proceeded too far in that direction, was cooped up at Fowey (Sept. 2), in Cornwall. As for himself, he was obliged to retire by sea; his cavalry cut their way through the enemy, and his foot were made prisoners. But even this success

[1] Neal's *Puritans*, iii. 56.

[2] Ibid. iii. 89.

on the part of the king was on his return towards Oxford counteracted by the second battle of Newbury (Oct. 27), where the Earl of Manchester, and Waller, met him; and after a brisk encounter, in which both sides suffered much, and scarcely any advantage was gained by either, it became evident that the royalists possessed no decided superiority over their opponents.

§ 579. The fate of the war was even now, in a great degree, undecided, as far as fighting is concerned; but the parliament had learnt their faults, and discovered the remedy for them, while the evils which accompanied the army of the king daily increased. The discipline of the troops of both parties had from the first been exceedingly bad. The royal army was composed of a gallant band of armed and mounted gentry, who at the moment when they charged were everything which a general could desire; but at other times subject to very little control, and almost ungovernable when they had met with success, or experienced a reverse of fortune. The stern severity exhibited by the puritans induced the royalists to despise even the form of godliness; so that to be religious and a gentleman, became, in the opinion of the multitude, contradictory terms; the chief officers themselves were guilty of the grossest vices, particularly of drunkenness; and the lawless proceedings of the troops alienated the minds of many of the people from the royal cause; a state of things which engendered contention among those who should have governed, and disobedience among those who should have obeyed. The soldiers of the parliament were collected chiefly by the hopes of pay, and when they had gained advantages in the field, they were apt to turn them to their personal profit, a species of fault which was much more easily cured than the disorganisation which prevailed among the other party; while the appearance of strict religion which was maintained among them answered many of the purposes of military discipline. But the alteration which now took place in the management of the interests of the parliament produced an entire change in the whole face of their affairs.

§ 580. Essex had probably wished to become the arbitrator of the war[1] rather than to conquer the king; he foresaw that the complete success of either party must lead to the destruction of the constitution; this produced a want of decision in his councils, and led to disgrace in the field, while his ill success perhaps contributed much to the facility with which the self-denying ordinance passed. The country had long been scandalised by the interested manner in which offices were assigned to the members of the two houses, and the act which received this denomination consisted in a vote which disabled all who sat in either house from holding any situation of

[1] *Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, i. 347. Calamy's *Baxter*, 53.

power or emolument. The step was on many grounds necessary, since the parliament was even now becoming intolerable from its tyranny and selfishness; but it enabled those who were secretly promoting their own advancement, to remodel the army according to their own wishes, and to raise up a power which ultimately overcame the party which employed it. It is difficult to account for the ease with which Cromwell retained his command in the army, together with his seat in the house, unless indeed we conclude that he was the secret contriver of the whole; but the wisdom of this arrangement soon became evident; for when the army in its new state took the field, it was obvious that the prospects of the royal party were annihilated. Fairfax seemed to have possessed much military talent, but to have been too honest a man to enter deeply into the cabals of the rebellion; he kept his men in order, beat his enemies when he met them, and was ever ready to give them, when beaten, the best terms which the interest of his own party would allow. Cromwell was equally good as an officer, but he understood human nature, and was willing to leave no stone unturned to accomplish the object which he had probably now begun to entertain. He had clearly seen from the first that an embodied gentry(a) must easily surpass in the field troops composed of mechanics and servants; but he perceived and taught the world that religion, tinctured with fanaticism, was a more powerful motive of action than a sense of honour; and that the love of freedom, with which the yeomen of the country were then inspired, was at least as powerful a stimulant as the desire of dominion, which animated the nobility and royalists. He had always shown that he was no friend to half-measures, and his talents had given confidence to those whom this circumstance united to his interest; when, therefore, the self-denying ordinance had cleared away many who were looking to a compromise, the opposite party might succeed in continuing the command to one who had taken no prominent part in the business of the house, and who was known to possess so much skill as a soldier.

§ 581. (A.D. 1645.) The campaign of Fairfax(a) was short and brilliant; he proceeded from London in the spring, threatened

(a) In this contest the generality of the nobility, most of the knights and gentry, adhered to the king, and were followed by their tenants and the poorer sort of people; with the parliament were the smaller part of the upper orders, and the greater of the tradesmen, freeholders, and middle sort of men, particularly in manufacturing corporations, together with those who were more precise in religion (Calamy's *Baxter*, 46).

(a) The whole of this war is fully detailed in Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva*, a work which is sometimes attributed to Nathaniel Fiennes. It is observed by Baxter (*Life*, p. 49), that the commission of Fairfax now omitted the words, 'in defence of the king's person,' and so changed the cause of the war.

Oxford with a siege, but soon followed the motions of the king. Charles, finding himself unexpectedly in the neighbourhood of the enemy, it was determined to risk a battle; and the precipitancy of Prince Rupert, as on many other occasions, contributed to lose the battle of Naseby (June 14), a loss which destroyed all the prospects of the royalists. Fairfax now proceeded to the west, and rapidly reduced everything under his command. This so utterly dispirited the king, who had been wandering about as far as Wales, and had returned to Oxford with little hopes of assistance, that the next spring he put himself into the hands of the Scotch, and sent an order to the governor of Oxford to surrender the place, and the war was terminated in favour of the parliament. The fate of the royal cause had indeed long been decided by the mutual jealousies with which this party was distracted. The mass of those who composed the court were contending for honours and indulging in mutual disputes, when the enemy was preparing to swallow them up; and Charles had never energy or firmness enough to take the command of the whole into his own hands, or to place it at the disposal of any other efficient person. The headlong gallantry of Prince Rupert was of serious inconvenience to the cause, but by no means so injurious as the want of confidence in himself, under which the king laboured, and which prevented him from assuming that authority which might have restrained the turbulence of his party; nor is it rash to assert that his majesty would probably have directed his own counsels as well, or better, than any other individual engaged in the contest, had he only been decided and firm.

§ 582. It is difficult to conceive the state of a country more wretched than that of England during this period. There was war raging in every corner of the land; the movements of the armies, indeed, were comparatively confined, but the preparations for the contest, and the bitterness of it, were spread over the whole. There was much of virtue marshalled on both sides, and both sides were supported by a host of selfish and interested partisans. The first exertions of the parliament were the struggles of freemen too eager to vindicate their rights; but they soon outstepped the limits which freedom should have dictated, and violated every principle of justice in murdering Lord Strafford, under the form of a bill of attainder; and impeaching Laud of treason, of which he was undoubtedly innocent. Lord Strafford had been guilty of such an exercise of arbitrary power and tyranny(a) as may fairly have disqualified him from holding any subsequent command. He had himself trampled on law: the lesson was easily learnt by his

(a) See some excellent observations on this trial in Phillips's *State Trials*.

opponents; and Charles, by giving way to the unjustifiable bill for his attainder, and perpetuating the parliament, embittered the remainder of his own life; and, by consigning his friend and servant to the block, prepared the scaffold for himself. The case of Laud was different from that of Strafford, both in his criminality and in his sufferings. The difficulty of estimating the character of Laud consists in our being unable to determine the standard by which his conduct is to be measured. If we regard him as a Christian bishop, the picture will be in many respects sadly deficient; to look upon him merely as a statesman is to degrade the sacred office with which he was invested; to view him only as a man is to divest him of all that is worth examining, and to pass sentence concerning those particulars on which God only is the judge. On whatever ground he is placed, the opinions and the prejudices of the writer can hardly fail to mix themselves up in the estimate: none but a churchman could write a life of Laud, and few churchmen are sufficiently free from the same feeling as prevailed in his day, to form the estimate fairly. A temperate life of the archbishop would be a most valuable acquisition to the Church History of our country.

§ 583. Laud was a man of an upright heart and pious soul, but of too warm a temper, and too positive a nature, to be a good courtier, a good ruler, or perhaps a good man. The great objects which he had in view were such as every honest man would approve, but his method of pursuing those objects produced much of the misfortunes with which these unhappy times were marked. The times wherein he lived were fraught with the utmost difficulty, and the experience of past ages had given those who were engaged in governing the kingdom no clue which might extricate them from these difficulties. The nation had arrived at that point wherein it was necessary that it should become free or be enslaved. A powerful government, such as that of Elizabeth, might have delayed the catastrophe, or have thrown the country backward into a lower moral and intellectual condition by rivetting the chains of slavery; but an arbitrary government cannot exist with an enlightened people, and a government could hardly fail to be arbitrary, which possessed two such courts as the star-chamber and the high commission. The church was attacked on all sides; but it is more than probable that the temporal power of the higher members of it was the chief cause of these attacks. Laud saw the danger, and in order to defend the establishment, and to give it strength, he tried to advance churchmen into offices of power and authority. In Scotland[1] the archbishop of St. Andrew's was, through his means, made lord chancellor, and several of the bishops privy coun-

[1] Clarendon, i. 85—87.

sellors; with this view he himself became a commissioner of the treasury; and when he had made Juxon lord treasurer, he writes in his diary,[1] 'And now if the church will not hold up themselves, under God, I can do no more.' The consequence was that the church became hated by the people; and a body possessed of property which is generally disliked, can hardly be preserved in times of civil commotion. Laud foresaw perhaps the danger to which religion would be exposed, if the violent decisions of the synod of Dort[2] generally prevailed: he foresaw perhaps the tendency towards the presbyterian government, which the Calvinists were creating, and he endeavoured to counteract it by advancing those only who were in their theological sentiments opposed to this party; thereby concentrating against the high church all the strength of those who differed from him on the five points, and who could never hope to obtain any promotion, unless the whole principles of the men who had now the ascendancy were overturned (a). Moderate churchmen, who were suspected of favouring Calvinism, were driven into the party which Laud was trying to destroy, and added to its strength; and there was a further danger, that every religious man would be called a Calvinist, and thus forced to rank himself as hostile to the archbishop.

Laud perceived that there was a growing disinclination to ceremonies, and in order to remedy the evil he enforced them with severity. He was an arbitrary and stout man, and he dared any one to oppose his authority: and this unfortunately converted unimportant trifles into serious matters of dispute. The nonconformists were probably the more guilty of the two parties, in giving importance to ceremonies; but they who punished them were certainly not wise in enforcing the observance of outward rites, till obedience was converted into a real scruple of conscience. By a singular combination of these several causes, it so happened, that religion appeared to be marshalled against the stability of the royal government, and that men were led to believe, that they were engaged in the cause of God, while they were taking measures which must tend to throw down and destroy the authority which God had given to the king. As a minister of the crown, Laud beheld with dismay an influence which he knew not how to control, and was alarmed at the growing power of the parliament; so that he did his utmost to prevent the necessity of assembling any future one, and justified himself in his own mind, because he fancied that the king had performed the whole of his duty, in having sufficiently

(a) When a new list of chaplains was made out for the court, Laud was directed to mark them severally with an O or P, as being orthodox or puritan (Collier's *Hist.* ii. 733).

[1] P. 53.

[2] § 520.

tried the temper of that assembly. When, therefore, the archbishop found that the parliament, if assembled, insisted on the redress of abuses before they would grant any supplies, he exerted himself in raising money by every means within his reach. As his policy thus became arbitrary, he found no lack of persons who were ready to advocate and promote his plans; and it happened, as it always will happen in such cases, that he imagined his forward instruments to be following their own zeal, while they were but observing his, and trying, from interested motives, to gain his favour by outstripping the energy of his measures; of course such supporters fled from him when the hour of difficulty arrived. In one sense his proceedings were legal, for he endeavoured in every case to observe the law so far as to have it on his side; but he had no scruple in making the law bend to his wishes.

§ 584. The charges of treason which were exhibited against him are too absurd to merit much discussion. He had doubtless tried to render the government as arbitrary as he could, not to overthrow the constitution; he had endeavoured to alter the church of Scotland; and these were sufficient reasons why the people of England might dislike him as a prime minister, but amounted no more to treason than to any other crime. Of many of the offences with which he was charged, he was undoubtedly innocent; he was free from the very thought of bribery, and hostile to the pretensions and errors of the church of Rome; but because he did not wish to exterminate Roman Catholics, he was called a Papist; because he approved of some of the ceremonies of the Roman ritual, he was esteemed anxious to introduce her peculiar tenets into the kingdom. He probably[1] wished to effect some sort of compromise with that church; a step, perhaps, little to be desired, provided Christian charity prevail between the members of the two communions, and less to be hoped for, while she maintains her claims to supremacy and infallibility; and so sensible was that court of his friendly intentions[2] towards peace, that he was twice offered a cardinal's hat. But if he were guilty of ten times as much as this, it was no treason. He had made himself justly obnoxious to the dislike of the true friends of civil and religious liberty, and he was persecuted even unto death by men who had learnt to disregard both the one and the other. He had often, perhaps, perverted the course of justice; but the course of justice was never more sadly perverted than when he was consigned to the block. In his conduct as a man, there was much of littleness—much of an unchristian temper. In his diary there is a constant reference to dreams and other portents; and his treatment of Williams and Osbolston,[3] as well as of many others, precludes the possibility of supposing that he was not

[1] Fuller, xi. 217. [2] Heylin's *Laud*, 253. [3] See § 563.

influenced by personal feelings of revenge. In his defence, he generally argues that the act objected to him was the common decision of the council, and sometimes justified himself as having been guided by the king: this method might secure him against any legal punishment, but could never furnish him with a fair excuse, since the influence of such a prime minister must have been more than adequate to sway the council; and at all events, to bring forward such a defence takes from him the character of a hero, with which the circumstances in which he was placed might naturally invest him. As it was, he did not save his own life; and had he taken up a higher line of defence, had he justified his general conduct, on the grounds of those violences which had since verified the predictions of his own foreboding mind, he would have maintained a position which sound reasoners might believe to be untenable, but which every one must have acknowledged to have been nobly taken up. After all, however, he was a great man, in heart and intention sincerely a friend to the church, and a noble patron of learning. Had he fallen into other times, his character might have shone as one of the brightest luminaries of our country; had he pursued a different line of policy, and endeavoured to soften down the asperities of party feeling in that reformation of church and state, which was absolutely required, he might have been held up as the preserver of the establishment; whereas he was, perhaps more than any other individual, the secret cause of its destruction. He was possessed of enormous power, and, as he feared the popular nature of innovations, he threw the full weight of his influence into the opposite scale, and endeavoured to prevent them. He must not perhaps be regarded as the enemy of real reforms (a), but he did not perceive that the spirit of the times might be guided, but could not be controlled; and that reforms which proceed from those in authority are almost always safe, and generally beneficial; so that he continued to support abuses till the whole fabric of the state was overwhelmed in their ruin, and he himself buried in their downfall. Laud was never so great as while labouring under the oppressions of the parliament; he bore all their unjustifiable conduct (and few men have been treated worse) with a quiet composure, which his genuine religion afforded: and thanked God for having given him patience to endure that which his providence had laid upon him.

§ 585. The proceedings which have been already described, extended only to the destruction of what had previously existed in church and state. The royal authority was first resisted, and then

(a) See the instructions sent forth by his advice, in 1629, to bishops; and which, though they give peculiar directions about lectures, &c., yet are well calculated to reform the bishops themselves. They relate to residing within their sees, triennial visitations, &c. (Heylin's *Laud*, p. 199).

thrown down by the power of the sword. The bishops had been first frightened from sitting in the house of lords, and then, under the form of law, deprived of their votes. When the war began, they were declared delinquents for continuing their fidelity to the king, robbed of their property, and at length extirpated by the same ordinance (Jan. 1643) which destroyed all cathedral establishments. A proposal had been made by Archbishop Usher,[1] in 1641, when the first committee on church affairs was formed, to constitute such a species of government as should embrace the advantages possessed by episcopacy as well as the presbyterian form. The clergymen, churchwardens, and sidesmen were to compose a body for the direction of the parish. Chorepiscopi, or bishops rural, were to be established in every rural deanery, who should hold monthly assemblies. These were to be subjected to the power of the diocesan synod, and that to the provincial or national convocation. This system would have given the authority of a body to the discipline of the church administered by them; and the bishop or his delegate would in each case have been the legitimate president of the several boards: this plan, however, never took effect.

The desolation which had been caused by the war, was peculiarly felt with respect to the appointment of ministers who might fill the vacant cures; and as the bishops could not attempt to supply the deficiency thus created, the parliament were obliged to frame some sort of church government, which might succeed the one destroyed by them. They could hardly venture to interfere with the affairs of the church, without the sanction of some sort of ecclesiastical authority, and they therefore had recourse to a body, which, from the anomalous nature of its constitution, was not likely to raise any very decided opposition to such plans of amendment as they might think fit to adopt. With these views they called together the general assembly of divines at Westminster(a), a collection of men connected with the ministry, who might form a council for the parliament on such subjects pertaining to the church, as might be proposed to them by the two houses. They were not a convocation summoned according to any of the forms or principles which regulate that body. They resembled not the presbyterian synod, for there was not even the semblance of their being elected by their brethren; but consisted of such persons from the several counties, as the members of the two houses chose to congregate for their own assistance in spiritual and ecclesiastical matters. The clergymen thus convoked amounted to about one hundred and twenty, and to these, thirty lay members were added,

(a) This account of the assembly of divines at Westminster is almost wholly taken from Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. iii.

[1] Calamy's *Baxter*, 149. Collier, ii. 871, &c.

consisting of ten peers, and twice as many commoners, who possessed an equal share in the debates, and equal votes with the former. Many of the members, who were thus called on to join a party at open war with their sovereign, declined any connexion with their proceedings; but the majority, being all nominated by the two houses, lent their assistance to the cause of rebellion, and the places of those who did not engage in this affair, were quickly filled up by the superadded members. They met for the first time in Henry VIIth's chapel, on Sunday, July 1st, 1643.

§ 586. The members of whom this body was composed may be divided into three heads—the episcopalians, the presbyterians, and the independents. The first and last indeed formed but a very small part of the numerical force of the assembly, and this small number was soon diminished by the secession of the episcopalians, who were virtually excluded, by being called on to take the solemn league and covenant; for though an alteration was made in the terms of that document,[1] for the purpose of reconciling the friends of a moderate episcopacy, yet it was obvious that no one who had any regard for the church of England could long continue to act with men, who were bent upon destroying her sacred fabric root and branch. The contest, therefore, lay between the presbyterians and independents, and the numerical superiority possessed by the former rendered the struggle of the other party hopeless from the very first; a preponderance which the coalition with the Scotch exceedingly augmented. These two parties agreed in their aversion to the jurisdiction which the bishops had held over them, but they were little suited to any real co-operation.

§ 587. The presbyterians maintain that their discipline is derived purely from the conduct of the apostles, as exhibited in the word of God, and challenge a divine authority for their platform, with an exclusive dogmatism, which nothing but an express command of Omnipotence could sanction. According to their hypothesis, every parish forms a little republic of its own. The minister and lay-elders constitute a body-politic for its domestic government; a certain number of these, by a delegated authority, compose the classical assembly, which in its turn sends members to the provincial synod. These are under the superintendence of the national synod, and that in its turn is subject to the œcumenical. The system is well framed for giving considerable energy to its decrees, and for maintaining a due subordination among the several bodies, but is liable to great abuse by the power which is thrown into the hands of the individual clergyman; and had this discipline ever been introduced, without any of those checks which

[1] Neal, iii. 58.

could restrain its operation, the people of England would soon have learnt that the episcopal jurisdiction[1] which they had reduced, was little to be compared with the tyranny of that which they had established.[2]

§ 588. It is less easy to give any distinct account of the independents, since the name comprehends every species of Christians who hold the same opinion of the independence of each separate body of Christians. According to this hypothesis, wherever a congregation is assembled, into which the several members are admitted, and from which an exclusion may take place, there will exist a full and independent church, neither connected with, nor dependent on, any other body of Christians. There is perhaps in the abstract no absurdity in this tenet, but the slightest knowledge of human nature would show, that nothing but an immediate guidance from heaven, or the perfection of the individual members, could keep out the grossest heresies from societies thus constituted: and there are perhaps few errors which may not be detected among those who have denominated themselves independents. Liberty of conscience was the standard around which they rallied; and when the more sober independents found this assaulted by the presbyterians, they were forced to summon to their aid the assistance of every separatist, however strange his opinions might be. Nor, when supported by this force, would they have had any probability of success, if the temporal power which the presbyterians assumed, had not rendered their form of ecclesiastical government incompatible with the dominion which Cromwell was endeavouring to establish.

There was another faction which, though not directly advocated as a party in the assembly, found very able supporters among individuals on both sides, and met with the strongest co-operation from the prepossessions of the mass of those who were invested with civil authority. The Erastians were so called from Thomas Erastus,[3] M.D., a native of Baden, who became professor at Heidelberg. They maintained that the clergy should be possessed of no coercive power, that they might persuade the vicious, and try to reform the profligate, but that every species of punishment, whether civil or religious, should be vested in the civil magistrate alone.

§ 589. The first task in which the members of the assembly were engaged, was the alteration of the Thirty-nine Articles (a);

(a) The Articles in their altered state are printed in the Appendix to Neal (vol. v. p. liii.), No. 7, in columns parallel with the original Articles. The chief differences are, III. The 'descent into hell' is explained as 'being under the dominion of death.' VI. All mention of the

[1] Collier's *Church Hist.* ii. 866. [2] See § 591 (a). [3] Fuller, xi. 213.

and they had proceeded as far as the fifteenth, when the political connexion with Scotland, and the arrival of commissioners from that country, imposed the covenant upon the nation: a step which created a necessity for much greater changes, and turned their attention to the new modelling of the whole of the church government.

The most important question,[1] and one which was agitated with the greatest warmth, was respecting the nature of congregations generally, as forming the essential difference between the presbyterians and independents. In this discussion Lightfoot and Selden joined with the greatest earnestness, and brought forward their great learning, to show that the church at Jerusalem must have consisted of more congregations than one, and that the appeal from the church of Antioch would never have been made to that at Jerusalem, had they esteemed themselves an independent community. It is almost unnecessary to add, that the presbyterians carried their point; and, indeed, it is difficult to conceive any national establishment founded on independent principles. The presbyterians[2] wished that the divine right of their own form of church government should have been officially recognised, but this absurdity was obviated by a judicious motion of Whitelock, which recommended it generally, without touching on this delicate question. Whatever might have been the decision of these divines, it was probable that Erastian principles[3] must have prevailed, at least in the house of commons; for when the ordinance for suspending ignorant and scandalous persons from the Lord's Supper was passed, an appeal from the decision of the elders was allowed to take place,[4] which ultimately fell under the cognizance of the parliament; and all members of either house were, in such places as they resided, *ex officio* triers of the competency of the candidates for admission into the offices of the church. This point was more immediately brought into discussion[5] by the necessity of ordaining some ministers, in order to fill up the vacancies which various circumstances had occasioned in the church. Many of the orthodox divines had been driven from their cures, and the bishops, who had alone power to ordain new ministers, were all opposed to the pro-

Apocrypha is omitted. VIII. On the three Creeds, is wholly omitted. IX. 'Very far gone from original righteousness,' is changed into 'wholly deprived of.' XI. The imputation of Christ's obedience and satisfaction to us is introduced; and that God will not forgive the impenitent. XIII. 'Inspiration of his Spirit,' is rendered, 'regeneration of his Spirit.' 'They have the nature of sin' is rendered 'they are sinful.' N.B. This last change of expression takes place in the ninth. The several clauses in these Articles are accompanied with references to the texts on which they are founded.

[1] Lightfoot's *Genuine Remains*. p. xxv. [2] Neal's *Pur*. iii 236.
[3] Neal's *Pur*. iii. 240. [4] Ibid. 346—348. [5] Ibid. 126.

ceedings of the parliament. The house had at first committed to the assembly an authority for approving of such ministers as were nominated by the patrons to the several cures, but they soon found that a much more extensive supply was required; while their interest plainly pointed out the wisdom of introducing their own friends into situations which were likely to prove so influential on the opinions of the public. When, therefore, there appeared much difficulty in settling anything definitely, an ordinance was made, which conveyed to the assembly, *pro tempore*, the power of ordaining. The same ordinance was subsequently continued for three years, and then made perpetual.

§ 590. The works which this assembly gave to the public are the more interesting, because they have been retained as the authorised guide to those of our countrymen who still adopt the presbyterian form of church government. They consist of a Directory for worship and ordination; of a Confession of Faith; and two Catechisms, the larger and the shorter. Besides these, there is a form of presbyterian church government agreed upon by the assembly, but never authorised.

The Directory, as its name imports, does not itself contain a form of prayer, but gives the outline of such a service as every minister is left to himself to frame; a method which apparently offers some advantages, when the person officiating is possessed of any very peculiar talent for such compositions, but even then must always make the congregation depend on his abilities in a way far beyond what is desirable; but in the ordinary course of things, is liable to most serious objections, and must virtually tend to prevent all public devotion, since either the individual will relinquish the plan of extempore composition, by constantly using a form of his own (and this can hardly be expected to be so good as one composed by persons selected for the purpose), or his varying expressions will be apt to confuse the less enlightened part of his hearers.

The points on which the Directory essentially (a) differs from the service of the church of England are, that the lessons are read consecutively from Sunday to Sunday, and the Apocrypha is entirely omitted. The use of sponsors in baptism, and of the ring in marriage, is dispensed with; in the visitation of the sick nothing is said of confession or absolution; and the burial of the dead is accompanied with no religious rite. The rules about ordination are peculiarly indefinite; and the power vested in the hands of the presbytery seemed to lie open to the admission of

(a) The word *essentially* is used, since, under the directions given in the Directory, the church of England service might be employed, except in these particulars.

almost any one, provided he would take the covenant, and could satisfy his examiners of the evidence of his calling to the ministry, and of the grace of God which was in him. It is not, indeed, stated how this last particular is to be ascertained, and there must always be great danger of hypocrisy, when men become the witnesses of their own qualifications on points which admit of no definite proof.

The chief peculiarity of the doctrinal works is the prominence with which the tenet of predestination is brought forward. The confession[1] of faith of the assembly, however, is not exactly the same as the Articles published by the parliament, for only a part of it was authorised by them (b).

§ 591. The recommendations of the assembly[2] with regard to church government, are embodied in a tract which has been mentioned as published among their other works, and which, though approved of by the church of Scotland, never received any authority from the parliament. According to this, the officers of the church consist of pastors, teachers, other governors, and deacons. There seems no other difference between the two first, than as they mark out different duties of the same office. They constitute the only individuals who, in ordinary language, are called ministers, and are invested not only with the power of teaching, but combine in their persons a judicial authority, and, in conjunction with the elders, possess the right of expelling from the sacrament. It is in this that the chief difference consists between the episcopalian and presbyterian form of church government (a), with regard to discipline over the laity. The minister of the church of England may exclude, for the time,[3] an offending brother from the sacrament; but then he is bound (within fourteen days, by the Rubric introduced after the Savoy Conference), to inform the bishop, who is to proceed against the offender; so that it will be necessary for the clergyman so repelling, to have good grounds for all he does, and

(b) These works are frequently to be met with in a small 24mo vol. neatly printed. The solemn league and covenant, as well as the former covenant, form a part of the same little book. The Directory is also printed in the Appendix to Neal, No. 8, p. lxiii.

(a) In episcopal government the bishop is judge; in presbyterian, the minister and elders. If an episcopalian clergyman quarrel with any of his parishioners, he cannot excommunicate them without proving them guilty before a court, over which he has no control, and which has a control over him. The presbyterian may excommunicate *proprio jure*, and the party excommunicated must appeal, and the appeal will, in each case, lie to a court of which the clergyman may be a member, and therefore a judge in his own cause. The whole question of excommunication is one of great difficulty. Some good may arise from it in preventing scandal; but very little with regard to the offending party. See Baxter's own *Life*, i. 92.

1 Neal, iii. 320. 2 See § 587. 3 Rubric for the Lord's Supper,

to be able to prove his charge. Whereas by the presbyterian authority, the minister, together with the lay elders, is the judge of the propriety of such excommunication, and it remains with the offending party to appeal to the higher tribunal of a superior court, of which the clergyman in question may happen to be an influential member; at all events the person expelled will have to prove the original excommunication to have been wrong, and be subject to the *onus probandi*. Thus, whatever might have been the tyranny of bishops, the people would have gained little by erecting a bishopric in every parish. The other governors, or lay elders, were to compose a kind of council for the pastor, and are copied from the institutions of the Jewish church. Deacons[1] were, in strict conformity with their original appointment, persons selected to take care of the temporal wants of the indigent, a sort of overseers of the poor(b).

§ 592. This form of church government was nowhere established except in London and Lancashire, and was never invested with such authority as its friends demanded, since an ultimate appeal lay to the parliament. This was rendered absolutely necessary from the power which the church would otherwise have possessed, and which, had it been allowed to exert all the civil influence of which it was capable, might have proved as tyrannical to the republic as it did to James I., while he was subjected to its sway in Scotland. It is curious to observe the earnestness with which its advocates attacked this restrictive check, which the parliament were wise enough never to take off. The assembly of divines petitioned against it; the Scotch sent commissioners and remonstrated; but the amendments of the latter were burnt by the hands of the common hangman, and the assembly were informed that they had incurred a præmunire, by discussing subjects which were not proposed to them by the houses, and were requested to prove from Scripture, that the authority which they claimed was a *jus divinum*, and clearly established by the word of God. We have before seen the probable argument in favour of episcopacy,[2] which, if not perfectly convincing, is at all events much stronger than that for the presbytery, inasmuch as the voice of all authentic history concurs in establishing the fact, that at an early period bishops were a distinct order in the church, a point which the other party can never establish in favour of presbyterian government without them. And though these queries '*de jure divino*'[3]

(b) For further particulars concerning the presbyterian discipline, see § 587, and a note in Rapin, ii. 297; printed also in Neal, iii. 323; or the Burden of Issachar, printed in the *Phœnix*, ii. 260. There is a *Compendium of the Laws of the Church of Scotland*, published 1830, in Edinburgh.

[1] Acts vi. [2] See § 460. [3] Neal, iii. 279.

were answered by some individual ministers assembled at Sion College, yet they remained with the assembly without an answer, till the whole fabric was destroyed by the prevalence of independency.

§ 593. The tendency of the system of the independents was such, that under it no established religion could exist in the state, since every teacher, who was not deficient in life and good morals, might assemble a congregation wherever he pleased; and every society, having the means of excluding an offensive member from its communion, might be deemed a church to all intents and purposes. Any member of any religious community, who was ejected from one society, might enrol himself in another; so that the coercive discipline of the church was reduced to a mere nothing. It must be remembered that the church of England possesses in the bishop's courts a very considerable authority for the reformation of manners; that, at the period of which we are speaking, this was constantly exercised; and that the court of high-commission, by supporting and aiding the minor courts, and sometimes by superseding their authority, rendered the ecclesiastical discipline formidable, and in some cases oppressive. In the presbyterian government the authority was placed in lower hands, but by no means diminished; and in both cases, civil punishments were the consequence of neglected ecclesiastical censures. The point at issue, then, on the part of the independents was, whether there should be any coercive discipline at all; and it was perhaps natural, that an army, which had conquered the king, should not quietly surrender themselves to the rule of their priests. Religion, real or pretended, had contributed much to preserve the discipline of the army; and they who in the field guided the sword of the flesh, took upon them in the camp to use that of the Spirit, so that almost all the good officers of the parliament army became, by degrees, great preachers. The presbyterian form of church government is very republican, and it was partly from this reason that the republican party in the state favoured its establishment, though they never allowed it to possess an authority independent of themselves. When the army had subdued the king, the republicans wished them to lay down their arms; but, in the division of spoil among robbers, it is difficult to say nay to him who has the power in his own hands. The presbyterian ministry favoured the form of government which was best suited to themselves, and which their party deemed the legitimate authority of the country; but the army, with their preachers, were ready to say, in spiritual as well as temporal concerns, 'Who shall be lord over us?' It is impossible, as it was before observed, to state the exact nature of independency:[1] every separate church may vary, but the principle of it

[1] Neal, iv. 172.

is to destroy the existence of any priesthood at all. The presbyterian establishment continued till the Restoration, though it was shorn of its glory, and the bonds of its union and strength were broken.

The only place where the independents[1] had the power of establishing a church government of their own was in Wales; but what was there done was accompanied with so much manifest dishonesty, that it can be hardly admitted as a specimen of their principles.[2]

§ 594. Liberty of conscience was the aim of the independents, who wished also to subject the ministry to the power of the state. They may be identified with the army to a certain degree as the presbyterians became the same body with the republicans; and the struggle which remained lay between these two confederate bands. The king, by surrendering himself to the Scotch, who were combined with the presbyterians, became indirectly the prisoner of the parliament, till the army got possession of him through the violent seizure of his person by Cornet Joyce: both these parties possessed many individuals who were anxious to restore tranquillity by re-establishing a limited monarchy; but the violent partisans, who ruled their several proceedings, could hardly hope for safety if the king were restored, and must at all events have lost that influence which they had acquired. Anxious, therefore, for the destruction of Charles, the difficulty which remained consisted in the means whereby this object might be effected. The history of his escape from Hampton Court is so enveloped in obscurity, that the utmost we can do is to conjecture the real cause of it. The leaders of the army, who had for the time treated him with considerable civility, now wished for his death, and for a pretext on which they might found their change of conduct towards him: for this purpose they alarmed his fears, and facilities for his escape were afforded to his friends, of which they took advantage; while the general vigilancy of their guards made the flight from the kingdom almost impossible. It was thus, perhaps, that he left Hampton Court without the knowledge of the army, but was deceived in the hopes of finding a ship ready to convey him away. It was thus that he fell into the hands of the Governor of Carisbrook castle, and was detained as a prisoner till his removal for trial. It was necessary for Cromwell that the king should be removed. It was necessary for the army that they should not allow the king, by joining with the republican party, to annihilate the influence of the soldiery; and they cared perhaps less for the fate of Charles than for their own interests: had he escaped, they would have little regarded it, provided he did not join the parliament and the republicans.

[1] Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, i. 147—169.
[2] See § 608.

§ 595. The moderate republicans foresaw their danger, and were anxious to re-establish the king (a). The Scotch would have consented to his restoration, because they perceived the risk they ran of falling a prey to the English government, whatever it might be, and they were ready to adopt either loyalty or rebellion, provided their own interests were promoted. But Charles believed that the episcopal government of the church was the one which the apostles had established, and he had suffered too much by taking one false step (the death of Lord Strafford[1]) ever to adventure his soul on another act which was in direct violation of his principles. Had Charles consented to adopt the presbyterian form of church government, the party which was treating with him might possibly have been strong enough to restore him to a nominal throne; at least, he had good reason to believe this, and his resistance on this point obviously led to his death. The decision of the king on this question was by no means the effect of obstinacy, but of a thorough conviction, arising from a very perfect understanding of the argument. He was twice engaged in the dispute, and it fortunately happens that his papers are preserved.

In the first, Mr. Henderson,[2] who was deemed a learned and a moderate presbyterian, was sent to satisfy the king's doubts, while he was prisoner in the Scotch army at Newcastle (May 29–July 16th, 1646). The arguments of the king are nearly those which are before stated (§ 460); the answer of Henderson appears to be a *petitio principii*, and an avoiding of the question. There is not throughout a single argument on the *jus divinum* of presbyterian ordination (that is, an argument to show that episcopal ordination is not as consistent with the word of God as presbyterian); and this was what they virtually maintained in their sermons when they attacked episcopacy. The argument really is this. The point is not settled in Scripture, the expressions of which are not contradictory to either hypothesis: the presbyterian hypothesis is inconsistent with ecclesiastical history: which hypothesis therefore is the most probable? All Henderson says is, It is not settled in Scripture. Tradition is inadmissible into theological argument, or the papist must carry the day (b). Episcopacy has obviously done

(a) Many of those who had contributed to this catastrophe now saw the lengths into which they had been carried, and exerted themselves to hinder the event when it was too late. Forty-seven of the presbyterian ministers in London presented a petition to general Fairfax and his council of war, wherein they boldly and plainly rebuked a victorious army, and pointed out the villany of their proceedings (Collier, ii. 859).

(b) This is a position which the member of the church of England would never grant. We are ready to meet the Roman Catholics on the ground of tradition, when the meaning of that term is rightly settled.

1 *Life of Col. Hutchinson*, ii. 156.

2 *King Charles I. Works*, 75—90.

much harm to religion; therefore it ought to be cast out: had he been pleading for the reform of episcopacy, his argument would have been good, 'therefore it ought to be reformed.' One query of the king received no answer[1]—viz., What warrant is there in the word of God for subjects to endeavour to force their king's conscience, and to make him alter the laws against his will?

The discussion at Newport[2] (Sept. 18, 1648) is more fully drawn up, on the side of episcopacy, inasmuch as his majesty was here assisted by Usher, Sanderson, Sheldon, and Duppa, whereas in the other case all was done by himself: the presbyterian argument is well stated, but labours under the same difficulty; it avoids the real question. That in favour of episcopacy is not perhaps so sound as the king's at Newcastle: they assert that episcopacy[3] may be sufficiently proved from Holy Scripture; a position which a presbyterian would indubitably deny, and which cannot probably be carried beyond the point that it is in no wise inconsistent, but rather agrees with, the account there given of the church officers. Charles does not insist on the divine right, but puts these three questions,[4] to which no answer was made: 1. Did Christ and his apostles appoint any one form of church government? 2. If so, may this be changed by human authority? 3. Was this government episcopal or presbyterian (c)?

(c) The whole question of episcopacy, as debated by the presbyterians, is frequently confused, from not distinguishing between the order of bishops and their jurisdiction. If it be granted that bishops are a distinct order, it does not follow that they are to be the sole governors in the church. They are so, perhaps, too much in the church of England, and the result has been, not that they now tyrannize over the inferior clergy, as in the early days of the church of England, for in the present times the force of public opinion will sufficiently prevent this; but that ecclesiastical discipline among the clergy has been destroyed by the counteraction arising from the risk of their tyrannizing. Bishops in most cases, where a clergyman is concerned, are by law the sole judges, (at least their courts are, and the world does not know that a bishop's court is not the same thing as a bishop). They are forced, therefore, to shrink from the appearance of being unjust, and they may more truly perhaps be accused of not exerting the power which they possess. In many cases the expense of doing their duty is so enormous, and the difficulty of proving charges, though notorious, so great, that he must be very ignorant of human nature, who hastily passes censure on bishops in this particular. If a certain number of clergymen, chosen independently of the bishop, were appointed as his assessors and council, much of the personal responsibility would be taken off, and the opinion of the public would support ecclesiastical discipline, whereas it is now frequently arrayed against it on most false grounds. (See some observations on this head in p. 34, *Church Reform*, by a Churchman.) Something of this sort is directed in the 31st Canon with regard to ordinations; though, perhaps, it has hardly ever been practically adopted by any bishop. Here, according to our canon, the power of a bishop is limited; for he ought not to ordain without the presence of the dean, archdeacon,

[1] Letter, i. 76.
[2] *King Charles's Works*, 612—646.
[3] Letter, iii. 2, 616.
[4] Letter, iii. 9, 620, and 646.

The whole of these two discussions is well worthy the attention of any one who is anxious to examine into this point, and will leave on the mind of the reader a strong impression of the goodness and sense of the king. He seems to have comprehended the question fully, and to have acted upon it honestly, though it cost him his crown and his life. For when no concessions could be obtained from him, the party who wished for his death became sufficiently strong to perpetrate the murder; and he was brought to a mock

and two prebendaries, or at least four parsons, masters of arts, and allowed preachers; nor (35) without the candidates having been previously examined in the presence of at least three of them: a step which would greatly diminish the odium of rejecting candidates for orders. The neglect of this canon has not been to render bishops arbitrary in rejecting candidates for orders, but to admit improper persons into the church. In many cases the freehold of a clergyman is implicated in the question of his conduct, and God forbid that any man's property in England should be left unguarded: but it is surely but fair to the flocks over whom we are appointed to watch, that if we neglect our duty, and can be convicted before a jury of our fellow beneficed clergymen, we should be removable by law, without entailing a vast expense on the bishop, who only does his duty in dismissing an offending clergyman. The presbyterian church obviously possesses the advantages in point of discipline; but there is no reason why these advantages should not be transplanted into a church, which shall at the same time retain the apostolic order of bishops. Archbishop Usher's (§ 585) plan would have combined many of the advantages of these two forms of government; and probably the only hopes which we can reasonably entertain of ever seeing ecclesiastical discipline over the clergy effectually re-established (which God of his great mercy grant), must arise from adopting something of this sort. A bishop, who was disposed to do so, might introduce much without any change of the laws; for the constitution of our parish offices, rural deaneries, archidiaconal and episcopal visitations, are all founded upon a principle which, while it made the bishop the head and source through which the jurisdiction of the church was derived from the throne, presumed that much of this authority was exercised by the united influence of the clergy themselves, who would thus become the guardians and judges of the conduct of their brethren. (Herbert, in his *Country Parson*, ch. xix. p. 62, considers visitations as clergy councils.) The churchwardens and sidesmen form a sort of parish council for the clergyman; the dean-rural was formerly the overseer of his deanery. The visitations might answer the purposes of peculiar and general assemblies of the diocese, while the convocation might form a national synod. All but the last might, to a certain degree, be established in his own diocese by any bishop who chose it.

The kingdom has for the last two hundred years been making rapid strides in every species of improvement, and a corresponding alteration in the laws on every subject has taken place: during this period, nothing has been remedied in the church; a few acts of parliament have regulated some of its temporal concerns, and obviated some evils, but the clergy have never been allowed officially to state the disadvantages under which, as a body politic, we labour; or to suggest the methods by which these evils might probably be cured; and if the temper of the mass of churchmen be little suited to enter on such discussions, as is sometimes asserted; if there be greater risk in discussing the question of alterations, than in continuing the abuses under which we labour; the fault is attributable

trial, which exhibited his patience, his Christianity, and the injustice of his oppressors; and his death sealed the testimony of his uprightness as a man.

§ 596. Charles had the misfortune of being educated in a political school little likely to enable him to see the line of policy which it was wise for him to adopt. When the majority of the influential part of society have made up their minds as to the necessity of any alteration in the government, prudent concession may disarm innovation of its violence, may counteract its ill effects, and may guide the stream of opinion, though nothing can arrest it. The same stream may thus produce fertility as it passes, which, if left to the direction of the thoughtless and wicked, who form a large portion of every society, would have produced all the evils which the most fearful could anticipate. The people of England had come to the decision, that they had the right of taxing themselves, and of being governed by law (a). The friends of the court dreaded to admit the first, and were unable to concede the latter,

chiefly to those who have long closed our national assembly, and to the want of discipline which the circumstances of our country have created. The state of the church of England at present is that of a perfect toleration of religious opinions, co-existent with an establishment; a form, under God's providence, probably the most likely to foster real Christianity; but the temporal advantages which the establishment possesses are, perhaps, more than counterbalanced by the total inability of our church to regulate anything within herself, and the great want of discipline over the clergy. (We must except, indeed, that which public opinion has established.) In those points which are regulated by acts of parliament, the odium of putting them in force is thrown on the bishop alone, when frequently there is no such necessity: while the absurd nature of our ecclesiastical laws renders every species of discipline over the laity not only nugatory, but, when it is exercised, frequently unchristian, ridiculous, and in many cases very oppressive. In all this, the fault is not in the clergy; but, alas, we bear the blame, are made obnoxious to reproach, for faults among ourselves which there is no power to punish; and liable to censure on account of laws, which ought to have been abrogated long ago, but over which the clergy have no control. As to ecclesiastical discipline over the laity, it can hardly exist where universal dissent is tolerated: and it may be a great question, whether, in the present state of society, its re-establishment would promote the cause of vital religion: a clergyman who does his duty may reprove in private an erring brother; may warn, may admonish him of his faults; and it may be doubted whether any other authority is wisely intrusted to us; whether the temptation to overstep our duty, from personal considerations, may not more than outweigh the probable good effect of such power. As it is at present, excommunication bears with it such terrible civil penalties, that it can hardly be used in a Christian manner. With regard to discipline among ourselves, there can be no doubt that it is much wanted; and may God grant it us, as it shall seem good to him!

(a) This is in fact the substance of the petition of rights (Rapin, ii. 270). It is there declared, 'That the right of imposing taxes belongs to the parliament; that this had been infringed; and that violence had been offered to the subject by imprisonments, the quartering of soldiers on divers counties, and issuing commissions of martial law. This was presented in 1628, and a very general answer returned to it.

unless the first were previously granted; and Charles, having learnt from his father that the only source of legitimate power lay in the crown, regarded all opposition as a species of rebellion, and tried to govern without parliaments. A general combination was formed against the court; the court was composed of many unwise, of many dishonest individuals, and when it came to act against the people, it was inadequate to the task. A churchman at the head of the ministry tried to excite the church in defence of the supposed rights of the crown, but he had previously divided that body by his endeavours to promote his own theological party; and while the more dignified part of the establishment generally sided with the king, there was a strong party who were willing and eager to humble the superior members of their own order, whom they regarded as their oppressors, and to destroy the higher offices in the church, and those preferments from the attainment of which they found themselves excluded on account of religious opinions which the governing ascendancy deemed unorthodox.

§ 597. When the first parliament of 1640 was assembled, good men had reasonably formed great hopes from its moderation and prudence, and its dissolution was accompanied with the universal sorrow of the well-affected; the friends of the government saw no other hope than in assembling another, and no one could expect that such a step could be free from great danger. The violence of the long parliament soon drew from the affrighted court what might easily have satisfied its predecessor; but the ease with which concessions were made, and the warmth of those who demanded them, convinced all who were thus implicated, that they could not trust to concessions so made, or secure their own personal safety except by throwing down and trampling on the crown; and the want of confidence in the court which the country entertained, enabled them to do so. When subjects begin to force a government, to yield is dangerous, to resist often impossible, and that which, if granted with a good grace, might have conciliated a large portion of the kingdom, became so inadequate to satisfy those who had obtained it, that the very concession could on their part be guarded only by further demands. The sole ground on which the conduct of the parliament can be justified, is, that they could not trust the promise and concessions of the king; and if this could be established, they had no alternative but to submit their necks to the hazard of the block, or to take the militia into their own hands. It was so much their interest that a general opinion of the insincerity of Charles should prevail, that the fact of its prevailing does not at all prove its truth; yet there is some strong evidence against the king. He[1] calls the advice for peace, given him by the two

[1] *Works of King Charles I.*, 150. No. 29. Rapin, ii. 512.

houses assembled in Oxford, 'the base and mutinous motions' of his 'mongrel parliament;' an expression which, coupled with many others in his letters to the queen on the treaty at Uxbridge, makes it very questionable how he might have acted, had he gained the superiority in the war. Yet, after all, these may be petulant terms, elicited by anger, or by tenderness to the prejudices of his wife, or he might have seen more deeply into the undoubted insincerity of the parliament; but it can hardly be imagined that he would intentionally have violated those bills, to which his assent was affixed; and at all events the security of the people was better guarded by their power of refusing illegal supplies, than his safety could have been secured, had the militia been in the hands of the parliament. The real danger seems to have consisted in the weakness of mind rather than in the dishonesty of Charles, for no one could trust that a determination once formed might not be immediately changed. He had listened to the proposals of Strafford,[1] when that minister advised him to establish a perfect tyranny, and had continued to trust him as his adviser; he had surrendered up the same man to the violence of his enemies, when he ought to have defended him; and can we wonder that the world should be induced to believe that Charles was not worthy to be trusted? It was probably this same want of firmness and self-confidence, which rendered the issue of the war so disastrous; which first ruined the discipline of his officers, and then exposed his army to defeat. His failings led to a catastrophe which might probably have been avoided, had he been a worse man, at least the evil day might longer have been delayed. His virtues were tried and exhibited by the difficulties and misfortunes to which he was subjected, and have gained him the appellation of a martyr (a). Had he lived when the constitution was more fully established, he would probably have proved a constitutional and good king; had he lived when the country was less prepared to assume its share in the government of itself, he might have been found a better king than his father; as it was, his weakness

(a) It is perhaps unfortunate that this appellation should ever have been affixed by authority. He was in one sense a martyr to the defence of the church of England, and in his death exhibited strong proofs of his sincere Christianity. Nor is it less to be lamented that the observance of the fifth of November, the thirtieth of January, and the twenty-ninth of May, has not been legally discontinued, since it can only have the effect of protracting animosities and continuing party feeling which it should be the office of a wise government to destroy as much as possible. The services might be changed by the crown, they are not sanctioned by any act of parliament. It is curious that Sancroft, who drew up the office for the Thirtieth of January, uses, in a letter to his father written at the time, expressions more strong than any which he has introduced into the services. (*Life*, i. 43.)

[1] Ludlow's *Mem.* iii. 322, or third edit. 262.

lost him his crown and life, while his firmness prevented the church of England from being swallowed up by fanaticism, or changed to a presbyterian form; a fate which would probably have attended her, had he coalesced with either the army or the republicans.

In this great struggle, when the virtues, vices, and energies of every man were put to the severest test, there are few whose history will bear more near inspection than that of this virtuous man. There were others who were wiser, better, and greater, but his faults were the errors of a judgment which did not sufficiently rely on itself, and followed the prejudices in which he had been brought up, or which were instilled into him by others; his virtues were his own, and the fruit of his sincere religion. There is perhaps no greater proof of the honesty of his intentions, than the fact[1] that the best vindication of him which his friends could publish after the Restoration, consisted in an authentic copy of his letters, speeches, and public acts.

§ 598. Something has been already said with regard to the sufferings of the clergy, who were on both sides exposed to great cruelty. Those evils which the friends of the parliament endured, were generally the rude insults of unauthorised violence. The language of the royal party[2] had applied the name of puritan to those who would not conform in church matters, and the rabble, taking up the term, comprehended under it all who were disposed to greater strictness in life or preaching, and who thus became the objects of popular odium when the fury of the war let loose the multitude against every one who had anything to lose. This circumstance drove many persons to join the parliament, who had otherwise no inclination to take any part in the war. The sufferings of the royalists arose from illegal acts of tyranny, carried on under the semblance of justice, in which the evil passions of individuals were allowed to embitter penalties in themselves sufficiently grievous. It must be granted that the parliament, when they had recourse to arms, could not in prudence allow the loyalist clergy to retain their situations as teachers, but the means which they took to dispossess them were very unwarrantable. They who sat as judges[3] were often the promoters of the charges which they were to investigate, were frequently incompetent to such offices, and justly suspected of receiving money from the prisoners who were brought before them, as well as from those who succeeded to the vacant benefices. The accusations[4] which were made against the clergy were, besides offences of a moral nature, generally the observance of ceremonies, and malignancy; and it is wonderful

1 *Works of Charles I.*
2 Calamy's *Baxter*, 48, &c.
3 Walker's *Sufferings*, 80, 90—94.
4 Ibid. 97—103.

that in such a scrutiny no more instances of vicious lives and conversations are recorded (a). In the cases adduced by Walker, some of the clergy are charged with very ridiculous crimes; with deserting their cures, for instance, when the parliament had driven them away. One is blamed[1] for singing a most malignant psalm, another for reading[2] a most malignant chapter; for walking in his garden on a Sunday; because his dog caught a hare on a Sunday. But when the ordinance for taking the covenant was passed (Feb. 22, 1644), and the use of the Directory enjoined (Jan. 3, 1645), these two handles of ejection[3] superseded the necessity of any other, and the task of sequestration became plain. The class of witnesses who were admitted, consisting of offended parishioners or informers encouraged by the committee; the fact, that at first these witnesses were not examined on oath, that they were not confronted with the accused for fear of discouraging them, that they were often received without any scrutiny[4]—all mark a dishonesty of intention on the part of the parliament, which the necessity of the case may account for, but can by no means excuse. The parliament pretended to advocate the cause of the subject, and they were guilty of gross and unnecessary acts of oppression. What could be more arbitrary than to compel men who had long used and admired the Common Prayer Book, to desist from its use? to force men to take the covenant who had been bred up in episcopacy, and believed in the sacred nature of its institution? In July 1646,[5] when there was some appearance that the parliament and the army would quarrel, the ejected clergy presented an ineffectual petition to the king and Sir Thomas Fairfax, stating 'that they have been put out of their freeholds by the arbitrary power of committees, whose proceedings have usually been by no rule of any known law, but by their own wills; of whose orders no record is kept, nor scarce any notes or memorials whereby it may appear when, by whom, or for what, your petitioners are removed;' and then recapitulating some of the before-mentioned hardships.

The provision which was made for the families of those who were ejected, was, after some delay, settled at a fifth of their preferment; but this was assigned with many restrictions, and frequently obtained with much difficulty;[6] nor does it appear to have been ever extended to the members of cathedral churches. The want of any abstract of the proceedings of these committees has rendered the task of estimating the numbers of those who were

(a) White, chairman of the committee, published *A Century of Scandalous Ministers*, or the account of the hundred worst cases which he could select. I have never seen it.

1 Walker's *Sufferings*, 83. 2 Ibid. 93. 3 Ibid. 106.
4 Neal's *Puritans*, iii. 108. 5 Walker, 145. 6 Walker's *Sufferings*, 100.

ejected exceedingly difficult; but the attempt has been made by Gauden, who states it as his opinion that between six and seven thousand clergymen were ejected. Walker's[1] calculation goes higher, but these computations are probably much beyond the truth (b).

§ 599. The accounts respecting the universities[2] are much more ample. In 1642 Lord Holland obtained an order from the house of lords, which was backed by one from the earl of Essex, that the property of the university of Cambridge should be respected: the place, however, had been already ransacked; and subsequently, in consequence of the loyalty exhibited by many of the members, who sent assistance in money and plate to the king, Oliver Cromwell came down there, and the town was converted into a garrison for the seven associated counties; a step which exposed the academicians to every species of minor oppression, an annoyance which was not at all discouraged by those in authority.

In January, 1643, the regulation of the university was committed to the earl of Manchester, and ample powers were put into his hands. He commenced his operations by ejecting all who were absent, and who did not appear within twelve days (a period of time too short even to summon many of them), and proceeded to get rid of all whom he disliked, by proposing to them the covenant for their acceptance. It is supposed that between five and six hundred were, during the rebellion, ejected from this university alone. In filling the vacant places, statutes and oaths were disregarded, and in some cases fellowships were left altogether void, while all who were admitted to any situation were examined by the assembly. The favour which was afterwards shown to Cambridge was granted for the purpose of establishing a rebellious university, since the parliament had early discovered that the university, as it was, would never rebel.

§ 600. (A.D. 1647.) Oxford, during the continuance of the war, had furnished the court with a safe and comfortable retreat, it had been fortified in 1644, and surrendered not till the governor had received an order to that effect from the king, who was then a prisoner with the Scotch. The members of the university and citizens had borne arms in the royal cause, and the terms which were obtained were at least honourable to her defenders; but the day of visitation at length arrived.

In order to pave the way for the commissioners,[3] seven divines, who were friendly to the new order of things, were sent down, and

(b) The ground of this probability is, that Gauden's calculation is founded on his assertion, that 'one-half the clergy were sequestered.' No very certain datum; and the index in Walker contains only 1337 names, and some of these occur twice. The number 8000 is derived from White, the author of the *Century*.

[1] Walker's *Sufferings*, 199. [2] Ibid. 108. [3] Walker, 122.

were most regular in preaching at St. Mary's, while the sober part of the university retired to St. Mary Magdalen church. They opened also a place for theological disputation, which was nicknamed 'the scruple shop,' and there met with much disturbance from one Erbury, an independent, who silenced the presbyterian divines, by asking them, 'by what authority they taught?' for they dared not confess their episcopal ordination, and had no other to adduce. When the commissioners of visitation were appointed (May 1), the university put forth reasons why they could not consent to the covenant and its appendages, a tract which was chiefly drawn up by Sanderson and Zouch, and printed in the appendix to the small edition of Walton's *Life of Sanderson* (a). It is a bold and unanswerable pamphlet, and distinctly tells the parliament, in respectful terms, that they were 'usurpers and tyrants,' and that, 'the members of the university neither could nor would obey them.' The reception with which the commissioners met, corresponded with this beginning. They found their authority despised and themselves ridiculed, and could do nothing till the arrival (Sept. 27), of a new commission in the king's name. Fell, dean of Christ Church, who was then vice-chancellor, and the other heads, when they appeared before the commissioners, demanded their authority; and when the commission was shown, they questioned its authenticity. The most obnoxious opponents, however, were by degrees sent prisoners to London; but the commissioners did not find themselves able to effect their purpose till they were supported by a guard of soldiers; and even then Mrs. Fell would not quit the deanery at Christ Church, but sat still in her chair till she was lifted bodily into the quadrangle. The orders which were inserted by the commissioners in the buttery book at Christ Church, were next morning found to have been erased by the students, and every step which they made was gained merely by force. They expelled from the university five hundred and forty-eight inferior members[1] who rejected their authority, and were only driven out by the interference of a file of soldiers. Most of these suffered great misery, and continued faithful in their loyalty; and from their numbers, and the influence which educated men cannot fail to possess, may probably have greatly assisted in advancing the Restoration.

Many of those who filled up the vacancies thus created were brought from Cambridge, where they had resided since the regulation in 1643; but the best places fell to the lot of the visitors. The university when new modelled, became bounteous of her

(a) There is a full abstract of it in Collier, ii. 849; it is printed at length in the 8vo edition of Walton's *Lives*, Oxford, 1824, at the end.

[1] Walker, 138.

honours, conferring degrees on the chief instruments of the rebellion, and subsequently electing Oliver Cromwell as their chancellor. It might have been expected that the persons[1] now introduced into the two universities would have corrupted the soil so effectually, as to have prevented the growth of any goodly plants for a long season; but the Restoration found them as full of sound learning and piety as of obedience and duty; a fact which leads us to conclude, that the description of the persons then introduced, as given by lord Clarendon, must be much overcharged. Nor must it in fairness be forgotten, that the names[2] of Ward and of Wallis were then added to our university, that the Royal Society sprung from her misfortunes, and that oriental literature[3] never flourished more than during the usurpation. It is by examining circumstances such as these, that we discover the real importance of sound learning, and of establishments for religious education; for be it ever remembered, that the royal cause found nowhere more determined and active friends than in Christ Church; and that South,[4] when as monitor he read the Latin prayers in Westminster school, on the day of the execution of Charles I., prayed publicly for his murdered sovereign.

[1] Clarendon, iii. 74.
[2] Neal's *Puritans*, iii. 396.
[3] See § 616.
[4] *Life*, by Curl, 3.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE USURPATION, 1649—1660.

601. Outline of the history; the whole power was in the hands of the army. 602 Cromwell's success in Ireland; in Scotland; treatment of Charles II. in Scotland; advance into England, and battle of Worcester. 603. Cromwell makes the people dissatisfied with the parliament, in order that they may fall into his hands. 604. Government of Cromwell. 605. Character of Cromwell. 606. Presbyterians. 607. Independents. 608. Propagation of the Gospel in Wales. 609. Church government; Triers. 610 Treatment of the church of England; Cromwell's declaration; toleration; Roman Catholics; Jews. 611. State of religion; Baxter at Kidderminster. 612. Discipline; associations. 613. Observations on these. 614. Independents; presbyterians. 615 State of religion; episcopalians. 616. Treatment of them, and their general conduct; literature. 617. Sects. 618. Quakers. 619. Anabaptists; antinomians; familists; fifth-monarchy men. 620. Laws about morality. 621. Heresy. 622. Marriage. 623. Succession of bishops. 624. Causes of the Restoration.

(Jan. 31, 1649). § 601. The history of England during the usurpation, is more or less the general history of a country which has thrown down legitimate authority instead of reforming it; and corresponds with every reformation which has been carried on by the people alone. It is a struggle for political power on the part of those who have been oppressed, who misuse their authority when they have acquired it, and drive the nation to wish again for the government which they had previously cast out. The necessity of reformation will be first visible to those who suffer most by existing abuses, and the desire of it, therefore, must spring from the people; but it can hardly produce good unless it be managed by the upper orders, by men who are so situated as to perceive the advantage of institutions which, however useful in themselves, have become from mismanagement liable to serious objections. The charges raised against such establishments are often so peculiarly apparent to those who are most injured by them, and so exaggerated in their eyes, that they cannot estimate the benefits which might be derived from their proper use. The desire of correcting real evils had, in the beginning of the struggle, not only combined a large portion of the most valuable individuals in the nation, but had concentrated the good wishes of the majority of those who took no outward share in the contest. The necessity of any war and its commencement, may perhaps be attributed to the unwillingness of the court to reform abuses till it was too late; but when

the parliament took up arms, many honest friends of liberty conscientiously joined the king. The strength of the nation, however, still sided with their representatives, and the heroic devotion and gallantry of some of the royalists was overpowered as much by the errors and selfishness of their friends, as by the energies of their adversaries. When the monarchy was subdued, the presbyterians and moderate party wished to re-establish it upon certain conditions; but the interests of those who had learnt their own influence, and who hoped to raise themselves in the general ruin, prevented the adoption of any moderation. The army had conquered the king, and the republic was in the hands of the army, that is, of those who knew how to govern and direct it. The views of these persons were naturally turned towards such policy as was likely to render themselves powerful, and a state of confusion was that which they must have desired.

§ 602. Cromwell knew that some successful general must be the governor of England, and he put himself at the head of the Irish army, where his success surpassed all that he could have himself expected. The campaign was that of an experienced general at the head of a veteran army, opposed by men who were unskilled in war, and devoid of resources for carrying it on. His progress was marked with extreme cruelty towards the natives, and was so rapid that the whole country was virtually reduced, when the affairs of Scotland during the next year demanded the presence of the general. When Fairfax refused to take the command against the presbyterians and Scotch, he placed Cromwell at the head of the military force of the republic, and the victory at Dunbar made him formidable to friends and foes. Charles II. had consented to try his fortunes in Scotland, and to trust himself to the presbyterians, who would not receive him till he had taken the covenant, and publicly acknowledged the sin of his father in marrying into an idolatrous family, and in shedding the blood which had already flowed during the war (A.D. 1650). As if the forced profession of what he did not believe, and a public act which made him dishonour his parents, were likely to render him a good king, or friendly to a body which had tyrannically imposed these conditions upon him! but so it was, and so does selfishness ever defeat its own ends. Had the Scotch, at Dunbar, avoided an engagement with Cromwell, that general might probably have been obliged to retire with disgrace; but, incited by their ministers, the Scotch gave up the advantages which they possessed, and were totally defeated (Sept. 3). Upon this, Charles retired to the north, leaving Cromwell master of Edinburgh and the south, and was crowned at Scone on Jan. 1, 1651, finding himself treated more like a king after this reverse of fortune which oppressed his nominal friends.

In the spring, the royal army took up its position at Stirling, and when Cromwell had thrown himself into their rear, they marched as rapidly as they could into England, where they were ultimately defeated at Worcester (Sept. 3). The king indeed himself escaped, but the royal party was entirely broken.

§ 603. Cromwell was now in reality the governor of England; but before he could put himself forward as invested with this authority, it was necessary to make the army and the country dissatisfied with the long parliament. This was far from a difficult task; for their own selfish conduct had already rendered the act of their dissolution acceptable to most parties, and the necessity of increasing the navy during the war with Holland (1652) alarmed the army with the prospect of being disbanded. Had Cromwell called a free parliament, it is impossible to decide what might have been the result; but nothing could be further from his intentions: he appointed a parliament of his own nomination, whose foolish proceedings[a] made everyone more contented when the mask was ultimately thrown off, and he was installed (Dec. 16, 1653) as Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland. His successive mock-parliaments, and his finally relinquishing the hope of being king, which he had long fondly cherished, mark the spirit of liberty which still prevailed in the country, and prove the opposition which was raised against his authority, and the talent with which he conducted the government. His vigilance and activity rendered him safe from every danger but that of assassination, and of this he was much afraid[b].

§ 604. The secret of his government was that he balanced parties against each other, without offending any of them more than he

[a] Cromwell probably called the Barebone parliament for this very purpose. Nothing but the necessity of the case could satisfy the nation with his appointment; but when they saw that this parliament was obviously unequal to the task of governing, and the choice seemed to lie between anarchy or a protector, reasonable men might prefer the latter. In the Barebone parliament it was put to the vote whether parish ministers should be put down; and though the motion was thrown out, many persons might be alarmed at the danger in which the establishment was placed (Baxter's *Life*, i. 70). This was exactly what Cromwell desired, that he might appear to come forward to save the nation from this dilemma.

[b] The nominal constitution which was established by the instrument of government was as follows: A parliament shall be called every three years by the protector; the first, Sept. 3, 1654. No parliament to be dissolved till it has been sitting five months. Such bills as are offered to the protector by the parliament, if not confirmed by him in twenty days, to be laws without him. His council shall not exceed twenty-one, nor be less than thirteen. Immediately after the death of Cromwell the council shall choose another protector before they rise. No protector after the present shall be general of an army. The protector shall have power to make war and peace. The protector and his council may make laws which shall be binding on the subject during the intervals of parliament (Rapin, ii. 591; Whitelock, 571).

could help; and that he chose men who were suited to the situations in which he placed them, and ready to co-operate in his plans. His object was that his government should be as strong as possible, and therefore it was his interest that it should be well conducted; but while[1] abilities advanced few under him, he selected those who would never question his commands, and zealously promote his welfare; and his own welfare was closely connected with the well-being of the country. Under such a man this plan was productive of much good to the kingdom in general. He noticed all persons who were eminent[2] in any way, and attached them to himself by appropriate encouragement; but in his appointments his object was to select the man for the situation, and he was fortunately unfettered by those parliamentary interferences which must prevent most ministers from following his example. Justice between man and man was fairly administered, which was far from being the case previously, and England was never more respected by foreign nations. Cromwell gloried in being the protector of Protestants, and is reported, by Bishop Burnet,[3] to have formed a plan of establishing a sort of Protestant 'propaganda' society at Chelsea, which was never carried into execution. When the Vaudois[4] were driven from their valleys by the court of Turin (A.D. 1655), the remonstrances of England to Cardinal Mazarine and the duke of Savoy procured for them more lenient treatment; while a subscription was raised which amounted in this country to 37,000*l.*: so again, when in a tumult at Nismes, it appeared that the Protestants[5] had been ill used, his interference was so prompt and decisive, that Cardinal Mazarine had just reason to complain, though he dared not refuse to comply with it.

§ 605. The character of the Protector, as drawn by Baxter,[6] is perhaps as fair as any which can be found: and it must be remembered that Baxter was far from being his friend. He describes him as beginning his political life from religious motives, and collecting around him a band of men actuated by the same principles: when, however, they had shown the power of these qualities in gaining a superiority over others, they were themselves overcome by their own ambition. There was much personal danger to those who had opposed the king in arms, in case he should ever recover his authority; and they gradually persuaded themselves, that they were seeking the good of the kingdom, as well as their own, in his execution; deeming themselves, according to their own false notions, called upon to use a power which God had put into their hands. In order to accomplish this end, it was necessary to destroy

1 *Perfect Politician*, 280.
2 Neal, iv. 184.
3 *Own Time*, i. 132.
4 Neal's *Puritans*, iv. 129.
5 Ibid. iv. 146.
6 *Life*, i. 98.

the influence of the Scotch and the presbyterian party, who favoured a limited monarchy: and to form a coalition with those who were fit instruments for carrying these plans into execution. In all these steps Cromwell became entangled with difficulties, and having recourse to dissimulation and art, his success rendered him selfish, and swallowed up all the virtues with which he began his career. There is, however, one feature in the character of this usurper, which must be a palliation to the worst of his faults, even to his hypocrisy, if indeed anything can palliate this vice; I mean his unwillingness to shed blood. Surrounded as he was by attempts against his life and government, he kept the royalists in check without destroying them; and, though politically a vehement persecutor of the church of England, it is probable that his antipathy arose rather from the active zeal of churchmen in the cause of the banished monarch, than from any other reason. They were always plotting against him, yet he sacrificed but few of them; and counter-plotting by means of spies for the safety of himself, he contrived to save them also by the same expedient (a). The instances which would be adduced to controvert these positions would be the decimation and the declaration forbidding any clergyman to teach or officiate; but surely, after the repeated instances which the royalists had given that they could not be trusted, it was not a hard measure to make those who had borne arms on the side of the king, pay one-tenth of their incomes to secure the authority which they wished to destroy. For the other measure less can be pleaded, and indeed nothing but necessity can at all justify it; but it was never acted upon generally, or enforced with any degree of rigour.

Cromwell looked upon churchmen[1] as his mortal enemies, and treated them accordingly: and he had quite sense enough to perceive, that if he suffered them to officiate publicly, or to teach and keep school, they would disseminate their loyal principles. The circumstances which preceded these acts were the dissolution of the parliament, which had shown such decided dislike to the Protector, the rising of Penruddock in the west and the discovery of other plots against the government. He now, therefore, wanted to intimidate the royalists as a body, and to show them that every attempt to disturb the tranquillity of his government would be visited on their own heads.

This character of Cromwell may to some persons appear to be too favourable; but where shall we find a usurper who so much promoted the good of his country? where shall we discover one whose ambition was stained with so little bloodshed?

§ 606. The church of England during this period had ceased to

(a) See a curious account of his good fortune in procuring spies (Clarendon's *Life*, ii. 14. fol. 25, 8vo.).

[1] Walker's *Suff. C.* i. 194. Clarendon, iii. 624.

exist as a church; many of its individual members still continued their ministerial functions, but the mass of benefices were filled with men, who, holding presbyterian opinions, had been obtruded on the livings by the election and appointment of the inhabitants, or by the interest of those who co-operated with the existing government. The assembly of divines at Westminster[1] had endeavoured to establish by law the *jus divinum* of the presbytery, but in this they were foiled; nor does this form of church government[2] appear to have been permanently established, except in London and Lancashire, and even there to have been subjected to the civil power (1648). As a body, the presbyterians were generally favourable to a limited monarchy, and before the king was murdered they presented petitions to Fairfax[3] and the army, urging them to prevent this fatal act; but having thrown down the law, which had been made for the defence of the whole people, the republicans found that they had forged their own chains, and were now unable to throw them off.

The original idea of the parliament[4] seems to have been to establish a presbyterian church with toleration, and to commute tithes; but the opposition which the presbyterians made to the proceedings of the government inclined the supporters of it to more Erastian measures; and rendered them almost as adverse to the presbytery as to the episcopacy of the church of England. The presbyterians refused to pray for the government, and the government in their turn imposed the Engagement (Oct. 11, 1649), which fell with nearly equal weight on all who were friends to monarchy. Persons holding any situation in either church or state were obliged to subscribe an engagement,[5] that 'they would be true and faithful to the commonwealth as it is now established, without king or house of lords:' and many of those who in the covenant had promised to defend the king's person, were now ejected for refusing what Walker[6] calls 'the independent's covenant.' The presbyterians had joined in throwing down the church, partly, according to their frequent complaints, because the clergy were too much connected with civil concerns; but wherever they had obtained any influence, it was evident that their object was to take away temporal power from the bishops, which they had no objection to see retained by the presbytery. Upon this plea they had excited the Scotch to join in the rebellion. They had accompanied and governed the armies, had preached and practised treason, while they vilified the old establishment; and now the same arts were turned against themselves; for when it became the object of those in authority to frame a new government, as well as to throw down

1 Walker's *Sufferings*, i. 32.
2 Ibid. i. 39.
3 Collier. 859. ii. § 595 (a).
4 Ibid. ii. 861.
5 Baxter's *Life*, i. 64. Nelson's *Bull*, 13.
6 *Suff.* i. 146.

the old one, they found it necessary to lessen the influence of the presbyterian preachers.

§ 607. The standard of religious liberty was raised in opposition to the presbytery, a liberty and toleration which extended to every form of worship except those of the Roman Catholics and the church of England; the one, because they called it idolatrous; the other, because they dared not expose the minds of the people to the operation of such an engine in favour of the royal family as this must have proved, had its use been permitted.

The arrival of the king in Scotland created much less commotion in England than might have been expected; for when he proceeded towards this country, it was obviously as a last resource, and not at the head of a victorious army, and few people wished to join a desperate cause; but there were some presbyterians in London who were tried for having communicated with his friends, and the government, wishing to intimidate the party, suffered Mr. Love,[1] an active minister, to be executed (Aug. 22, 1651). It is curious to remark the effect of this event; men who were not shocked[2] when many of the prisoners taken at Worcester were sent as slaves to the West India islands, deemed the commonwealth destroyed when Mr. Love was beheaded; so little able are even sensible men to form a correct judgment in moments of excitement. The presbyterians may from this period be said to have had no political existence as a church; they were favoured more than any other body, and were at once numerous and powerful, but they had no final power of excluding from the sacrament, or of punishing offenders. The bill[3] which did away with all penal statutes against dissenters, virtually destroyed church discipline over the laity, and the presbyterians would have been contented with nothing less than a coercive power over their lay brethren (a). The same step took place in Scotland[4] by the mere authority of the general; for Monk dissolved the presbytery of Aberdeen by military force, when they were about to proceed to pass sentence on the laird of Drum; and he would allow of the imposition of no oaths or covenants besides those which were enjoined at Westminster.

§ 608. In Wales[5] a method of proceeding was adopted very different from what took place in England. Many of the livings were sequestered by a bill (Feb. 22, 1649) for the propagation of the gospel in Wales, and their revenues placed at the disposal of certain commissioners, by whom itinerant ministers were sent over the face of the country; men generally inadequate to the task, and probably

(a) The fifth and sixth provincial assembly held in Sion College in May and November, 1649, asserted the *jus divinum* of the presbytery, and their independence of the civil magistrate. (Neal. iv. 13.)

1 Neal, iv. 39. 2 Calamy's *Abr.* 65, 66. Baxter's *Own Life*, i. 67.
3 Neal, iv. 26. 4 Collier, 866, ii. 5 Walker's *Suff.* i. 149, &c.

often possessed of livings[1] as well as the stipend of 100*l.* per annum, which was allotted to them for their missionary labours. There seems to have been a good deal of dishonesty on all sides, and some of the commissioners are asserted to have amassed considerable property (a). The delegated authority thus given to the itinerants invested them with no ministerial function; and as some of them appear to have been laymen, in many cases ignorant mechanics, they must be rather deemed licensed teachers and preachers than ministers. A petition[2] was ultimately presented to the parliament against them, signed by 15,000 hands, but it seems to have produced little good; this mismanagement, however, was so notorious, that an investigation took place after the Restoration, of which the result is unknown.

§ 609. It may be asked, how any church establishment could exist at all, where there were no ecclesiastical governing authorities, and where the rights of presentation to livings were so totally violated; but the parliament was not inattentive to the maintenance of the clergy, for, besides the continuance of tithes,[3] the money raised by the sale of the bishops' lands, and of the tenths and first-fruits, was assigned to commissioners to provide greater incomes for the smaller livings; and the proposed object of this ordinance was, that no living should be allowed to remain of less annual value than 100*l.* The assembly of divines at Westminster formed at first a nucleus of church government; and Cromwell subsequently created an authority for this purpose in the establishment of the Triers. An ordinance[4] was passed (March 20, 1654) appointing a committee of thirty-eight persons, nine of whom were laymen, whose business it was to examine all who were nominated to any ecclesiastical preferments; but a clause was inserted expressly providing that their approbation should not be construed into any solemn setting apart of the candidate for the ministry. They were vested with extraordinary powers, far beyond what had ever been granted to the bishops; and as they sat in London, the mere fact of being forced to appear before them must have proved

(a) Neal, iv. 104, denies the mass of this statement; but I have ventured to follow Walker, whom I find borne out in part of this statement by Calamy, in his preface to the *Abridgment*, xii. The fact is, that the plan was framed on the principle of the independents, who virtually did away with all ordination; and Neal, whose principles are independent, is but too apt to defend anything which coincides with his own opinions. The contradictions in the portion of history, on which we are now engaged, strongly remind the reader of Baxter's (*Life*, p. 135) observation: 'The prodigious lies which have been published in this age in matters of fact, with unblushing confidence, even where thousands or multitudes of eye and ear-witnesses knew all to be false, doth call men to take heed what history they believe.'

1 Walker's *Suff.* i. 159.
2 Ibid. i. 167.
3 Neal, iv. 13.
4 Walker, i. 150, 170. Neal, iv. 93.

a vast expense and trouble to the clergy, had not this evil been partly obviated[1] by their frequently granting commissions in order that individuals might be examined in the country. Their proceedings were often most arbitrary and very absurd. There are some examinations given by Walker,[2] which turn entirely on abstruse points of divinity, in which the candidate is obliged to bear testimony to his own qualifications and the grace of God which is in him; a method which can hardly fail to end either in hypocrisy or the rejection of the candidate. Under such a system of examination, they might refuse persons nominated to livings on account of their political opinions, without any danger of discovery; and this is the excuse which Neal[3] makes for their proceedings. Their commission originally extended to those who had been admitted into any benefice during the last year, as well as to any future presentations; but when (Aug. 28th) the ordinance[4] passed for ejecting scandalous ministers, they became more than ever a political engine, and attacked under the same authority, and as if guilty of the same offence, the notoriously profligate, the friends of the Common Prayer Book, and the enemies of the present government, who, in the eyes of the rest of the country, were confounded in the same obloquy (a). Severe, however, and unjust as the conduct of the Triers was, it fell far short of the ultimate declaration of the protector,[5] who forbade all persons to employ any of the delinquent (*i.e.*, royalist) clergy, even as tutors to their children. The extreme severity of this measure seems to have prevented its execution for any length of time; but Cromwell refused to rescind it, though solicited by Archbishop Usher,[6] who was earnest in his personal requests to him. The protector seemed at first willing to grant that they should not be molested, provided they meddled not with politics; but his council urged him to concede no liberty to men who were implacable enemies to himself and his government (b).

(a) See the details of some proceedings of this sort held at Abingdon, Berks, upon Pocock, Hebrew professor at Oxford and rector of Childrey. (Twell's *Life of Pocock*, p. 152 and 185.) The charges are,—

'1. That he had frequently made use of the idolatrous Common Prayer Book as he performed divine service.

'2. That he was disaffected to the present power,' &c. &c. And when he had disproved all these accusations, he, who was one of the most learned men in Europe, would have been turned out for ignorance and insufficiency, if his friends from Oxford had not come and shamed the commissioners into justice.

(b) Gauden, afterwards bishop of Exeter, wrote a petitionary remonstrance, presented to Oliver Cromwell, to the same effect. (Wood's *Ath.* iii. 614.)

[1] Baxter's *Life*, 72. [2] *Suff.* i. 174. [3] *Hist. Puritans*, iv. 97.
[4] Walker, i. 178. [5] Ibid. i. 194.
[6] Parr's *Life of Usher*, 75. Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biog.* v. 374.

§ 610. The pretext by which he had chiefly gained his power was that of universal toleration, and in all probability there was more of real freedom in religion under his government, than at any other period previous to the revolution; but the exclusion of the church of England, which may be accounted for on political principles, was not the only exception to the toleration which was professed. In the instrument of government[1] by which the chief authority was delegated to Cromwell, the free exercise of their religion was guaranteed to all 'who professed faith in God by Jesus Christ' (Dec. 1653), an expression which the first parliament assembled by him determined to contain no less than 'the fundamentals of religion' (Sept. 3, 1654). And a committee of divines was formed to draw up *in terminis* 'the fundamentals of religion.' They were far from agreeing in their opinions, and some were anxious to insert many propositions which suited their own ideas, and would exclude the Roman Catholics and Socinians. Baxter wisely reasoned against this narrowing the bounds of the original expression: but the labours of the committee were rendered abortive by the dissolution of the parliament (Jan. 22, 1655). So little indeed did these advocates of freedom understand its real principles, that John Southworth,[2] a Roman Catholic priest, was executed for the exercise of his sacerdotal functions; nor were the severe laws against the Roman Catholics abrogated. In the parliament of 1656–7, a new oath of abjuration[3] was framed, which not only denied the authority of the pope, but rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation and other tenets of the church of Rome, and a refusal to take it subjected the individual to severe penalties and losses. There was at one time a project for extending liberty of conscience to the Roman Catholics,[4] and consultations were held among the members of the government for the purpose of granting them security of person and of the remainder of their property after composition, as well as for providing a safe living for a prelate who might exercise his functions; but the loyalty of the Roman Catholics was alarmed at the idea of compounding with the usurper, and they communicated the circumstance to the exiled court, where a stop was put to the whole. The Jews,[5] too, petitioned for toleration, and leave to carry on trade in England, and the Protector seems to have been favourable to their views; but a council of divines, lawyers, and merchants, whom he consulted on the point of conscience, on the legality of their admission, and on the political wisdom of the measure, were so adverse to the step, that the idea of it was relinquished; but it appears[6] that many individuals of this

[1] Baxter's *Life*, 197. [2] Butler's *Rom. Cath.* ii. 407.
[3] Neal, iv. 144. [4] Butler's *Rom. Cath.* ii. 418. Thurloe, *St. Pap.* i. 740.
[5] Neal, iv. 126. [6] Collier's *Church History*, ii. 869.

religion did settle in London upon sufferance, and that they had a burying-ground of their own in 1657.

§ 611. If it be asked how the parochial duties were performed during this period, a variety of answers may be expected, corresponding with the views of those whom we consult, and changing in the different parts of the kingdom to which we may turn our eyes. If we may believe Baxter, religion never flourished more than during this period; but his testimony is hardly admissible as conclusive on this point, and even his own history affords instances of the contrary. As it is very difficult to form a general opinion on the subject, it may not be uninteresting to insert such details as may furnish us with some slight data on which to ground our conclusions.

(A.D. 1641.) The town of Kidderminster[1] was about to petition against their vicar as a scandalous minister, and he, to escape this obloquy, consented to give sixty pounds per annum to a lecturer, who should be appointed by the chief inhabitants, and they chose Mr. Baxter. During the civil war, the disturbances of the town obliged the new lecturer to fly from it, and he joined the army for some time in the capacity of a chaplain. When the successes of the war had thrown the power into the hands of the parliament, the living of Kidderminster was sequestered, and the temporalities placed at the disposal of the principal inhabitants, in order that they might provide themselves with preachers. After some time, they could only prevail on Baxter to continue as their lecturer, with a salary augmented to one hundred pounds; but when there was a danger of their being called to account for the disposal of the money, they secretly conveyed the instrument of sequestration into Mr. Baxter's house, and he continued to hold it, in order to screen them from inquiry.

§ 612. Being thus seated in his living, Baxter[2] called on such of the inhabitants as voluntarily chose to do so, to signify to him their willingness to be under his ministry and discipline; and thus, without rejecting the rest of the parishioners, whom he admitted, as strangers, occasionally only to the eucharist, and to the baptism of their children, he did as it were gather a church in his own parish. His object in this method of proceeding was, to mark the difference between those who were, and those who were not church members; for he found that many of his flock could only thus be kept from separation, when they perceived an outward line drawn between themselves and their less godly neighbours. About 600 out of 1600 adults conformed to his discipline, and the rest, without being excommunicated, lived in outward unity with the church members, and might join them upon the same terms

[1] Baxter's *Li* 19. [2] Ibid. 91, 157, 167.

whenever they were disposed to express such a wish. Over those who were thus immediately subjected to his discipline, Baxter exercised a spiritual authority, which, according to his own account of it, proved very beneficial to their higher interests. He rarely excommunicated any one, but frequently admonished and reproved them. In order to carry on this work with greater solemnity, a meeting of the neighbouring clergy[1] was formed on the first Wednesday in every month, to manage the discipline of the parish; and the next day the clergy assembled for their own discipline, and for mutual edification; and numerous lectures were established on different week days for the promotion of religion. These associations were not confined to any particular party in the church. Their terms of agreement were, to join for the exercise of such discipline as it was agreed on by presbyterians, episcopalians, and independents, that pastors ought to exercise; nor do the decisions of these meetings seem to have bound the individual minister any further than as they expressed the opinion of the body. The success which attended them in the neighbourhood of Kidderminster was considerable, and many other districts and counties adopted something of the same sort; as Cumberland,[2] Wilts, Dorset, Hants, Somerset, Essex; and a society of the same description was formed at Dublin. This association of Baxter's[3] was composed chiefly of men who, strictly speaking, were connected with no party; for there were no rigid presbyterians in the neighbourhood, the strict independents did not co-operate, though they did not disapprove of what was done, and few episcopalians had much communication with them; it was formed of men who, without joining any party exclusively, wished to do their duty as ministers of Christ.

§ 613. In passing a judgment on such a proceeding, it is almost impossible for the writer to divest himself of his own feelings or prejudices, and as difficult to form any accurate opinion from the practical result, at this distance of time. Baxter (a) seems to have been a very zealous Christian minister, and to have sought and promoted the service of our great Master; but, during his whole life, to have been too fond of governing, and too unwilling to be directed. In his parish he did that which I believe the pastor is directed in Holy Scripture not to do; he tried to draw an outward line between the godly and ungodly, to separate the tares from the wheat: it is a subject on which the judgment of God can alone be sufficient to decide rightly, and whenever it is attempted by man, it will be apt to render the servant of God proud of his own

(a) It should be remembered that Baxter was episcopally ordained in the church of England, and was always friendly to episcopacy as an order in the church.

[1] Baxter's *Life*, 84. [2] Ibid. 162, 167, 169. [3] Ibid. 145.

spiritual attainments, and to drive away the careless from religion. That such parish discipline would produce some good (b), there can be no doubt; but it may well be questioned, whether the private admonitions of a clergyman, and the occasional interference of the civil magistrate, may not on the whole promote the cause of real religion with greater advantage. God knoweth. At all events, the judicial character thus conferred on the clergy must be likely to do them harm in their own minds.

The beneficial effects of the meetings of ministers must depend solely on the way in which they are carried on. Whenever they are assembled by authority, they are likely on the whole to be useful (though, as our visitations are now conducted, they cannot be said to produce much good). But whenever such meetings are formed of a part only of the clergy of the district where they are held, they can hardly fail to foster divisions, to keep up differences rather than diminish them; and if so, it may be feared that they will do more harm than good. In an age, however, when there was no appearance of ecclesiastical discipline in the church, any attempt at establishing it must have had its value; at that time, from the number of ejected and silenced ministers, it was necessary to supply the deficiency by instructing the new workmen who were thus suddenly sent into the vineyard, and perhaps these steps might then have proved useful, though the plan, at another period, would have been open to objections.

§ 614. If Baxter[1] was wrong in drawing a line of separation between the different members of a society of Christians, the independents were much more to blame in their strictness with regard to admission into church-membership. They required not only a profession of belief in Christianity, and of willingness to submit to discipline, but generally demanded some sort of evidence of the influence of the Holy Ghost on the mind of the candidate who desired to be received into the communion of their churches. They prevailed in Norfolk and Suffolk, more than in the rest of England: a circumstance which Neal[2] attributes to the proximity of those counties to Holland, which had afforded a refuge to many of the banished sectaries, and from whence they returned, when toleration allowed them to revisit their native land.

As the independents gradually increased, they became anxious to have some connexion among themselves, and wished to possess a common band of union, without destroying the independence of

(b) Baxter (*Life*, 96) says that, as far as he saw, there was a great deal more religion, and a proportionate fruit of good living; but he is a witness in his own cause, and might not have had any opportunity of observing the good effects of admonition carried on without coercion.

[1] *Life*, 143.

[2] *Hist. Puritans*, iv. 172.

each particular church, which constitutes their peculiar tenet. This object was accomplished in 1658, when they published their declaration of faith,[1] formed after a conference held among themselves at the Savoy, and which was drawn up so much on the plan of the confession of faith of the divines at Westminster, that the doctrinal works of that assembly have generally been adopted by the congregational churches. Their chief difference consists in the government of the church, wherein they are entirely democratic. The church of England theoretically places the power of church discipline in the bishop, assisted by his dean and chapter, or by certain other assessors. The presbyterians place this authority in the presbyter and elders, or in assemblies of these, making each presbyter the bishop of a small diocese. The independent seems to esteem ordination a mere appointment on the part of the congregation, of one person who shall officiate in public, and leaves the authority of discipline in the church itself, regulating even excommunication by the vote of the majority.

During the same period the presbyterians[2] carried on as much of their internal government among themselves as they pleased, or indeed could, when divested of any coercive power, and held their meetings for the purpose of discipline and ordination. In 1655 they published[3] some directions about catechising, in consequence of two catechisms published by Biddle, a Socinian. These directions[4] do not differ much from the canon on the subject, and seem to have been required on account of the neglect of that useful method of instruction, a neglect originating in the prevalence of sermons, and the fancied superiority of preaching.

§ 615. But the whole of this account is that which the puritans give of themselves. If we consult Isaak Walton, whose testimony may be presumed to incline to the opposite party, we shall find a different description (a). He speaks with regret[5] of the former honesty and plain dealing of the people, now exchanged for cruelty and cunning. Of the frequency of perjury among men who had so often sworn to obey every succeeding government as it was established. He will tell us[6] that the common people were made so giddy and restless, through the falsehoods and misapplication of Scripture, of those who wished to prove that God was on their side, that they had perverted all notions of religion, trusting in election, which produced no fruits of grace. That in many parishes,

(a) Lord Clarendon (*Own Life*, ii. 39, 8vo; 21, fol.) gives a pathetic account of the dissolution of domestic ties during this period. Children disobeyed and neglected their parents, and the connexion between master and servant was at an end.

1 *Hist. Puritans*, 174.
2 Ibid. 74.
3 Neal, iv. 121.
4 Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biog.* v. 351.
5 *Life of Sanderson.* Wordsw. *Eccl. Biog.* v. 483.
6 Ibid. 512.

where the stipend was small, there was no one to officiate, while the strictness of some incumbents cut off a portion of their flock from partaking in the sacrament of the eucharist.

It may indeed excite our wonder that any friends of the church of England should have been able to continue their services under the multifarious persecutions to which they were exposed; and more so, that any fresh members should desire to enter the pale of her ministry under such disheartening circumstances. Yet the lives of Sanderson and Bull furnish us with instances of both the one and the other. Sanderson was fortunate enough, from having been exchanged as a prisoner for Dr. Clarke, and from his own judicious conduct, to be allowed to retain quiet possession of his living of Boothby Pagnel; and Bull, by taking a small cure which no one cared to have, was suffered to officiate without interruption. In both these instances the chief difficulty consisted in the use of the Common Prayer, which was forbidden with a strictness which marks its value; and both these worthy sons of a persecuted church gave way so far, as to comply with the existing authorities, while in their ministration they preserved the spirit of its services (s). The case of Bull [1] is perhaps more worthy of notice. He was placed with a presbyterian divine to finish his education, which had been interrupted by his refusing to take the engagement at Oxford. The perusal of Hooker, Hammond, Taylor, and Grotius, which were lent him by the son of his tutor, directed him to seek for episcopal ordination. This he was fortunate enough to obtain by means of Dr. Skinner, the ejected bishop of Oxford, who resided in his former diocese, and secretly conferred the same favour on many others also. Bull thus became an active minister of the church of England, at a time when few could have hoped for her temporal restoration.

§ 616. The majority of the true members of the church of England must have spent their time in seclusion, and generally under considerable privations; for their activity in favour of the throne had been too marked to suffer the usurping power to

(s) There is an interesting account of the manner in which Sanderson conducted himself about the Common Prayer, in his *Judgment concerning submission to Usurpers*, printed among some tracts at the end of the first edition of Walton's *Life*, 12mo, which is partly introduced into the life. (Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biog.* v. 496.) He used it till the soldiers came and tore it to pieces; and even then, in all the occasional services when they were not in church. When complained of, he determined to give up the Common Prayer, rather than desert his post: he gives an abstract of the prayers which he used, preserving the petitions while he varied the words. Bull did very much the same. On one occasion (*Life*, by Nelson, p. 34) he baptized the child of a dissenter, saying the service by heart from the Common Prayer, and then the good people were much pleased with everything but the cross.

[1] *Life*, by Nelson.

tolerate them; and it is more than probable that their tranquil endurance of these persecutions created a strong bias towards the church and king during the whole of the usurpation. Many persons who were not adverse to republican principles, could not but feel the cruelty of forbidding men to use by themselves, or in families, such prayers as they preferred. The picture (a) of Fell, Allestree, and Dolben, meeting in private to celebrate those services which a government, glorying in the name of religious toleration, dared not allow them to perform in public, was not then confined to the canvas, and known only to those who are familiar with the portraits of Oxford. The subject of it must have been one of frequent occurrence, and have spoken volumes in praise of the offices which they loved, and of the tyranny which precluded the use of them. No one can see a good man suffering for the sake of that which he believes to be the truth, without feeling a respect and admiration for him; and among the human means whereby the doctrines of Christianity have been spread and fostered, none has produced more effect than the example of persons patiently submitting to hardships for conscience' sake.

The exceptions to these observations, concerning the tyranny used towards the clergy of the church of England, are perhaps more numerous during the reign of Cromwell, than might have been expected from the tenour of the laws or the proceedings of the government; and it is likely that the protector winked at the indulgence which many among the governing party must willingly have granted to their friends, or those whom they respected among the royalists. Seth Ward procured the chantership of Exeter for Brownrigge,[1] the silenced bishop of that see, and G. Hall, afterwards bishop of Chester, was employed as a preacher in London during Cromwell's reign; and doubtless many other instances of the same sort might be found. Bates, who was physician to the Protector, says, that the use of the Common Prayer[2] was even allowed in houses and private conventicles.

Many of the royalist clergy, during this season of distress, found retreats in the houses of their friends, and carried on those studies which prepared their minds for future exertions, and solaced them during their involuntary inactivity (b). Oriental literature, which had been fostered under the munificent hand of Laud, produced its fruit when that prelate had ceased to preside over its cultivation. The superiority of Pocock[3] in this depart-

(a) A well-known picture in Christ Church Hall. See also Wood's *Athenæ*. Fell, John, iv. 201, edit. by Bliss.

(b) See the lives of *Hammond*, *Sanderson*, *Pocock*, *Walton*, Spratt's *History of the Royal Society*, Frewen, Sheldon, Wood's *Athenæ*.

[1] Wood's *Athenæ*, by Bliss, iv. 248; iii. 812.

[2] Neal, iv. 92.

[3] Twell's *Pocock*, 136.

ment continued him in his two professorships of Hebrew and Arabic at Oxford, though deprived of his canonry of Christ Church; and the polyglot Bible of Walton,[1] together with Castell's *Lexicon*, would, if every other proof were wanting, satisfy us of the eminence to which our countrymen attained at this period. Nor should it be forgotten that Cromwell had the merit of patronizing this latter work.

§ 617. In the account of this period it will be necessary to say something of the fanatics who were now numerous, and who had rendered themselves conspicuous during the previous distractions of the country. We may indeed derive some information as to the founders and the origin of some of these sects; but the history of fanaticism is so much the same in all countries and times, that it is difficult to mark any real peculiarities with regard to the several forms under which it shows itself. Religious fanaticism generally arises from some real neglect, or misconduct, in those who ought to be the guardians and teachers of religion. The age which preceded the times which we are considering, abounded with too great an attention to ceremonies; it is not necessary to the argument to trace out the origin of the fault; according to our individual sentiments, we may conclude that the puritans neglected the forms of religion too much, or that the high church party insisted on them too strongly; but certainly forms were regarded universally in too important a light. The consequence of which was, that the relaxation of government, which the rebellion necessarily produced, allowed every fanatic to exhibit his own peculiarities; and ill-judging persons, who had before observed that too much attention was paid to forms, hastily rejected every appearance of order, and disseminated the dictates of their own feelings as the motions of the Spirit of God (a).

§ 618. (A.D. 1649.) George Fox[2] was a sincere Christian, and harmless sort of person, who, having long indulged in mystic and solitary reveries, commenced the task of instructing the world by means of a divine light peculiarly imparted to himself, which led him to despise the ordinary benefits of education, an advantage which, from the lowness of his birth, he did not possess. The licence of the times enabled him to spread his opinions, and procured him followers, whose absurd irregularities of conduct would, at another period, have brought inevitable contempt on any denomination of Christians, and exposed the Quakers (a) to just, though

(a) See the Story of the Soldier and the Five Lights at Walton. (Collier's *Hist.* ii. 861.)

(a) This name was given them by Gervas Bennet, a justice of the peace at Derby, because their speaking was usually attended with convulsive shakings of the body. (Neal, iv. 33) One woman came into church quite naked. (Ibid. iv. 139.)

[1] Todd's *Walton.*

[2] Neal's *Puritans*, iv. 29, &c.

often too severe punishments. In the history of these times, it is peculiarly difficult to distinguish between the misconduct of individuals belonging to a sect, and the tenets of the sect itself; and in speaking of quakerism, we must use more especial caution, for the sect seems to have had no landmarks, which might point out the limits necessary for judging fairly about it. Every enthusiast who pretended to an internal revelation, held their distinguishing tenet; and every man who, in his enthusiasm, rejects revelation and reason, must appeal to a supernatural communication. The quakers were at this time of toleration, in one sense, persecuted; for all men who throw down the boundaries of civil and religious society must be restrained by those who wish to maintain them, and such restraints are, by partial people and the sufferers, denominated persecution; but to speak of things by their right names, Fox, and some of his followers[1] as well as certain anabaptists, attempted to interrupt the authorized services of the churches, and were often hardly dealt with, but were necessarily punished. They virtually set at nought the civil magistrate, and when those in authority used severity towards them, they were called sufferers in the cause of Christ: in many cases the severity was unjustifiable, but toleration was even then really unknown, and moderation is the offspring of quiet times; and when the times became more quiet, the quakers became more reasonable. Many of their sufferings were owing to themselves alone; they refused to pay tithes and to take oaths; and it must be a toleration hardly desirable which will allow men to defraud any one of his legal rights, or be contented with subjects who will not comply with the established laws of the land. The punishments were often cruel, but the sufferers generally deserved punishment, for they began by injuring their brethren.

If the doctrine of an inward light be so modified as to mean no more than the necessity of divine aid, it becomes a tenet of catholic Christianity; but whenever it is allowed to be paramount to the Scriptures, and to set aside the express commands of Holy Writ, as in the instance of the Sacraments, it is difficult to say how it can be esteemed compatible with Christianity; yet this is a matter of opinion, and cannot justify cruelty or persecution. We must not confound in our ideas the present quiet and peaceable persons, who are called quakers, with the fanatics of this period; the term, like that of *methodist*, has comprehended a vast variety of men who have entertained an equal diversity of opinions.

§ 619. This same observation will apply to the anabaptists, a name which may comprehend any denomination of Christians

[1] Baxter's *Life*, ii. 180.

who are adverse to infant baptism, and who will therefore deem a subsequent admission, by baptism, necessary, in cases where persons have been originally presented at the font as infants. We must therefore rank under the same appellation the fanatics of Munster,[1] the Memnonites of Holland, and the anabaptists of England, who were, some of them, quiet Christians, while others held those pernicious doctrines which must tend to render the name of Christianity contemptible; pretending to be guided by an inward light, they despised the ordinary advantages of knowledge and learning, and were frequently most abusive in upbraiding such ministers as exerted themselves in their professional callings.

The antinomians, too, disturbed the church during the usurpation, inveighing against the necessity of obedience to the written law of God, and ultimately destroying the distinction between good and evil.

The family of love (a) made all religion to consist in an inward love to Christ, and were guilty of so many abominations, that Baxter[2] calls them infidels: but these were not a new sect.

The fifth-monarchy men expected the coming of King Jesus, during whose reign they should themselves be made kings and priests; they were men who were sincere in their hatred of the tyranny which they had experienced, who looked forward to bring reformation to perfection, but overlooked the means by which these ends might be promoted. They made good soldiers under the command of Cromwell, but threw down the fabric which they had erected as soon as the guidance of his superior genius was withdrawn.

In speaking of such men, we are perhaps wrong in using the term sect at all; these opinions were held by many persons at this time, but constitute of necessity no line of separation: they ever have been held, and ever will be so, while mankind suffer themselves to be directed blindly, and influenced by beings as subject to errors as themselves; fanatical teachers will always find fanatical followers; but the licence which tolerated them, and which was the dawn of that liberty of conscience which this

(a) This sect owes its origin to Henry Nicolas, a mercer of Delph, who broached his errors about 1540. They were brought to England, probably, by one Vitells, about 1574. They consisted in the rejection of infant baptism; of the divinity of Christ; of the depravity of human nature. The Familists seem to have entertained little objection to the church of Rome, or any denomination of Christians, provided they held the doctrine of 'love,' which was to perfect human nature, and to establish God's heavenly kingdom on earth. Their opinions differed little from those of the free-willers in Queen Mary's time. See the index to Strype.

[1] Mosheim's *Eccl. Hist.* iv. 103, 423.

[2] *Life*, i. 91.

country now enjoys, was then productive of much confusion. Men had not learnt to differ in opinion without disputing on their differences, nor had toleration taught them, that to disturb and vilify those who disagree with us in doctrine, must always be a real offence against Christian charity. Undoubtedly at this time the interruptions to the public service were not unfrequent; and the extension of vital Christianity seems to have been greatly prevented by the contentions among those who differed in their religious opinions.

§ 620. While speaking of the morality of this period, we must not forget that no government ever put forth severer statutes[1] against immorality, or tried more strenuously to promote Christianity as far as the words of an ordinance could promote this object. The same bill which did away the penal statutes for not attending the parish-church, enjoined that every person should frequent some place of religious worship or preaching; and notwithstanding all the previous ordinances about the observance of the Sabbath, they forbad the neglect of the Lord's day, and of any other days set apart for humiliation or thanksgiving, under heavy penalties, which extended also to magistrates or constables who failed in exerting themselves to prevent such irregularities. Adultery and incest were made punishable with death; the same punishment was attached to those who were twice convicted of keeping a house of ill fame; and every breach of morality of this description was exposed to great severity. Swearing was subjected to a fine, and the entertaining blasphemous and execrable opinions was punishable by imprisonment, banishment, and death. The laws too against actors[2] were put in force, and persons attending plays were liable to a fine of five shillings; so that none appear to have been acted for the space of twenty years.

§ 621. (Dec. 1656.) The ordinance against heterodox opinions was far from being allowed to remain inactive; for James Naylor,[3] a fanatic more worthy perhaps of a madhouse than of the honour of being converted into a confessor, was severely punished by a vote of the house of commons, and subjected to much the same cruelties as the star-chamber might have inflicted; he was whipped, put in the pillory, and imprisoned. Fry, too, a member,[4] was expelled from the house for professing Socinian opinions, and Biddle tried for his life upon the same plea. This error, like many others, spread prodigiously, and we have the testimony of the assembly of divines at Westminster themselves,[5] who, when consulted as to the punishment to be inflicted upon blasphemy, desired that it might be severe, since it was growing fast. The externals

[1] Neal, iv. 26. [2] Ibid. iii. 402; iv. 246. [3] Ibid. iv. 139, &c.
[4] Wood's *Ath.* iii. 705, 599. [5] Lightfoot's *Gen. Rem.* 49.

of religion were undoubtedly observed with greater strictness, but it seems impossible to conceive, but that the violence of the civil war must have tended to destroy real religion; and however some exceptions may induce us to alter the balance in our minds—for the opinion of Baxter must have its weight—it can hardly be supposed that, upon the whole, the religious and moral principles of the kingdom could have been advanced, or could have failed to be grievously corrupted, by the political state of the country.

§ 622. (A.D. 1653.) One of the laws of the Barebone parliament[1] made marriage merely a civil contract, much in the same manner as is now the case in Scotland, excepting that more notoriety was given to the performance of the ceremony. The parties were forced to have their banns published three times at church or in the market-place, and they were to profess their mutual desire of being married, in the presence of a magistrate, in order to render the union legal. This act was ratified in 1656, but the parties were then permitted to adopt the accustomed rites of religion, if they preferred them.

In a country where an universal toleration of religious opinions is allowed under the same government, there is more wisdom in this ordinance than all men will be willing to admit. Marriage (a) is an institution not only anterior to the preaching of Christianity, but independent of it. Most nations have connected it, more or less, with religious ceremonies, and no Christian can hope for happiness in this state of life, unless it be entered into in the fear of God, and with the divine blessing; but a government which extends its protecting hand over all religions, and contains among its subjects persons of all persuasions, may well say, 'The contract shall be civil, and the religious part of it left to the choice and opinions of the parties contracting.' By following a contrary system, we have among ourselves the absurdity, that the ecclesiastical courts have the sole judgment with regard to marriages, while in cases in which the Scriptures obviously admit of a divorce, these courts have no power to furnish that redress for the infidelity of his wife which our Saviour expressly grants to the husband; and the injured party must have recourse to a civil authority of so expensive a nature, that unless he be rich, it is useless for him to think of it.

§ 623. Among the difficulties to which the church of England was exposed at this period, there appeared to be great danger that the succession of bishops[2] would be interrupted; and the following

(a) See Judge Hale's judgment about the marriage of Quakers: he would not allow it to be set aside, though performed without the legal forms. (*Life* by Burnet. Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, vi. 72).

[1] Neal, iv. 67.

[2] Ibid. iv. 208.

circumstance directed the attention of the exiled court to this point. The church of Rome had renewed the story of the Nag's Head[1] ordination, and appealed to the declaration of Morton, bishop of Durham, who was said to have asserted it in parliament. Morton, who was still alive, though very old, published an authenticated denial of his having done so, which excited the remaining bishops to prevent any repetition of the same evil (a). Many methods of avoiding it were proposed, but there remained much difficulty as to the consecration, the mere act of which would have been dangerous to the bishops engaged in it; and the parties were not agreed as to the steps by which it should take place. The court was unwilling to resign the real power of nomination, and there were no chapters remaining to whom a *congé d'élire* could be sent, and to consecrate without such an election was displeasing to many of the elder bishops. Lord Clarendon wished to feign a total lapse to the crown, but this implied a real power of election in the chapter, which the court did not wish to establish. And the idea of consecrating them as bishops of sees in Ireland, where the king nominates without the form of an election, dissatisfied the English prelates. The event was, that the restoration prevented the execution and necessity of these contrivances.

§ 624. The restoration was probably brought about by a variety of combining causes. Since the death of Oliver Cromwell there had been no permanent government, and the people, weary of anarchy, were ready to receive with joy any power which bore the appearance of a settled authority. They were now undeceived in their hopes of tasting the sweets of real liberty under a republic, and had experienced the tyranny of a military usurper. The presbyterians, generally favourable to monarchy, were now smarting through the licence which the independents had brought in, and disposed to run any hazards rather than continue under the rule of men who had done violence to all their principles. They were perhaps at this moment prejudiced more strongly against the independents than against the church of England; and Monk, joining the presbyterians, and taking advantage of the tide which he could hardly have resisted, had the merit of deceiving everybody, and performing an act of honesty.

(a) Allestre was much employed in this negotiation between the bishops and the court. (Wood's *Ath.*) So was Barwick. Bramhall was consulted on the subject.

[1] See § 409.

CHAPTER XV.

CHARLES II. SAVOY CONFERENCE, 1660.

650. Restoration. 651. Presbyterians. 652. Charles civil to them. 653. Convention parliament. 654. Difficulties in the Restoration; army. 655. Royalists, old and new. 656. Church, state of. 657. Episcopacy disliked. 658. Parties in the church; objects of the episcopalian. 659. Of the nonconformist party. 660. Declaration from Breda. 661. Petition of the presbyterians. 662. Answer of the bishops. 663. King's declaration promised. 664. Discussion at Worcester House. 665. King's declaration. 666. Favourable to the nonconformists. 667. Commission for the Savoy conference. 668. The demands of the bishops; Baxter's form of prayer. 669. Observations on it. 670. The petition for peace. 671. Objections to the Common Prayer; ceremonies, discipline. 672. Answer of the bishops. 673. Reply to it; disputation appointed; sinful points in the Common Prayer. 674. Disputations; close of the conference. 675. Baxter's conduct. 676. Concessions which might have been made. 677. Discipline over the church. 678. Over the laity. 679. The nonconformists' petition to the king.

§ 650. (May 29, 1660.) THE restoration of Charles II. took place with such rapidity, and from such a variety of causes, that as no one individual can be said to have guided the event, so every one seemed at the moment surprised at it. The presbyterian party had undoubtedly a very large share in promoting the return of the king, and while the republicans neglected to demand any defences or safeguards for the civil freedom of the state, their friends in the church were equally wanting in foresight with regard to ecclesiastical matters. It may be doubted whether such an attempt would have succeeded, but it may appear extraordinary that they did not make it, unless we consider that they had seen their prospects of reform, both in church and state, prove delusive; and that they fancied themselves too strong in the nation to allow of their being trampled on by the mere introduction of a court; little aware that the majority of the people were not friendly to the strictness which they had endeavoured to introduce into the administration of both, and that a large portion of every society will, from possessing no principles of their own, generally side with the governing party.

§ 651. But before we enter into any details of the history, it will be necessary to guard against mistakes with respect to the persons whom we designate by the name of *presbyterians*, or rather to state the reason why this term will be inconvenient during the period which we are now examining. By the term *presbyterian*

we generally understand an anti-episcopalian, one who is hostile to the order of bishops as an ecclesiastical order; now the mass of those men, whose subsequent ejection forms the great feature in the early part of this reign, were not anti-episcopalians. They had no objection[1] generally to having a bishop, but they wished so to tie his hands, that his chief authority might consist in the council of presbyters with whom they surrounded him, and who were to be elected by the clergy themselves. They wished for the establishment of such a form of ecclesiastical government, as would, in the state, satisfy a republican; one, who might be contented to have a king, provided he were to be nothing beyond the chief magistrate of the republic. Of course, therefore, the republican and presbyterian party were closely connected by principles; and having found themselves borne down by the independents and army, they gladly had recourse to a legitimate government, under which they imagined that they should be too strong to incur the danger of persecution.

§ 652. Charles, who was fully aware of the strength of this party, and how much he owed his return to their co-operation, treated their divines with marked respect; he admitted them to friendly intercourse in Holland, and on his arrival in this country appointed several of them to be his chaplains,[2] and some of them preached before him. On his first landing he spent a Sunday at Canterbury, and the service at the cathedral was carried on in his presence with all the decent ornaments which belong to our church, and which had now been laid aside for nearly twenty years. Many of the clergy had requested the king to dispense with these ceremonies lest they should offend the people: but he told them very plainly, that while he allowed others to follow their own opinions, he saw no reason why the same liberty should not be extended to himself: and this course of proceeding was properly observed at Whitehall. It was the policy of Charles to be on good terms with this party, nor is there any reason why we should doubt the sincerity of those kind expressions which he used towards them: but it was almost impossible that any sincere coalition should continue between elements so discordant as a puritanic clergy and a dissolute court; but both probably were injured by the utter separation from each other, which afterwards took place.

§ 653. The parliament or convention, which had recalled the king, contained a great many individuals belonging to the party of which we are speaking, who were friendly to a monarchy, and not hostile to episcopacy; but who had no wish to see either the one or the other raised so high as had formerly been the case. They confirmed[3] the clergy in their benefices, provided they had been

[1] Baxter's *Life*, ii. 278, § 113. [2] Collier, ii. 870. [3] Statutes at large.

ordained before December 25, 1659, and had been admitted, since 1642, into their livings upon a legal vacancy; and tried to create as little alteration as possible, provided the incumbent had not favoured the king's death, nor shown himself adverse to infant baptism. They confirmed the leases made by colleges and hospitals, and legalized all marriages, which had from time to time been solemnized according to existing ordinances. In all these acts they made no distinction between orders which had or had not been episcopally conferred, and seemed anxious to tranquillize the nation after the disturbances under which it had been suffering. They passed, too, a bill of indemnity for all but the regicides, and appointed the observance of the 30th of January and the 29th of May.

All acts, however, of the present assembly laboured under one unavoidable difficulty, that their legality might subsequently be called in question, unless confirmed by a parliament summoned by the authority of the king: again, all such men as had in their own persons served the royal cause, or whose fathers had done so, were, by the writ of summons, excluded from being elected to sit in this convention-parliament, a particular which had, in numerous cases, been neglected, so that many of those who most favoured the royal prerogative belonged to it, though they formed not the majority. Upon these several considerations, it was deemed preferable that the convention should be continued no longer than was absolutely necessary, and it was dissolved therefore before the 29th of December.

§ 654. The return of Charles II. had appeared so to coincide with the general wish of the people, that all opposition seemed to vanish before the universal desire for the re-establishment of legitimate authority; but the real difficulties which attended this event were considerable, and if not enough to endanger the safety of the government, were quite sufficient to render the situation of the king far from enviable.

The army formed a body too powerful to be consistent with any secure government, and was composed of many men who, though wise enough not to oppose outwardly the progress of events, were little satisfied with them. There must always be a great unpleasantness in disbanding so large a force; soldiers who could be pleased at their own dismissal must be very unlike any other human beings; since, having had the destiny of the nation apparently in their hands, they are compelled to dissolve the union which has rendered them powerful, and to descend in private life to a station necessarily far below what they have previously held. But in this case probably many of the officers might with justice suspect, that they had been made the tools of the exaltation of

Monk, and of the consequent degradation of themselves. When they met the king on Blackheath,[1] they were perhaps one of the finest bodies of men who had ever been assembled on British ground; they were now necessarily to be disbanded, and there was little or no money to pay them.

§ 655. The friends of the crown were far from being united. The older royalists had suffered so much from their repeated discomfitures, that they were unwilling to run unnecessary risks, and the late attempts, on the rising of Sir George Booth,[2] had brought forward many men who had before no pretensions to royal favour; so that the royalists themselves formed a heterogeneous mass, the older ones despising those who had but lately embarked in the cause, and who in their opinion had contributed nothing to the Restoration; while those whose late activity had exposed them to sufferings, to which they had been unaccustomed, magnified the utility of their own exertions, and disdained the caution of the older friends of the monarchy. These differences were the more insufferable to the king, because from the very first he found himself assailed with solicitations for preferment which he had no ability to grant, and which his own personal facility prevented him from refusing with ease. Abundant applications were made during the first days of his return to England, and such persons were most importunate in their demands as had merited advancement the least.

§ 656. But the greatest difficulty consisted in the state of the church. The bishops had been driven from their places nearly twenty years before, and had generally retired into the obscurity of private life. The generation who had grown up in the church were at once active and influential, and had found themselves not only unfettered by superiors, but had many of them been admitted into much indirect power, and had always been taught to regard the deposed hierarchy as tyrannical and antichristian. They had universally possessed a good deal of authority in their own parishes, and looked forward in the re-establishment of bishops to being deprived entirely of these advantages. It was impossible, therefore, that they should regard the restoration of episcopacy, together with the monarchy, with any friendly eye. Out of the bench of bishops nine only survived the Restoration; most of these were translated to better bishoprics, and made room for the appointment of new ones; thirteen were consecrated during the autumn and winter, and four in the January following; the latter sees had been left open, in hopes that such leading members of the nonconformist party as were not adverse to episcopacy would accept them. All beneficed clergymen who had been deprived during the usurpation,

[1] Skinner's *Life of Monk*, 342; Burnet's *Own Time*, i. 274.
[2] Clarendon, *Own Life*, fol. 20, 8vo, 37.

became again possessed of their benefices at the Restoration, and all property, ecclesiastical or civil, which had been illegally sold, reverted to its right owners; a state of things, which, though perhaps necessary, was very unlikely to excite a favourable feeling towards those who were thus restored. There was a large and forced transfer of property; a circumstance which cannot fail to create dissatisfaction. The incomer always supposes that he has been injured, and the person ejected feels that he is deprived of what he had deemed his own. All ejected heads and fellows of colleges were restored by an order of the lords[1] (June 4th); and after twenty years of confusion, many individuals were injured at the Restoration, who had shared in none of the guilt of the usurpation.

§ 657. But as far as we may be allowed to form an opinion on such a subject, the restoration of the episcopal authority was that which most offended the generality of the church. The point at issue was in reality that of parish discipline. In the church of England the spiritual power is lodged[2] in the hands of the bishop; the clergyman of a parish may admonish, and, if he cannot reform, may suspend from the communion till he can have recourse to the bishop's court; but he has no power of his own to inflict any spiritual punishment. He cannot compel any of his flock to come before him in a judicial manner. This sort of jurisdiction had been generally exercised during the usurpation, and the minister held no communion with those who despised his authority; he might in fact excommunicate any one who neglected his summons, though such a sentence bore with it none of those offensive disabilities which attend on excommunication as inflicted by a bishop's court; but then such a power gave a fearful influence to the parish priest. The nonconformist party were anxious to continue this species of discipline; and he must know very little of human nature who fancies that any man, especially a young one, would readily relinquish an authority of this sort (a). The battle was indeed never fought on exactly this ground, but an examination of the points at issue in the debates about the liturgy,[3] will easily convince us that this was the real object of attack and defence.

(a) See Selden's *Table-Talk, Excommunication*, § 4. 'They excommunicate for three or four things; matters concerning adultery, tithes, wills, &c., which is the civil punishment the state allows for such faults. If a bishop excommunicate a man for what he ought not, the judge has power to absolve, and punish the bishop. If they had that jurisdiction from God, why does not the church excommunicate for murder, for theft? If the civil power might take away all but three things, why may they not take them away too? If this excommunication were taken away, the presbyters would be quiet; it is that they have a mind to, it is that they would fain be at,' &c. See also another observation of his, § 675 (b).

[1] Neal's *Puritans*, iv. 240.

[2] See § 591 and 595 (c).

[3] Baxter's *Life*, ii. 233.

§ 658. The tactics of the two parties were as follows: the episcopalians feared that bishops would be converted into presidents of a college of presbyters, and therefore their object was to deny all authority to the presbyter, and to lessen his influence, by convincing the world that there had been much of evil, and no good, in the late innovations introduced into the government of the church; and this object would be promoted by showing that no alterations of any kind were necessary. The rising generation would be sure to side gradually with the governing party, and it might on this ground be deemed unwise to remedy even real evils, since such a step might induce the mass of the people to doubt of the soundness of the whole, when the advocates of the old constitution acknowledged that some things might admit of improvement. This line of policy was so obvious, that the eyes of the majority of the episcopal party must have been open to it, and their proceedings seem to have been founded upon some such principle.

§ 659. The object of the other party was to show that change was necessary; that the power possessed by the bishops had prevented the exercise of wholesome discipline, and that the government of the church of England still required further reformation. If it could be shown that the established church was not formed on the best model, the conclusion seemed natural, that some modification of episcopacy ought to be substituted in the place of the present church government. At the same time it was of the greatest consequence that the party should appear to be united—that they should hold together—that if they were to fall, they might be overwhelmed as a body. They probably thought themselves stronger than they really were, and they knew that if divided they must become insignificant. The dilemma from which Baxter and his friends had to extricate themselves was this: if they asked too much, many individuals of their own party would say, that they were not prepared to separate from the church of England, because she refused to grant more than what they themselves deemed absolutely necessary. If they asked too little, their opponents would have to object against them, that men who professed to be governed by Christian principles were ready to destroy the peace and unity of the church for such trifles as these.

§ 660. In order to get a clear view of the Savoy conference, the arena on which this contest was carried on, it will be necessary to take a short view of the events which preceded it; for it is not impossible that the issue of the conference was nearly decided, before the members who composed it had actually assembled.

(April 14, 1660.) The king, in his declaration from Breda, had

used the following expressions with regard to toleration:[1] 'We do declare a liberty to tender consciences; and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament, as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence.' The nonconformists, when they beheld this disposition in the king, and the temper of the house of commons, were naturally led to expect concessions from the governing party, and induced to express their wishes as to the points which they desired to be changed, by presenting a petition to the king.

§ 661. They state that they agree with the church of England[2] in doctrinal truths, and the substantial parts of worship: and that they differ only about the ancient form of church government, the Liturgy, and ceremonies. They request, 1. That encouragement may be given to private religious exercises. 2. That each congregation may have a resident and efficient pastor, and that scandalous ministers may be ejected. 3. That personal profession of faith may be required of all communicants, and that no one be confirmed without the approbation of his pastor. 4. That the Lord's day may be kept holy, without unnecessary divertisements. They state that they have no objection to a balanced episcopacy, but complain, 1, of the extent of dioceses, which rendered a personal superintendence impossible; 2, of bishops deputing their authority to officials who were sometimes laymen; 3, of their occasionally assuming the sole power of ordination, and exercising arbitrary power in articles of visitation, &c. In order to obviate these evils, they request that Archbishop Usher's reduction of episcopacy may be adopted; that bishops suffragan, or chorepiscopi, may be chosen by the presbyters; that the associations[3] may not be so large as to make the discipline impossible; that no subscriptions or oaths of obedience be required; that bishops be not allowed to act, except according to canons to be agreed upon and sanctioned by act of parliament.

They do not object to a Liturgy *per se*, provided the minister be not so confined to it as to be prevented from exercising the gift of prayer; they request that the Common Prayer, being justly objectionable, may either be revised, and that certain scriptural forms, to be used according to the discretion of the minister, may be added to it, or that a new one be composed.

With regard to ceremonies, they request that the observance of holydays, kneeling at the Lord's Supper, the use of the surplice and

[1] Clarendon's *History*, iii. 747.
[2] Baxter's *Life*, ii. 253; *History of Nonconformity*, i.
[3] See § 612.

of the cross at Baptism, as well as bowing at the name of Jesus, may not be imposed on any who scruple them: that such ceremonies as have no foundation in law, as erecting altars, bowing to them, &c., may be discontinued.

§ 662. (July 8, 1660.) To this petition the bishops made a formal reply, arguing that none of these alterations were necessary, and not declaring what concessions they were prepared to make: they state—

That the laws[1] have already provided for the four first requests as far as is consistent with the good of the church; that the bishops desire that these particulars may be effectually remedied, but are unwilling that private conventicles and other abuses should be introduced under colour of them; that the laws with respect to the Sabbath are already more strict than in any other reformed church.

That the diocesan form of government has always existed in the church; that the personal cure of souls is the office of the presbyter, and not that of the bishop: and that when the diocese is large, the law has provided for the appointment of suffragans([a]); that there is no objection to delegating authority; and that though bishops have always exercised ecclesiastical power, yet that they have done so with the assistance and advice of presbyters, as of their deans and chapters, who were probably appointed for this very purpose; and that the law will remedy illegal acts of bishops as well as of others. That with regard to Archbishop Usher's reduction, it may be a great question whether it were not rather composed with reference to existing animosities, than as his own final and deliberate choice; that the election of suffragans is already vested in the crown; that they understand not the term *associations*;[2] and that the use of oaths and promises of obedience is expedient.

That the Liturgy appears suited to its object, and tolerably free from objections; that custom allows of the use of extempore prayer before sermon; that they are ready to alter anything which shall

([a]) 26° Henry VIII. ch. 14. An act for nomination and consecration of suffragans within this realm. There are twenty-six places mentioned, for which bishops suffragan may be appointed. The archbishop or bishop is to present two persons to the king, of whom he is to nominate one to be suffragan. The authority of such suffragan shall be limited by their commissions, which they shall not exceed, on pain of *præmunire*. These commissions are to be given by the bishop presenting. This act was repealed 1, 2 Philip and Mary, ch. 8, and revived 1° Eliz. ch. i. Bishops suffragan are spoken of in the thirty-fifth canon of 1604. It would be very desirable that in populous dioceses they should be appointed now; there seems no legal reason why they may not be.

[1] Baxter's *Life*, 242.

[2] See § 612.

be shown to be justly offensive, and object not to a reformation of the Liturgy according to his majesty's wish.

That the ceremonies are in themselves not objectionable; and that to change any of the laws about them would be as likely to offend many sober persons, as it would be to gain over those who contend for such matters.

Baxter[1] himself drew up an answer to this reply, but no use seems to have been made of it.

§ 663. Some of the nonconformists now contended, that it was useless to proceed with any discussions, when it was evident that no good could possibly result; but Baxter urged them to go on, while there was even the most distant hope of promoting peace, and they were confirmed in this view of the subject by a promise from the king, that he would act the part of moderator between the contending factions, and signify his ideas of what concessions could be made, by putting forth a declaration which should be submitted to the inspection of both parties, before it was published to the world. When the draft of this declaration was put into the hands of the nonconformists, many animadversions were passed upon it, and a second paper was drawn up for the purpose of being presented to the king, but contained so much which was more likely to cause divisions, than to promote peace, that it never passed beyond the hands of the chancellor. It was the work of Baxter, and though pruned of some of its most objectionable passages by the interference of Calamy and Reynolds, yet its suppression was judicious. One of the arguments[2] in favour of a moderate episcopacy is, that its adoption would save those who had taken the covenant from the sin of perjury, since they had there sworn to root out prelacy only, and not episcopacy. The chief demands are, for a power of control over the bishops, and a jurisdiction over their flocks, to be granted to the presbyters; that the Common Prayer should not only be reformed, but even very moderately imposed; and that the ceremonies should be left indifferent. Complaints are also made that no minister can be instituted without renouncing his presbyterian orders, and being re-ordained, subscribing the oath of canonical obedience, and reading the disputed part of the XXth article.

§ 664. The nonconformists[3] were now desired to state what alterations in the declaration they deemed absolutely necessary; but since most of them were inserted in the document itself, as it was subsequently published, less notice of them seems to be required (a).

(a) They may easily be traced by comparing Collier's *Eccl. Hist.* p. 874; and Baxter's *Own Life*, 275, 259.

[1] Baxter's *Life*, 248.
[2] Ibid. 267; *Hist. of Nonconformity*, 10, &c.
[3] Baxter's *Life*, 275.

(Oct. 22.) Three days before the publication of the declaration [1] there was a meeting at Worcester House, the residence of Lord Clarendon, where, while many of the questions were discussed in a conversational manner, Lord Clarendon drew out a petition for toleration, which had been presented by the anabaptists and independents, and asked the advice of the divines who were present concerning it, wishing probably to cast on the presbyterians the odium of a refusal, if they who demanded such concessions in favour of themselves were unwilling to allow of toleration to others. Both parties were silent for a time, till Baxter, fearing lest, through their silence, the petition should be granted, and that the indulgence thus obtained would be extended to the papists, spoke against it; so little were the principles of toleration understood: indeed, a state of things differing entirely from that of the present day, almost prevents us from estimating fairly the scruples of the nonconformists themselves. When we regard them as factious in their opposition to the ceremonies of the church, as in truth we must do, we forget that they had no liberty of joining a dissenting congregation.

§ 665. (Oct. 25.) In this declaration the king [2] professes that he purposes to promote godliness, to encourage public and private exercises of religion, to prevent the abuse of the Lord's day, and to cast out scandalous ministers. That he will endeavour to appoint good bishops, who shall be preachers, and that, where the dioceses are large, they shall be assisted by suffragans. That no bishop shall ordain or exercise any ecclesiastical jurisdiction without the assistance of presbyters. No chancellor or official shall, as such, perform any spiritual act of authority; nor an archdeacon do so, without the aid of six presbyters, three chosen by the presbyters of the archdeaconry, and three nominated by the bishop.

That cathedral preferments shall be filled by good men; that a number of presbyters, elected by the presbyters of the diocese, and equal in number to those members of the chapter who shall be present, shall assist the bishop in all ecclesiastical functions, ordinations, &c.; nor shall any suffragan bishop ordain without the presence of a sufficient number of presbyters elected by their brethren.

That confirmation shall be carefully performed with the consent of the minister of the parish; none shall be admitted to the Lord's table without a profession of faith and obedience, or who has been guilty of scandalous offences.

That rural deans, to be appointed as heretofore by the bishop, shall hold monthly meetings, with three or four ministers of their

[1] Ibid. 277. [2] Collier's *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 874.

deanery, for discipline, and present to the bishop such as they cannot influence by persuasion. The rural dean shall superintend the education of the children in the deanery, seeing that the respective ministers do their duty in preparing them for confirmation.

That no bishop shall exercise any arbitrary power, nor impose anything but according to law.

That a commission shall be appointed to review the Liturgy and to make additional forms, which shall consist of an equal number from both sides.

In the mean time the king prays all ministers to adopt as much conformity as they can, promising that none shall be punished for the want of it; allowing them to use or neglect the cross in baptism, while parents who differ in this particular from their own minister, may procure another who agrees with them, to christen their children: that bowing at the name of Jesus shall be left free, and the use of the surplice be considered optional, except in cathedrals and colleges. That the oaths of allegiance and supremacy shall suffice, instead of that of canonical obedience and subscription; and that persons instituted or taking degrees shall subscribe to those only of the Thirty-nine Articles which are doctrinal.

§ 666. This declaration contains such ample concessions to the wishes of the nonconformists that one is led to doubt the sincerity of those who drew it up; for whatever might have been the wishes of the king, if indeed he regarded the matter at all, it was obvious that no parliament was likely to pass into an act measures which would probably displease the majority of the episcopal divines and their adherents, and so materially change the constitution of the church. The only immediate effect of this declaration was partially to delay for a season severities against the nonconformists; for the influence of the court prevented the execution of the act of uniformity of Queen Elizabeth; but when endeavours were made[1] (Nov. 6th), on the motion of Sir Matthew Hale, to pass it into a bill, it was thrown out, and the convention was soon after dissolved (Dec. 29th). Both houses, as well as a large body of the London clergy, presented addresses[2] of thanks to his majesty for his gracious concessions; and Baxter, who had previously despaired of finding anything yielded, which might enable him to remain in his ministry, was so pleased, that he made up his own mind to exert all his influence in promoting uniformity. It was about this time that the offer of bishoprics[3] was made to Calamy, Baxter, and Reynolds, who alone of the three

[1] Neal's *Puritans*, iv. 268. note †; Burnet's *Own Time*, i. 305. s.
[2] Baxter's *Life*, 284.
[3] Ibid. 281.

accepted the preferment (a). Calamy had been an antiepiscopalian, and it was naturally conceived by his friends, that his accepting such a situation would be a disgrace to his former professions, and to the cause of the presbytery; but Reynolds and Baxter had always been friends to moderate episcopacy, and if the declaration of the king could be passed into a law, there seemed no reason why they should decline being placed on the bench; and Baxter, in his letter to Lord Clarendon,[1] says, that his chief reason for refusing the promotion, was the hope that he should more effectually advance the cause of peace, by retaining a station where his arguments in favour of episcopacy could be liable to none of those suspicions to which they must be exposed were he himself exalted into the office for which he became the advocate.

§ 667. (A.D. 1661.) In compliance with the last clause in the declaration of the king, a commission consisting of twelve bishops and twelve nonconformist divines was appointed (March 25th), to whom nine of each party were joined, in order to supply the places of those who might be prevented from attending. They (a) are instructed to 'review the Common Prayer,[2] and to make such

(a) Other preferments were at the same time offered to several of the same party. Echard, 781.

(a) The whole history of this conference is contained in Baxter's *Own Life*, 303–369, and the *History of Nonconformity*. I am not aware of any original account of it from the party of the bishops. There are observations about it in Burnet's *Own Time*. I am informed by a kind correspondent that there is a vindication of the bishops by G. Morley, in a tract entitled *The Bishop of Winchester's Vindication of himself from divers false reflections made upon him by Mr. Baxter*. London, 1687. But I have not been able to find a copy of it as this was passing through the press, as it is not in the catalogue of the British Museum.

The Commissioners were—
A. Frewen, abp. of York.
G. Sheldon, bp. of London.
J. Cosins, bp. of Durham.
J. Warner, bp. of Rochester.
H. King, bp. of Chichester.
H. Hinchman, bp. of Sarum.
G. Morley, bp. of Worcester.
R. Sanderson, bp. of Lincoln.
B. Lany, bp. of Perterborough.
B. Walton, bp. of Chester.
R. Sterne, bp. of Carlisle.
J. Gauden, bp. of Exeter.
Ed. Reynolds, bp. of Norwich.
A. Tuckney, D.D.
J. Conant, D.D.
W. Spurstow, D.D.
J. Wallis, D.D.
Th. Manton, D.D.
Edm. Calamy, B.D.
R. Baxter, Clerk.
A. Jackson.
Th. Case.
Sam. Clarke.
M. Newcomen.

The Supernumeraries were—
J. Earl, dean of Westminster.
P. Heylin, D.D.
J. Hacket, D D.
J. Barwick, D.D.
P. Gunning, D.D.
J. Pierson, D.D.
Th. Pierce, D.D.
A. Sparrow, D.D.
H. Thorndike, D.D.
Th. Horton, D.D.
Th. Jacomb, D.D.
W. Bates.
J. Rawlinson.
W. Cooper.
J. Lightfoot, D.D.
J. Collins.
B. Woodbridge.
R. Drake.

[1] Baxter's *Life*, 282.

[2] Ibid. 304.

alterations therein as shall be thought most necessary; and some additional forms in the Scripture phrase as near as might be suited to the nature of the several parts of worship,'—'comparing the same with the most ancient liturgies which have been used in the church in the primitive and purest times.' 'To take into serious consideration the several directions, rules, and forms of prayer, and things in the said Book of Common Prayer contained, and to advise and consult upon and about the same, and the several objections and exceptions which shall now be raised against the same; and if occasion be, to make such reasonable and necessary alterations, corrections, and amendments therein, as shall be agreed upon to be needful and expedient for the giving satisfaction unto tender consciences, and the restoring and continuance of peace and unity in the churches under our protection and government. But avoiding as much as may be all unnecessary alterations of the forms and liturgy wherewith the people are already acquainted, and have so long received in the church of England.'

Their place of assembling was appointed to be the lodgings of the bishop of London in the Savoy, and the commission was to continue in force for four calendar months, till the 25th of July.

§ 668. Their first meeting did not take place till April 15th, and then Sheldon, bishop of London, informed his opponents, that as the bishops had no wish for any alteration, the first step must be a statement in writing, on the part of the nonconformists, of all which they desired might be altered or inserted. This proposal was contrary to their wishes and expectations, since they hoped by mutual communication to discover how far concessions might be practicable; but was peremptorily insisted on by the bishop, who declared that nothing could be done till all the exceptions, alterations, and additions were brought in at once. This step was likely to produce differences of opinion among the nonconformists themselves, and to frighten the bishops into rejecting every proposal, when they beheld the extent of what was required to be changed: and it may be presumed [1] to have been adopted by the bishops for this very purpose, as it is hardly consistent with the instructions of the commission. Nor must it be forgotten, that three weeks had been lost between the date of the commission and the first meeting; a delay which could hardly have been accidental. The office of drawing up the additional forms was assigned to Baxter, who had been most anxious on this point, and the statement of the objections to the Common Prayer was intrusted to a committee; but Baxter was so much more rapid in his proceedings that he not only composed a form of prayer of very considerable length, but brought in a table of objections almost as large as that of the committee.

[1] Burnet's *Own Time*, i. 309.

§ 669. It will not be easy to assign any good excuse or reason why Baxter should frame a form of prayer entirely new, when the commission only extended to some additional forms; he could hardly be foolish enough to suppose that the bishops would adopt it, while the mere act of offering it could not fail to irritate them. He himself says,[1] that he wished to leave a standing witness to posterity, that he and his friends were not adverse to a settled form; and as the composition was his own, he was probably induced to think more highly of the work than it deserved (ª). The method which he pursued in its composition, was to follow the general plan of the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments; nor can it be denied that it is an extraordinary production, considering the time he was occupied about it, which did not exceed a fortnight. It abounds in a copious and flowing style, full of scripture metaphors; but to those who love the close and simple forms of the services of our church, and their correspondence with the brief and distinct petitions which we meet with in scripture, it will appear to be by no means free from the worst of faults, that of preserving the phraseology of the Bible, and applying it in an indefinite and perplexed manner, which to an educated man of a poetical turn may prove edifying, but must be generally unintelligible to the mass of any congregation (ᵇ).

§ 670. Upon consideration, it was thought more prudent to send in the objections to the Common Prayer, before this document was offered, and they were delivered on the fourth of May: and this liturgy,[2] when it had been subjected to the examination of the committee, and undergone some trifling alterations, was presented to the bishops, and accompanied with an address which

(ª) He says (*Life*, 335), when speaking of an objection raised against granting the minister leave to pray 'in these words,' 'or in this sense,' which is always the case in this form, that if this clause, 'or to this sense,' had been dashed out, it had been beyond exception. And again: 'They (*i.e.* the nonconformists) offer also such forms as are more unquestionable (than the Common Prayer), as to their congruity to the word of God, and to the nature of the several parts of worship' (*Hist. Nonconformity*, 201). It is printed in the *History of Nonconformity*, 52, &c.

(ᵇ) Among many other objectionable points it may be remarked, that the confession runs into particulars which could hardly ever apply to the majority of those present. The following metaphors are introduced: 'Justice may run down as water, and righteousness as a mighty stream.' 'Oh, habitation of justice and mountain of holiness!' In the directions about the sermons, it is ordered, that the preacher shall speak 'from faith and holy experience in himself,' 'with convincing evidence and persuading importunity;' objects which, however desirable, are hardly attainable by means of a rubric. He calls a godfather, not a sponsor, but a proparent. Surely a man must be very ignorant of human nature, or very perverse, who attempts to reconcile high-churchmen by these names.

[1] *Life*, 306.

[2] Ibid. 334.

bore the title of a petition for peace, a denomination which it ill deserved. It was drawn up by Baxter, and read aloud to the bishops, who, according to his own observation about it, would never have yielded to this proposal, had they all known how long and how ungrateful its contents were. It is drawn up in a strong and nervous style[1] of oratory, which, while it advises moderation, seems rather to threaten those who neglect it, than to pray for it. His argument is, that his brethren dare not conform about things which they esteem far from indifferent, for fear of God's wrath. He talks of their tenderness for the honour of Christ, speaks of the unmerciful impositions of the bishops, even if that for which they stood were of God, and urges them, instead of pressing conformity because it was law, to join with the nonconformists in petitioning the king and parliament that it might be no longer law. He reminds them of the number of ministers who must suffer, of people who must grieve even for their souls, because their teachers could not submit to the burden of re-ordination, subscription, and the ceremonies; and appeals to their readiness to suffer in their worldly interests, as a proof of the sincerity of their professions. These arguments would be irresistible, if there were no such feeling as that of prejudice in the world; but surely the nonconformists might fairly have questioned, whether their own zeal for changing what was established in the church, were quite free from evil motives. Men's passions often carry them against their interests. The dilemma to which they would reduce the bishops, would turn with equal force against themselves; for if they would but comply with the orders of the church, which had been no new imposition, they might avoid all these evils; and the bishops might say with equal truth, that they dared not innovate. The great evil, however, of the address was, that he who wrote the petition for peace did not try to conciliate.

§ 671. The objections raised against the Common Prayer[2] are so numerous, and many of them of so little importance, that it would but weary the reader to state them at length; while it is difficult to classify or abridge them without omitting something which may be thought important. They premise that it is desirable that no matter of mere opinion be left in a general formulary, for fear of causing divisions; and request that, as the Prayer Book was originally framed with a view of comprehending the Roman Catholics, it may now be altered so as to satisfy those who differ only with regard to ceremonies. On this point they requested that the use of the surplice, of the cross in baptism, of kneeling at

[1] *Hist. of Nonconformity*, 27.
[2] Baxter's *Life*, 316. *Hist. of Nonconformity*, 152.

the sacrament, of the ring in marriage, as well as all subscriptions about them, might be left indifferent; and that the rubric concerning the dresses might be omitted; that the observance of saints' days might be optional; and that such expressions as implied any propriety of fasting in Lent might be erased.

Under the second head we must arrange such points as bear indirectly on discipline; and here, with regard to the Lord's Supper, they wished that the communicants should be required to give longer previous notice of their intention of receiving; and that none should be admitted to the table who did not make a public profession of faith and obedience: and that, in order to give time for this, the exhortations should be read on the Sunday before, and not at the time of celebration (a). That the rubric, instead of enjoining every one to receive three times in the year, should direct that the celebration of the Lord's Supper should take place at least so often; that the rubric about transubstantiation should be restored; and that in the visitation of the sick, the curate should be left at liberty to administer or refuse the Lord's Supper, according to his discretion.

In baptism they requested not only that a longer previous notice should be required, but that no minister should be forced to baptize the children of atheists, infidels, heretics, or unbaptized persons, nor of those who were excommunicated, fornicators, or otherwise notorious and scandalous sinners. That godfathers should not be required, but that parents, or proparents, should make the answers in their own names.

That such expressions in the services as seemed to imply that all the congregation are regenerated or converted should be changed; as well as the rubric which asserts the undoubted salvation of all baptized children dying before the commission of sin (b). That in Confirmation the children should not be admitted without the consent of the minister; that the expressions in the

(a) N.B. The admonition which is now read on the Sunday before, was, till the last review, read in the service itself: this point was changed in consequence of the objections now raised.

(b) It is curious that this rubric was originally placed as a part of the service for Confirmation, to prevent people from esteeming baptism incomplete without that rite. 'That no man shall think that any detriment shall come to the children by deferring their confirmation.' This object is not now answered, while the expression, 'certain by God's word,' might as well not be applied to a proposition, which, however true, must be proved by reasoning on the analogy of God's dispensations, and not from any one or more texts of Scripture, adduced directly in its confirmation. Baxter's (*Life*, 428) observation on it is, 'It is strange that when infant baptism itself is commonly said by these men to be a tradition, and not commanded or found in Scripture, that yet they find it certain by the word of God, that baptized infants are saved.

Burial of the Dead, and the Churching of Women, which cannot properly be used of every individual, should be altered to more general terms.

In remodelling the Prayer Book, as a form of public devotions, they requested that, in order to give an unity to the whole, the frequent breaks and interruptions might be omitted. That the Litany, for instance, instead of being composed of many separate petitions, might be consolidated into one long prayer, and that the same plan might be adopted with regard to other collects and prayers, and in reading the commandments; by doing which many repetitions which occur in the services might be avoided, particularly the frequent use of the Lord's Prayer and the *Gloria Patri*, &c. It was desired that greater liberty of altering the prayers, and of introducing even his own, might be conceded to the officiating minister; and, besides numerous verbal emendations, that the new translation of the Bible might be adopted in the texts quoted in the Prayer Book, and that none of the Apocrypha might be read as lessons.

§ 672. After some time, the bishops sent in an answer (a) to the nonconformists, in which they observe that the most effectual method of showing gratitude to the king would be to comply with his wishes in conforming to the Liturgy, a step which at the same time would be most likely to promote the peace of the church. That humility on the part of the governed would induce them to respect their rulers, by obeying what was ordered; while to pretend to scruples, without proving the points at issue to be unlawful, was virtually to destroy all law; and that if scruples were to be consulted, those of the conformists ought not to be disregarded, who would justly be offended at unnecessary alterations. That the Prayer Book had been drawn up with great care, and nothing introduced into it which might not be proved to be taken from the word of God, or the practice of the primitive church; that if anything of this sort could be pointed out, the bishops themselves wished to see it changed; but that it could not be necessary to make innovations for the sake of satisfying those who were themselves the cause that the services were disliked. That there must be some general rule with regard to ceremonies, in which, except under peculiar circumstances, the majority of any society must be bound to obey the judgment and decisions of their superiors, since offence unnecessarily taken by a weak brother could be no reason for abrogating the general law of God, which established the duty

(a) I am not aware that this answer of the bishops is anywhere printed at length. I believe the whole of it is quoted by Baxter, as he answers it (*Hist. Nonconformity*, 187, &c.); from whence I have taken it. A copious abstract is given by Collier, ii. 879.

of subordination; that the ceremonies alluded to were in themselves ancient and unobjectionable, and that the observance of Lent, and the saints' days, had been an universal practice in the church, and ought not now to be rejected.

In the Lord's Supper, the bishops seem to have been ready to grant so much as would allow the curate more time for admonition, and to have quietly passed over the rest. They abate nothing of the rubric concerning receiving three times in the year, and urge the ministers to try to prevent the unfitness of the communicants by their own exertions. They add that in baptism too much power ought not to be left in the hands of the curate, lest he might use it uncharitably towards the children, whose right to baptism does not depend merely on their parents; that the use of godfathers (b) is ancient, and need not be laid aside.

That the use of the term *regeneration* (c) is according to the holy Scriptures, and since the child can do nothing to hinder the efficacy of the sacrament, it is charitably to be presumed that the baptism is effectual. That in speaking of others who are not notorious offenders (for these indeed are already excluded), charity denominates them such as they ought to be. That, in confirmation, the consent of the minister is very proper, but still ought not to tie down the hands of the bishop in case he sees fit to administer the rite without it.

That the responses which are objected to as interruptions, are very useful in keeping up the attention and exciting the devotion of the congregation, and consistent with the practice of the early Christian and Jewish churches. That the connexion of the prayers seems to be good, and that there is no reason why the different attributes of God should not be brought in before particular petitions, each ending with an address, through the merits and mediation of Christ. That the *Gloria Patri*, as a short confession of the Trinity, cannot be a burden to any liturgy, and that the Lord's Prayer occurs nowhere above twice in the same service. That the

(b) It may be observed that the nonconformists are probably nearer to the custom of the primitive church, in their requests, than the present rubric. See Bingham's *Ant.* Index, Sponsors.

(c) It is unfortunate that sufficient attention has not been paid to the different senses of this word. If individuals assign to it a secondary meaning, in which it was not intended to be used in the baptismal service, their objections to this service are due to themselves. Probably no sincere member of the church of England ever thought that all baptized persons were living under the influence of the Spirit of God, or that the mind of any one could be effectually turned to God, except through the operation of the Holy Ghost; and when this is laid down, there is no great theoretical difference between those who disagree on this point. The collect for Christmas-day is the best comment on our baptismal service as to this particular.

concession of greater liberty to the officiating minister would destroy the very object of a set form of prayer. That it is not necessary to exclude the reading of the Apocrypha, since the sufficiency of Scripture does not supersede the necessity of other instructions, as of sermons, &c.

This answer is terminated by a list of concessions, which, after all, are not considerable, and will be noticed in the History of Common Prayer;[1] but it may be remarked that three of these promised alterations were never introduced—viz., the insertion of the whole of the preface to the Ten Commandments in the communion service, 'I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt,' &c.; in the marriage service, the change of the word, 'with my body I thee worship,' into 'I thee honour:' and in the burial service, the omission of the epithets 'sure and certain hope:' the two last of which seem to be desirable, nor am I acquainted with any reason why they were not effected.

§ 673. To this answer of the bishops, the other party sent in a long reply,[2] containing the chief arguments which may be adduced on the several topics, but drawn up in so violent a tone, that it could only tend to widen a breach which was already too large ([a]). When this paper was presented[3] to the bishops, Baxter observed, that they seemed offended at its length; and as he suspected that no one, except those who were commissioned to answer the papers, ever read them, he strongly urged that the few remaining days might be employed in friendly disputations. When this point was conceded, he tried to induce his opponents to state their objections to his own form of liturgy, but could not obtain his request; for

([a]) The preface was written by Calamy, and states the points in which the bishops had not made any concessions (Baxter's *Life*, 335). The answer itself was composed by Baxter, but is too long, and enters too much into detail to admit of any abridgement which shall convey an adequate idea of its contents. It takes up one hundred and forty-two closely printed 8vo. pages; he calls it a plain answer—it is, alas, far too plain to do any good. He says (*Hist. Nonconf.* 198) in it, 'Love and tenderness are not used to express themselves by hurting and destroying men for nothing:' 'we force not all to use spectacles or crutches (Ibid. 233), because some are purblind or lame.' He calls the Common Prayer 'a dose of opium (Ibid. 213), which is likely to cure the disease of divisions by extinguishing life, and uniting all in a dead religion.' He says, 'Take all the world for saints (Ibid. 316), and use them accordingly, and blot out the doctrine of reproof, excommunication, and damnation from your Bible.' It is impossible that he could have even hoped for good from such expressions. He adds, 'You are all (Ibid. 322) unacquainted with the subject of which you speak.'—'The world (Ibid. 324) will see that indeed we differ in greater things than ceremonies and forms of prayer.' 'All tends to take away the difference (Ibid. 325) between the precious and vile, between those that fear God, and that fear him not.'

[1] § 749, ([b]). [2] *Hist. of Nonconf.* 183, &c. [3] Baxter's *Life*, 335.

the bishops maintained their vantage ground, and desired that they might see the necessity of any alteration clearly established before they proceeded to discussions as to the nature of them. This disputation was committed to Drs. Pierson, Gunning, and Sparrow, against Bates, Jacomb, and Baxter; but the proceedings were carried on with so much confusion, that no good result could be expected from it.

Towards the end of the debate Bishop Cosins brought forward a proposal as coming from some considerable person, by which an end might be put to the dispute, if the nonconformists would state what they considered to be 'sinful' in the Common Prayer, and what they deemed 'expedient to be altered.' To this proposal Baxter presently sent in an answer, wherein he mentioned eight particulars as sinful.[1]

1. That no minister might be admitted to baptize without using the cross.

2. Or to exercise any office, if he dare not wear a surplice.

3. That none be admitted to the communion that dare not kneel.

4. That ministers are forced to pronounce all baptized infants regenerate.

5. To administer the Lord's Supper to unfit persons, and they forced to receive it.

6. To absolve the unfit in absolute terms.

7. To give thanks for all whom they bury, 'as brethren whom God has delivered and taken to himself.'

8. That none may preach without subscribing a declaration, that the Book of Common Prayer and Articles containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God.

There were, indeed, two more, which he omitted at the request of his colleagues: the imposition of the Liturgy, and the subscription of canonical obedience.

§ 674. This step naturally offended the bishops, who justly reasoned, that if the thing imposed were not in itself contrary to the word of God, the imposition of it could hardly be sinful, however inexpedient an individual might esteem it. The disputation was subsequently carried on in a syllogistic form, and the only point clearly demonstrated seems to be, the absurdity of expecting to settle differences of opinion by such a method. Baxter appears to have been far too metaphysical in his distinctions; and though the fault, in a great measure, lies in the attempt itself,[2] yet his pertinacious denial of what to most men must appear to be true,

1 Baxter's *Life*, 341, &c.

2 Walton's *Life of Sanderson*; Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biog.* v. 529, &c.

will induce us, perhaps, to believe that he mistrusted his own conviction of the sinfulness of the impositions.

Through these numerous delays, which were perhaps created on purpose by the episcopal party, and certainly much augmented by the temper with which Baxter carried on his part of the dispute, the time which was assigned for the conference had expired, and all that was effected was, that the bishops had consented to some unimportant alterations; the nonconformists had shown what they wished for in the modification of the church; and both parties had become exasperated against each other.

§ 675. After the termination of the conference, the nonconformist divines[1] waited on the lord chancellor, who advised them to draw up an address to his majesty, containing an account of all that had taken place, and requested that he might himself first see it. He seems to have been most offended with Baxter, and to have thought that if he had urged his proposals with temper, and a spirit of conciliation, all might have been well (a). And, indeed, Baxter appears throughout the whole transaction to have given up the hope, and with it, perhaps, almost the wish of reconciling the two parties. He earnestly desired peace, but it was only on his own terms, and he would concede nothing to his opponents. With this feeling it soon became his object to render the dispute, in the eyes of the world, as favourable as possible to his own party, and to leave a clear testimony to posterity,[2] that the bishops had rejected that which, in his opinion, was essential to Christianity. He readily put himself forward in the contest, with the view of screening his brethren from the animosity of the bishops, and esteemed it a cause for which he could comfortably suffer, being no less disposed to become a willing martyr in the cause of charity, than he would have been in that of faith, had he been called to the trial. One cannot but admire the heroic temper of such a man, but we must be very cautious not to mistake all these feelings for pure Christianity. In this case they were doubtless mixed up with much which was Christian; but Baxter never once thought of sacrificing in the cause of Christ that which a good man values most highly of anything in this world, the good opinion of his own party and the admiration of his friends (b); had he yielded all that

(a) Lord Clarendon observed, that if Baxter had been as fat as Dr. Manton, all might have gone on well. Baxter's *Life*, 364.

(b) Selden's *Table Talk*. 'Changing Sides,' § 4:—'When the pope offered Luther any preferment in the church which he chose to have, Luther answered, if he had offered half as much at first he would have accepted it; but now he had gone so far he could not come back. In truth, he had made himself a greater thing than they could make him; the German princes courted him; he was become the author of a sect,

[1] Baxter's *Life*, 364.

[2] Ibid. 306.

in his conscience he could yield, the more violent members of his party would perhaps have counted him a traitor to their cause, but the peace of the church of England would probably have been promoted, and the service of real religion have been advanced.

§ 676. When we view the whole question, at this distance of time, it is impossible not to wish(a) that several concessions had been made, on points which, while they affect not the doctrine or discipline of the church, have been, and are, offensive to many who conscientiously adhere to what is ordered; and which, had they been granted at the period of which we are speaking, might probably have tended to conciliation. But the failure in the success of this conference must be attributed chiefly to Baxter. He was anxious to give the priest a negative power over his bishop; that there should be a certain number of elected presbyters, without whom the bishop should not be allowed to perform certain offices. The declaration had conceded the point, and Baxter wished to introduce something of this nature into the rubric; and he was not contented that the power of the priest over the people should be confined to persuasive government alone; and when he began to argue on the point with the bishops, he became warm, and used expressions which would have been more wisely avoided.

§ 677. The question about discipline is one of opinion; one in which men may arrive at very different conclusions without adopting very discordant principles. Discipline is probably best preserved by vesting the supreme authority in the hands of the immediate governors, subject only to an appeal to a higher tribunal, and to the control of public opinion. Discipline is different from government. The object of discipline is to make the body

ever after to be called Lutherans. So have our preachers done, that are against the bishops; they have made themselves greater with the people than they can be made the other way.'

(a) If the whole services had been shortened; the morning service so arranged, by a new rubric perhaps, that there might have been more unity in the various parts of which it is composed, and repetitions had been thus avoided, particularly with regard to the Lord's Prayer;—if there had been a distinct invocation for the aid of the Holy Ghost to assist our prayers, an extension, perhaps, of the latter part of the Absolution, in the commencement of the duty of the day;—had the method of distributing the elements in the Lord's Supper been altered, in case of a large number of communicants, a custom which many clergymen have, from necessity, been forced to introduce;—had the godfathers in baptism answered in their own names, or had a rubric been inserted, explaining the nature of the promises which they make; had the words, 'with my body I thee worship;' 'in sure and certain hope;' and, 'it is certain from God's word,' in the several services, been changed;—had the reading of the Apocrypha been discontinued, and the tables of lessons new framed; the Prayer Book would probably have been equally edifying, and less liable to objections.

subjected to it, as effective as possible: of government, to render the members governed as free and happy as can be contrived. But almost every body of men partakes of two characters, and must be subjected to discipline as well as government. A country which does not submit to both, will soon find itself overpowered by some neighbouring state, which has been trained to combine its forces, and to be directed in its operations by discipline. And no one in England can help feeling that discipline should never be separated from the principles of government; that every member of even the army, or navy, when subjected to a court-martial, is still an Englishman, to whom the laws of mere discipline cannot be applied strictly, without injustice.

From the connexion between church and state, which exists in this country, the discipline of the church of England is of a most complicated nature, and can hardly be regarded as either discipline or government, but must be viewed as a mixture of both. The differences between those who advocate, or oppose, reformation, in the constitution of our church, chiefly arise from this circumstance, that the one regard the matter as a question of discipline, the other as purely of government. The early state of the Christian church required discipline rather than government; and the difficulties with which they were surrounded, rendered the preservation of discipline among Christians of a given society comparatively easy. Baxter's idea of a parish was, that the members of it should be under the control of some minister, to whom they voluntarily submitted, and perhaps some of the opposite party might have looked upon the church establishment as simply a branch of the body politic; but surely it is to regard the church of England very superficially, to confine our notions to either of these views (a).

§ 678. It is highly desirable that the external circumstances of a clergyman should, as much as possible, enable him 'constantly to speak the truth, and boldly to rebuke vice,' without his suffering for the truth's sake; and it cannot be imagined that any interference of the bishop's authority at all tends to prevent this freedom of action on the part of the inferior members of the church; and it may fairly be questioned whether the use of a judicial power, vested in the parish priest, would advance the cause of vital Christianity. As far as the hortative influence of private

(a) If the right of presentation to a living belong to an individual, and the discipline exercised by a bishop wrongfully deprive the clerk presented to it of his freehold, the patron receives an injury, for which he ought to have a remedy from the civil court. And yet, surely the bishop ought to be guarded in the exercise of his discipline, or he may be prevented from doing his duty conscientiously. The adjustment of this, is the real difficulty with regard to discipline over the clergy. The discipline over the laity is a totally different question.

admonition, there can be no doubt that it was then, and is now, open to a conscientious minister of God's word to speak the most unpleasant truths to any erring members of his flock; yet certainly no wise government will invest a spiritual person with such authority as will be likely to induce him to tyrannize over his brethren. The minister of the Gospel possesses an authority which is not derived from man, and for the use of which he is not accountable to the civil magistrate; but whenever he outsteps the limits of spiritual admonition, he will probably injure the cause of religion. If any civil disabilities be attached to ecclesiastical censures, of the wisdom of which there is much doubt, surely it is more reasonable to confine the power of inflicting these censures on the people to as few persons as possible, and, as far as can be, to remove it from the pastor.

§ 679. When the conference[1] was over, the nonconformists drew up a petition to the king, containing a brief statement of what had been done, and an exposition of their principles. In this they declared, that if the civil magistrate commanded that which they believed to be wrong in its own nature and offensive to God, it became their duty to examine into the question carefully, and if unconvinced, to suffer patiently such penalties as were affixed to disobedience. This document too was drawn up by Baxter, but two of the most vehement passages had been previously erased by the lord chancellor and the earl of Manchester.

[1] Baxter's *Life*, 366. *Hist of Nonconf.* 333.

CHAPTER XVI.

CHARLES II. FROM THE SAVOY CONFERENCE TO THE END OF THE REIGN, 1661–1685.

701. Convocation; the last subsidy granted by the clergy. 702. Act of uniformity. 703. Difficulties connected with church property at a restoration; (a) on church property. 704. Observations on the act of uniformity. 705. Treatment of the nonconformists. 706, 707. Injustice of it. 708. Causes of passing this act. 709. Charles friendly to toleration. 710. Ejection of the nonconformists; re-ordination. 711. Ejected clergy; Acts of parliament. 712. Corporation and test; select vestry act. 713. Conventicle act. 714. Five mile act. 715. Attempts at a comprehension. 716. Effects of the ill-treatment of the nonconformists. 717. The nonconformists not to be excused. 718. Letters of the foreign divines; evils on both sides. 719. Latitudinarians. 720. Laws against the Roman Catholics. 721. Plots; Oates'. 722. Dangerfield's. 723. Danger of the introduction of popery. 724. The commons and nonconformists adverse to toleration. 725. Exclusion of the Roman Catholics from power. 726. Policy of the reign. 727. Plague. 728. Fire of London. 729. Oxford decree. 730. Lord Clarendon; his policy, character, and fate. 731. Persecution. 732. Character of Charles. 733. Immorality arising from this reign.

§ 701. In reviewing the history of the failure of the Savoy conference, we must certainly attribute it more to the nature of the discussion itself, than to any fault in the individuals who carried it on. When men, entertaining opinions at total variance with each other, meet for the purpose of discussing them, unless they are possessed of extraordinary forbearance, the distance between them is likely to be increased, rather than diminished. The only method, under such circumstances, from which any favourable result could rationally be expected, would be, if the more moderate persons belonging to the ruling party were selected, who had by private communication gained an insight into the points in which alteration was chiefly demanded, and were directed by their commission, and themselves disposed, to concede everything which might be given up with safety to the constitution of the church. Such concessions might then become acts of grace, while angry irritation would be avoided: and if unanimity could hardly be hoped for even from this means, yet the proceeding would appear likely to unite the more moderate members of both parties (the only persons whose good opinion is really worth cultivating), and leave the whole blame of the failure on those, who, after all, were determined to continue divisions. Such, however, was not the policy now adopted.

The convocation was assembled on May 8th, 1661,[1] and its chief acts consist in a review and alteration of the Common Prayer Book, of which an account is subsequently given,[2] and in an attempt to remodel the canons. A commission under the great seal was read in the upper house on June 19th, in order to give them authority to proceed on this work, and many consultations were held on the subject, but after all, nothing was ever done. The bishops appear to have framed articles of visitation for their own use in their dioceses, which were intended to be adopted in common in both provinces. The same convocation continued to sit till Sept. 1666, and as its proceedings were not very important in any other respect, than in the alteration of the Common Prayer, it may be as well at once to state generally what was done in it. A form of prayer for the consecration of Churches[3] was examined, but laid aside, though the drawing it up had been committed to Cosins, and afterwards referred to a committee of four bishops.[4]

A Greek and Latin grammar[5] was also ordered to be prepared by Barwick, prolocutor to the lower house, who was directed to consult any one except schoolmasters, the persons most fit to judge of it. A subsidy of four shillings on the pound,[6] to be raised in four years, was granted; remarkable, as this was the last occasion on which the clergy were taxed in this manner. The original object of the English convocation seems to have been as much civil as ecclesiastical. They granted money to the crown, which was levied by ecclesiastical authority solely, till the reign of Henry VIII.; from which period, each several contribution was confirmed by an act of parliament; the sum paid depended on a poundage upon the value of each preferment, but the values could hardly have been those in the king's book, since this very convocation formed a committee for reviewing the book of subsidies. The bishops were the collectors.[7] During the usurpation the clergy[8] had been taxed with the laity, a method which was probably found so much more convenient, that it was subsequently adopted. The change was effected by a private arrangement between Sheldon and Lord Chancellor Clarendon, without any specific act of parliament. In the act (16° 17° Car. II. 1) which granted a royal aid of 2,477,500*l.* § 30, it is enacted, that the spiritual revenues which become chargeable under it shall be freed from the two last years of the late subsidy. (1665.) From this time the clergy[9] have paid the same taxes with the rest of their fellow-subjects, and voted for members of parliament; an alteration, which, whether

[1] *Synodus Anglicana*, 60, Appendix.
[2] See § 749, (b).
[3] *Synod. Ang.* 107, 118.
[4] See § 750.
[5] *Synod. Ang.* 114.
[6] Ibid. 118.
[7] Strype's *Annals*, v. 483.
[8] Collier, *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 893.
[9] Burnet's *Own Time*, i. 340.

for evil or for good, has extinguished the political existence of the convocation.

§ 702. (A.D. 1662.) The event, however, which calls for the greatest attention during this period, was the passing the act of uniformity. In order to form a correct idea of the operation of this act, it will be necessary to observe how the law stood before and after the passing it, without reference to the changes which it introduced into the Prayer Book itself. At the Restoration, the act of uniformity of Elizabeth came again into force: but the original object of this act may be said to have been essentially different from that which was now framed. The act of Elizabeth attempted to punish, and finally to exclude from the church, all ministers who were not ready to conform with the whole of the rubrics and services. It enacted therefore that a conviction of refusing to use the Common Prayer, or of speaking or preaching against it, should, in the case of a beneficed man, for the first offence be followed by the loss of a year's income and six months' imprisonment; for the second, by deprivation and one year's imprisonment; for the third, by deprivation and imprisonment for life. If the offending clergyman were not beneficed, he was at first imprisoned for a year, and secondly for life. The act of Charles II. endeavoured to exclude totally from the church all who were not friendly to the whole constitution of it. It enacted therefore, that every beneficed clergyman should be ejected *ipso facto*, unless before the 24th of August, 1662, he used the church service, and declared his assent and consent to everything contained therein. The process of ejectment under the law of Elizabeth would have been perfectly certain, if the parties prosecuting were determined to carry on the suit; nor could any considerable difficulty have attended the conviction; and indeed many bills were found against the nonconforming clergy,[1] before the new act came into operation; but a longer portion of time would have been occupied in the several steps, and the asperity of the prosecutor, as well as the obstinacy of the prosecuted party, might probably have given way during the process; a circumstance which would have ill accorded with the wishes of those who now ruled the church. The new law further enacted that every person holding ecclesiastical, or academical preferment, or teaching publicly, or privately, should, before the same day, subscribe a declaration, 'That it is unlawful to take arms against the king, on any pretence whatsoever;' 'that he will conform to the Liturgy;' and 'that no obligation from the covenant lies upon himself, or any other person:' which last clause was not to continue in force be-

[1] Neal's *Puritans*, iv. 310.

yond 1682. This subscription was enforced under pain of deprivation, and of fine and imprisonment in the case of unendowed schoolmasters and tutors. This bill, which was drawn up by Keeling,[1] afterwards chief justice, was framed with such strictness, that the tendency of it was to exclude as many of the former clergy as possible; and the question therefore, which really comes under discussion, is, with regard to the policy of ejecting so many individuals at once, and the justice (a) of doing so on this occasion.

§ 703. It may safely be conceded, that no national church can continue to exist, unless the officiating members of the establishment be friendly to the details of its services. Whoever is hostile to them cannot be allowed to take part in the ministry. The proceedings therefore which regarded those who were about subsequently to enter into the church, could not from the nature of the question be unjust; though the required subscriptions may possibly be deemed impolitic, since whatever circumstance deprives a society of the assistance of any individual member of the body politic, is, so far as it extends, an evil.

On the occasion of a restoration, every sound friend of social order will endeavour to create as little alteration as possible. Nothing can restore to their former condition the families which have suffered in the struggle; and though the illegal transfer of property can never be undone, yet a species of composition may be effected, which may be acquiesced in by both parties, though neither are perfectly satisfied with it. With these views, the acts of such ecclesiastical bodies as had continued to exist, though the members had often been unjustly ejected and displaced, were ratified; and thus leases made by colleges and hospitals, &c., were established. The property of tithes had never been separated from the livings; and with respect to the lands held under bishops or chapters, though the reversions had been sold in perpetuity, yet these sales had probably been made at such rates as to leave the purchasers no great losers, after an occupation of nearly twenty years, especially as the very prices might have convinced them that the title was never very sound. Add to which, that they who were able to make such purchases during the rebellion, were little likely to be objects of pity at the Restoration. The leases therefore of these lands having, during the usurpation, generally fallen in, the churchmen who obtained

(a) The justice of the question can only refer to those who were already in the church. Every government must have the right to say that it will be served under such and such conditions, however unwise it may be to impose such conditions. The act at present only says, if you go into the church you must conform to the rules of the church.

[1] Burnet's *Own Time*, i. 316.

the preferments to which they belonged, had an opportunity of re-letting them to their own advantage; and the distractions of the times prevented the government from taking such advantage of these circumstances as might have substantially benefitted the church, instead of enriching these individual members of it (a).

(a) It is difficult to convey an adequate idea of what is here meant, to those who are not well aware of the tenure of ecclesiastical property. During the prevalence of monastic establishments, the revenues of many livings were appropriated to the support of some monastery, and the members of this body superintended the spiritual care of the parish. These cures were by degrees generally converted into vicarages, or perpetual curacies, held by one of the members of the convent, and the income assigned to them by the society was proportionally slender, consisting of small tithes, or of a money payment. There are even now some livings held on this species of tenure. When, at the Reformation, these pieces of preferment either fell into lay hands, or were transferred to other ecclesiastical bodies, the sum previously paid by the society became inadequate to the decent support of a clergyman, who possessed no other source of maintenance; and the tithes, instead of providing for the payment of the ministry of the place, enriched a churchman who had no connexion with it, or were granted to lay impropriators. A considerable portion of the property of some bishoprics, chapters, and colleges, depends on great tithes, which they hold as impropriators, possessing frequently at the same time the right of presentation to the living, which is a vicarage, or perpetual curacy. In other cases, the patrons of the livings are owners of the land, tithe free. These lands, or tithes, when possessed by ecclesiastical bodies-corporate, are usually let out on lives, or on leases of twenty-one years, renewable every seven, and the income of the body corporate depends on such renewals: but as these leases had now generally run out, the legislature might fairly have obliged the newly-appointed ecclesiastical impropriator to augment the living belonging to the property from which he was about to receive so large a fine (Burnet's *Own Time*, i. 320, calculates the sum total of these fines at a million and a half). The king, indeed, made some attempt to effect this; for in 1660 he wrote a letter to bishops, deans, and chapters, signifying his pleasure that small vicarages might be augmented to 80*l.* per annum, or to the half of the value of the rectory, wherever the whole value of it did not exceed the double of that sum; and it was subsequently enacted (29° Car. II. c. 8), that augmentations made by ecclesiastical bodies, since the date of the king's letter, should be binding upon their successors, provided they did not exceed the value of one-half of the impropriation. Nothing, however, was effected with regard to lay impropriations; and indeed little can herein be expected, till the subject is taken up with liberality by the church: and notwithstanding the munificence of certain individuals at this period, so little was done, that Sancroft (*Life* by D'Oyly, i. 187), renewed the application in 1680, by writing to the several bishops and deans, urging them to comply with the directions of the king's letter, now sanctioned and rendered effectual by the act of parliament. This step was the more reasonable, as some of the worst instances of livings inadequately provided for, are to be found among those which are held under ecclesiastical bodies. The extreme poverty which has been entailed on many of our livings, and which might now have been remedied, is one of the greatest evils which afflicts our church property; and the subject is well worthy the serious attention of those who watch over the concerns of our establishment.

Since the former part of this note was originally printed, an Act has been brought in by Archbishop Howley to enable ecclesiastical impropriators to augment poor livings.

§ 704. But the question of the incumbency is different; before we can decide on this, it must be asked, whether it would have been safe to retain the mass of nonconformists within the pale of the church; whether, if it were necessary to eject a large portion, it would not have been wiser to do so as each was convicted of some act of nonconformity; and thirdly, whether the very steps taken by the church did not tend to create the opposition which it seemed to endeavour to correct. It is exceedingly difficult to answer these questions clearly and distinctly; yet some observations may tend to throw light on the subject, and enable the reader to form his own opinion for himself.

Churchmen during the usurpation had possessed so much power in the domestic concerns of each parish, that many individual laymen, not only those who entertained enlarged views of Christianity, but the more numerous classes of the profligate and the careless, had long borne no friendly feelings towards that species of ecclesiastical polity which invested the ministry with this authority. And though the general tone of society had prevented any one from expressing these feelings openly, the prevalent existence of them could not fail to produce a strong effect at the Restoration. The presbyterians had hated the government of Cromwell for establishing toleration and the independents, and so contributed more readily to the recal of the king. The general body of the nation rejoiced in shaking off the chains with which their spiritual pastors had bound them; and when the church party began to perceive their own comparative strength, and the favour with which the people gladly recurred to their parental government, they took too great an advantage of these circumstances.

§ 705. Had a contrary line of policy been pursued; had some further alterations been made in the Common Prayer Book; had the old law been allowed to stand with regard to conformity; and particularly had a wish existed and been expressed by the upper orders among the clergy, that union might be cultivated in the church as much as possible; many of the more moderate nonconformists would probably have joined the establishment. But the very declaration [1] contained in the act was obviously introduced to prevent the possibility of such an event. To say nothing of the former clauses, who could assert that no obligation lay on any one from having taken the covenant? An individual may rightly deem himself not bound to the observance of an oath in itself illegal; but who shall pretend that a presbyterian, who had voluntarily taken the oath, and who believed in the superiority of his own form of church government, might not be really bound by it, so far as to use his influence, or to exert any other legal power of

[1] See § 702.

which he was possessed, to produce an alteration in the church? The point was one of much too great delicacy to be wisely introduced into a solemn declaration; but if the saying attributed to Sheldon be true, we need not trouble ourselves with such minutiæ, or question as to the object, which they who managed the affairs in the church had in view.[1] When Lord Manchester told the king, while the act of uniformity was under debate, that he was afraid the terms of it were so rigid that many of the ministers would not comply with it, Sheldon replied, 'I am afraid they will.' Nay, 'tis credibly reported he should say, 'Now we know their minds, we'll make them knaves if they conform.' Doubtless Sheldon might deem this line of policy, of ejecting all the nonconformists, to be the wisest for the church; but the events which have since occurred must convince every man who can judge of such questions, that intolerance is but another name for selfishness, and will generally defeat its own ends.

§ 706. Of the justice of these proceedings it is perhaps more difficult to form an opinion which will be generally approved. The church was then filled with men who, having been ordained without the imposition of the hands of a bishop, and admitted by a usurping government, could, in one sense, have no legal claim to their benefices; especially where they were intruding into the places of those who had been illegally dispossessed, and were still alive. Here, therefore, the just restoration of the one necessarily ejected the other; but where the persons in possession of the preferment had acted with the best intentions, and only obeyed that which was, *de facto*, the government, could it be just to eject them suddenly, without even giving them time to re-examine and change their opinions? At all events, could it be just to cast them out of all means of supporting themselves, and not assign them any portion of their benefices for their support? The usurping government, when triumphant, had allowed one-fifth (a) of the revenues to those whom it ejected for their loyalty; for in most cases this was the real crime. The legitimate government turned out many loyal, though nonconforming clergymen, and made not the slightest provision for them.

It might be necessary, and therefore just, to eject those who were essentially adverse to an establishment, into which they had

(a) As the truth of the facts, as well as the accuracy of the reasoning, has been here called in question, the reader is referred to § 598, where the difficulty of obtaining the fifths, *allowed* by the government, is fully admitted. And the reviewer is requested to turn to Walker, p. 103, with regard to his own assertion, 'that fifths were *never* paid.' I own, I wish I could change my opinion as to the conduct of those who governed the church in the reign of Charles.

[1] Calamy's *Baxter*, 170*.

gained admittance from circumstances; but the manner in which it was done must be designated as cruel. The difficulties were so great, that the wisest might doubt as to what line of proceeding it was best to pursue; and while we blame what was done, it must be remembered, that our reasonings are founded upon much subsequent experience; yet, had the governing party acted with Christian charity towards their brethren, had they merely done unto others according to the golden rule of our Saviour, much evil might have been obviated at the time, and that spirit of dissent from the church have been prevented, which even yet clings to trifles too ridiculous to merit the attention of a moment.

§ 707. Had no new act of uniformity been passed, and the operation of that of the first of Elizabeth been delayed for a time; had a portion of their preferments been allowed to such of the nonconformist clergy as chose, in the mean season, to retire from their benefices; the party who scrupled to conform would have been broken at least, and probably some of the most active and zealous of them might have contributed to support the establishment; but this was not the wish of the ruling party. And even if the policy adopted by them was sound, it must be confessed that it was carried on in such a manner as to render the abstract justice of it questionable. Policy and justice are so linked by indissoluble ties, that one is never violated without infringing the other. In this case there were circumstances scarcely to be called accidental which added materially to the hardship. Many clergymen[1] never saw the new Book of Common Prayer till St. Bartholomew's day; and of the rest, few were so familiar with the work itself, that they could at once estimate the nature of the alterations. In this respect the strictness of the act became a burden even to those who did conform; indeed, some persons were ejected who subsequently conformed, and among the rest, Kidder,[2] afterwards bishop of Bath and Wells(a). St. Bartholomew's day itself, August 24th, was chosen,[3] that the ejected clergy might lose the tithes for the year, a severity which can admit of no excuse.

§ 708. The causes which contributed to induce the ruling party to treat their opponents with so much harshness were various. They had themselves been exposed to insult, to deprivation and banishment, and misfortunes had not taught them to forgive. They deemed that the security of the church depended on their being able to trample her opponents under foot. Political preju-

(a) An Act passed 1663, for the relief of such persons as by sickness or other impediments were disabled from complying with the directions of the act (Neal's *Puritans*, iv. 356).

[1] Burnet's *Own Time*, i. 318.
[2] Birch's *Tillotson*, 77.
[3] Burnet's *Own Time*, i. 317.

dices[1] were combined with their feelings as churchmen; for the nonconformists were many of them favourable to a republican form of government. And the uncertainty, as to its continuance, which hung over the power possessed by them,[2] excited a wish to take the utmost advantage of the superiority now afforded them. The principles and benefits of toleration were little understood, and men saw not that the real interests of themselves, and their opponents, were the same. The friends of the papacy desired to increase the feuds among Protestants, that the oppressed party might join with themselves in obtaining an outward toleration of all denominations of Christians; and if the project of bringing back popery into England were ever to succeed, it must be effected through the disagreement of those who ought to be unanimous in opposing its extension.

§ 709. The inclinations of the king, after his declaration from Breda, certainly disposed him to show kindness to the nonconformists; but he was hardly, perhaps, bound by the letter of it to perform more than he did (a). The declaration[3] stated, that he should be ready to consent to any act of parliament which might be offered him for that indulgence; he could not have foreseen the probability of a house of commons disposed to tyrannize over the nonconformists; and it should be remembered that, unless the court had restrained[4] them, they would have carried things much higher than they did. His second declaration, Oct. 25, 1660, had breathed the same spirit; and when the act of uniformity had deprived so many of the nonconforming clergy, Charles II. published another declaration, wherein, though he states his intention of observing the act of uniformity, he professes a willingness to grant some indulgence to the weak. This declaration, though in itself perfectly illegal, bore with it such marks and appearance of clemency, as to render it less generally unacceptable, after the severity which had taken place on the 24th of August.

§ 710. It is said, that on this day two thousand ministers resigned their preferments. The act was drawn up with such strictness, that it left the duty of the nonconformists quite plain. A man who entertained any rooted objection to episcopacy, to the Liturgy, or to the doctrine of non-resistance, could honestly do nothing else than quit his preferments; and this large number evinced their sincerity by resigning all their benefices. Passion might, perhaps, have been mixed up with their motives, for in a time of general excitement it requires much greatness of mind to

(a) See an *Address of the Commons*, 1663. *Complete History of England*, iii. 239.

1 Rapin, ii. 632.
2 Burnet's *Own Time*, i. 306.
3 Clarendon, *Hist. Reb.* iii. 747.
4 Burnet's *Own Time*, i. 306.

be free from prejudice, yet no other test could more fully evince their sincerity. The particular which probably created the greatest difficulty was that of re-ordination. A very considerable portion of these ministers had never received episcopal ordination; and though diversity of opinion had been entertained as to the validity of the ordinations of foreign reformed churches, the question was now decided with regard to the church of England: for the act of uniformity allowed none, who had not been ordained priest by a bishop, to hold preferment or administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. It is not wonderful that men, who had long exercised their ministry,[1] many of them with great apparent success, and whose opinions had always been adverse to episcopacy, or, as they termed it, to prelacy, should at once reject a proposal which implied a surrender of their former spiritual authority, in order that it might be afresh conferred. Bramhall in Ireland, to obviate this difficulty, proposed to use a form of re-ordination[2] which should 'supply what was wanting according to the canons of the church of England;' thus waving the real question by making a compromise to the opinions of both parties: a plan which Overall,[3] when bishop of Norwich (1618), wished to have adopted in the case of Delaune, a French Protestant; but then he would have used the words, 'If thou art not ordained before.' If something of this sort had been adopted, it would probably have tended to reconcile many individuals; but the cases of persons who have held preferment in England without episcopal ordination are sufficient([a]) to leave the question in some degree uncertain, and would have authorized, perhaps, a greater lenity on the present occasion. The question for the future was now settled by the act of uniformity (§ x.); and rightly so settled, if the principles previously laid down with regard to episcopacy be correct.

§ 711. It is of course impossible, from the limited extent of this work, to give any detailed account of the sufferings of the ejected clergy; and we may hope that the evil was much lessened by the general feeling in their favour which these very severities

([a]) See § 454, ([b]) where the question is discussed. See also a beautiful letter of Bishop Heber to Schmidt on the subject (*Life*, 8vo. iii. 411). In a plan of comprehension formed by Manton, Baxter, Wilkins, and Burton, the words of ordination ran: 'Take thou legal authority to preach the word of God and administer the sacraments in any congregation in England, where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto' (Baxter's *Life*, iii. 34). Usher and Davenant alone, among the bishops, allowed of the validity of the ordination of foreign Protestant churches (Neal's *Puritans*, iv. 131). The question is one of extreme delicacy, on which good and well-informed men may well think differently; but the decision of Bishop Heber is perhaps as near as possible to the truth. He re-ordained with the assent of the party re-ordained.

[1] Baxter's *Life*, iii. 37. [2] Neal's *Puritans*, iv. 314. [3] Birch's *Tillotson*, 185.

created (a). The offer of bishoprics had been made to both Calamy and Baxter, yet both these men were, on very slight grounds, subjected to the indignity of a common gaol; and the same sort of persecuting spirit, of which the act of uniformity may de deemed the commencement, but which was extended by the passing of several other laws, broke forth throughout the country; so that every violent informer who could meet with magistrates equally violent, was let loose to exercise the worst of passions upon the nonconforming ministers, whose personal strictness and severity, perhaps unduly exercised when they were possessed of spiritual power, had rendered them the objects of the hatred of their neighbours.

The remainder of the ecclesiastical history of this reign, if indeed it may be so called, consists in the detail of the bulwarks with which the Church of England, in her hour of triumph, endeavoured to fortify herself against all her opponents. She was endangered from the attacks of the nonconformists and the Roman Catholics, and her friends, not trusting to the force of her own excellence, sought to exclude every doubtful member of the Christian community from possessing any power over her concerns; and imagined that they should free her from the risk of being persecuted, by giving her the power to treat others with inhumanity. But it should be remembered that these laws have, in the season of difficulty, proved inadequate to her defence, which, under the blessing of God, has depended on the unanimity and zeal which any real attack on the constitution, either in church or state, has never failed to call forth; and that these acts, with the exception of one of them, had long been virtually repealed in practice, before they were erased from the statute book.

§ 712. (A.D. 1661.) The corporation act[1] compelled every officer of a corporation to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, as well as that concerning the unlawfulness of taking up arms against the king, on any pretence whatsoever; and to make a declaration against the covenant: nor was any one to be elected to any office, unless he had received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rites of the church of England, within the year; thus virtually excluding all who dissented, from obtaining the influential situations in boroughs. (1663.) And the select vestry act[2] prevented any one from holding the office of vestryman in a corporate town, unless he would make the declaration against taking up arms and the covenant, and the promise to conform to the Liturgy.

(a) See chap. ix. in Calamy's *Life of Baxter*, which give a very full account of the matter.

[1] 13° Charles II. chap. i. of the second session. [2] 15° Charles II. 5.

§ 713. The first conventicle act[1] (1664) subjected every person above the age of sixteen, who was convicted before two magistrates of being present at a conventicle (a house where five persons, or more, beyond the inhabitants, were assembled for the purpose of religious worship), for the first offence to a penalty not exceeding five pounds, or imprisonment for three months; for the second, of ten pounds, or six months; for the third, or any subsequent one, upon a conviction before a court of assize, to the payment of one hundred pounds, or transportation. Conventicles might be prevented by force or broken into, but the house of a peer might not be searched without the presence of two magistrates. Quakers refusing to take an oath, when lawfully called on, unless they admitted the legality of taking one, might be transported.

The second conventicle act[2] (1670), which was passed when this had expired, reduced the penalty to five shillings for the first offence of being present at a conventicle, and to ten shillings for all subsequent ones; but imposed a fine on the preacher of twenty pounds for the first, and forty pounds for all future offences; and in case the preacher fled, it made any one present liable to pay a portion of his fine, not exceeding ten pounds, and subjected the owner of the premises to a fine of twenty pounds. One particular was peculiarly severe, for as the object of the law was to prevent conventicles, it was enacted that every clause should be construed most largely for preventing them, *i.e.*, against the prisoner. Proceedings were not rendered void by any want of due form.

§ 714. (A.D. 1665.) The five-mile act[3] subjected every nonconformist minister or clergyman, not having duly qualified, who shall come, except in travelling, within five miles of any corporate town, or any other place where he had been minister, or had preached in a conventicle since the act of oblivion, to a penalty of forty pounds, or six months' imprisonment, unless he would take the oath against 'taking up arms against the king on any pretence,' a proposition on which few men, whatever might be their opinions, would wish to decide thus peremptorily, and to embody their decision in an oath (a). Nor were these ministers, or any person not frequenting the church of England, to teach a public or private school, without incurring the same penalty.

It unfortunately happened that the Parliament[4] in Oxford,

(a) Nothing can more strongly mark the inutility of such an oath than the conduct of the country towards James II. Very few real Christians will hesitate to say, that hardly any provocation can justify such a proceeding: but he must be an incautious reasoner who would affirm that none can. Extreme cases are not provided for in the Bible.

1 16° Charles II. 4.
2 22° Charles II. 1.
3 17° Charles II. 2.
4 Baxter's *Own Life*, part iii. 2.

whither they had retired on account of the plague in London, were engaged in passing this act at the very moment when the nonconformist ministers were exerting themselves most strenuously in preaching and performing their other ministerial functions in the metropolis. Some of these, indeed, took the oath, but the majority continued their labours notwithstanding the penalties;[1] while the force of truth, and the feelings of the people, prevented the law from being fully carried into effect.

§ 715. It must not, however, be supposed that all these laws, tending to the suppression of the nonconformists, were enacted without any exertions on the other side to obtain a greater indulgence for them. Many reasons which have been before detailed, made their suppression to be well received both by the court and the country, so that for a long time such persons as pleaded for toleration were but little attended to; yet its friends were not remiss in endeavouring to relieve those whose sufferings they could not but commiserate.

(A.D. 1669.) Lord Keeper Bridgman, and Wilkins, bishop of Chester,[2] attempted to frame a bill, by which the more moderate of the dissenters might be taken into the church, and for this purpose Manton and Baxter were consulted. They gave it as their opinion, that Archbishop Usher's scheme would comprehend all the nonconformists. That the king's declaration[3] would embrace most of them, and that it would satisfy many, if they were allowed to exercise their ministry, by the removal of the most objectionable points which had been imposed upon them. The object of Bishop Wilkins seems to have been to have made a comprehension for the more moderate nonconformists, and a toleration for the rest, not excluding the Roman Catholics; and proposals were made to this effect; but the house of commons were very adverse to any such measures.

(March 15, 1672.) When Charles published his Declaration of Toleration,[4] suspending all penal laws on account of religion, promising license and places of worship to Protestants, provided they met with open doors, and liberty of private worship to papists; the commons presently declared the proceeding to be illegal (Feb. 19, 1673), but not before they had unanimously resolved (Feb. 14) that a bill should be brought in to relieve dissenters, which received some alteration in the lords,[5] but came to nothing, as the parliament was prorogued. It should be observed, that the friends of toleration wished not for any comprehension. The papists desired that the tyranny exercised against the nonconformists might

[1] See also § 727.
[2] Burnet's *Own Time*, i. 439; Baxter's *Life*, part iii. 23.
[3] See § 665.
[4] Collier, ii. 895; Baxter's *Life*, iii. 99, 100.
[5] Rapin, ii. 668.

introduce a general toleration. The court were anxious that the severity enforced by the commons might induce men to fly to the king for protection, and the interests of the sectarians corresponded with those of the papists. Baxter[1] drew up some terms for satisfying the nonconformists, which he sent to Lord Orrery, at the request of Bishop Morley, who returned them with his own observations; but the proceeding led to the same result as the Savoy conference.

(A.D. 1674–5.) A second attempt of the same sort[2] was afterwards made, at which Drs. Tillotson[3] and Stillingfleet met Baxter and other nonconformists, but the object was frustrated by the disinclination of the bishops.

(A.D. 1681.) A severe law of Elizabeth (23° 2), against puritans,[4] was repealed by the houses, after some difficulty in the lords; but the clerk of the crown omitted to present the bill at the end of the session, as the king had no wish to free the nonconformist from the liability of being ill-treated, and could hardly venture to reject the bill. There was also a bill of comprehension offered by the episcopal party, but not supported by the nonconformist interest; and before the end of the session, when the parliament was about to be prorogued, an extraordinary and most unconstitutional vote passed the commons.[5] 'That the prosecution of Protestant dissenters, upon the penal laws, is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening the Protestant interest, an encouragement to popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom:' a vote which was justly liable to all the objections which were raised against the declaration of the king.

(A.D. 1688.) The same object was again attempted by Archbishop Sancroft just before the revolution, and prevented by the toleration act.[6]

§ 716. These attempts, however, were altogether useless, as far as the immediate interests of the nonconformists were concerned. The act of uniformity had thrown them out of their profession, and reduced many of them to beggary; and though they were enabled to preach for a short period, during the toleration afforded by Charles, and the interval between the two conventicle acts, yet these were but brief respites in a long season of oppression, till their continued sufferings and the circumstances of the nation had prepared the minds of most men for the general toleration which was ultimately introduced. The people of England, though favourable to the cause of the church, became adverse to the persecution of dissenters;[7] some magistrates avoided issuing warrants

[1] *Life*, iii. 109. [2] Baxter, 151. [3] Birch's *Tillotson*, 42.
[4] Burnet's *Own Time*, ii. 268. [5] Calamy's *Abridgment*, 609.
[6] D'Oyly's *Life*, 326. [7] Calamy's *Abridgment*, 605, 607.

against them; and Sir Nathaniel Hern expressed a common feeling when he told certain bishops who were dining with him, 'That they could not trade with their neighbours one day, and send them to gaol the next.'

§ 717. The hardships which the nonconformists endured naturally dispose us to sympathize with them; but we must be careful not to regard all their sufferings as if endured for the sake of religion. The very severities of the laws produced, perhaps, much of the vehemence of those who were subjected to the effects of them; but the readiness with which they rent asunder the bonds of Christian unity, because determined not to give up their own opinions, is worthy of our strongest animadversions. Granting, for the sake of argument, that every objection which they raised against the church was valid; granting that our ceremonies were unscriptural, our discipline imperfect, our impositions needless, they could not have deemed these reasons sufficient for seceding from the church, or establishing fresh congregations, if they had been guided by the true spirit of Christian unity and love (a). Unfortunately, no attempt was made to discriminate between the different classes of nonconformists, who were all, by the newly-established laws, ranked under one common denomination. Baxter, who held communion with the church, who preached occasionally within her walls, and gave over to the use of the establishment a chapel [1] which he had erected, was treated with as much, if not more, severity than men who declaimed against her institutions as idolatrous, and urged the duty of separation as strenuously as if they had been attacking the errors of the church of Rome. The warmth, indeed, with which Baxter had stood forward in the controversy, had marked him out as an object of rigour; and his sufferings from disease, as well as the laws, had rendered him very acrimonious in his expressions on the point at issue, and made his language that of a controversialist, and not of a humble Christian, who sought for peace.

§ 718. The most unequivocal testimonies against the noncon-

(a) There are some excellent observations which bear indirectly on this point in Selden's *Table Talk*. 'Conscience.' 'If we once come to leave that outloose, as to pretend conscience against law, who knows what inconvenience may follow? For thus, suppose an anabaptist comes and takes my horse. I see him. He tells me he did according to his conscience; his conscience tells him all things are common among the saints; what is mine is his; therefore you do ill to make such a law. If any man takes another's horse, he shall be hanged. What can I say to this man? he does according to conscience. Why is not he as honest a man as he that pretends a ceremony established by law is against his conscience? Generally, to pretend conscience against law is dangerous; in some cases haply we may.'

[1] *Life*, iii. 179, § 7.

formists are to be found in the letters of several members of the reformed churches in Holland and France, who hesitate not to condemn most distinctly the separating spirit which they exhibited (a). The nonconformists esteemed these laws tyrannical, in which every friend of religious liberty will probably agree; but they deemed the tyranny of a Christian church, which suspended them from the performance of clerical duties, a sufficient reason for breaking the unity of the church, and setting up separate congregations; a step in which few moderate Christians will approve of their conduct. Separation appears to be allowable only when a church is deserted because it holds doctrines which may endanger our salvation. When the question was not about the '*esse*,' or the '*bene esse*,' but only about the '*melius esse*,' they inflicted a wound upon our church, which time has not been able to cure: and created such a spirit of division among us, that schism is now hardly deemed a sin. The blame must be shared by those who imposed the laws, but the evil was most immediately produced by the secession of the nonconformists. The antipathy with which the two parties viewed each other was gradually increased, as the struggle was carried on; till the one side esteemed their opponents schismatics, and they themselves were regarded as persecutors; while both gradually approached towards the character which their adversaries gave them. The one supposed that they could engender unanimity by fines and imprisonments, and the others exerted themselves in drawing away as many of their followers as they could from the communion of the church. The moderate on both sides deplored the existence and extension of such evils, and the excesses of which both parties were guilty daily augmented the ranks of the moderate.

§ 719. Many of the same feelings existed with regard to political questions, and these mutual errors gave rise to a sect of men, who in our own days would have been denominated *liberals*, but who were then stigmatized under the appellation of *latitudinarians*. The term seems to have been first applied at Cambridge, during the usurpation, to men, who having been elected into fellowships, since the beginning of the troubles, were not so strict in their prejudices as their neighbours; who were accused of Arminianism, and a prelatical spirit, and were denied preferments for this reason. These same persons, on joining the church, were not particularly forward in showing their zeal for it, by abusing those who had scruples about it. They were friends to the Liturgy, and unwilling that any essential alterations should be introduced into it; and were adverse to the crude effusions, and blasphemous familiarities,

(a) These letters are printed at the end of Stillingfleet's *Unreasonableness of Separation.*

sanctioned under the name of extempore prayer. They admired the moderation of the church of England, and were friends to liberty of conscience; being ready to conform themselves, they wished that as little as possible should be imposed as of necessity. Although it is objected to them that they were not sound friends to the establishment, they could not help imagining that the essentials of Christianity are of as much consequence as any external ceremonies. They were accused of admitting innovation in philosophy, but they could not be led to imagine that the church of England need fear any investigation of truth; they thought that her greatest danger consisted in the chance that her defenders, armed with the ancient weapons only, might be called upon to encounter those who had adopted the new (a). The appellation was of that nature, that many persons would be so denominated, who held no very distinctive opinions on these topics; and as this spirit extended itself to other departments as well as the church, it paved the way in politics for our present constitution; in philosophy, for the discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton; and in the church, for that liberty of conscience which, through God's blessing, has been subsequently established.

§ 720. Many of the laws which have been already mentioned, bore with equal severity on the Roman Catholics; but the hopes of the members of this communion were supported by the divisions among Protestants, and the prospect of introducing their own tenets, through the violence of which the two parties were mutually guilty.

The Corporation Act disabled them from holding any situations in boroughs (1672), and the Test [1] threw them out of all offices, or places of trust or profit; for it enacted that persons filling such employments, should not only take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and receive the eucharist according to the rites of the church of England, but make also a declaration against transubstantiation. Any act performed in executing the office, after refusing to take the oaths or the sacrament, incapacitated the offender from prosecuting in any suit of law, and subjected him to a fine of 500*l*. The law, however, which affected them most severely, was that which excluded them from both houses of parliament, by enacting [2] (1678), that no one should sit or vote in either house till they had taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and signed a declaration against transubstantiation, the invocation of saints, and the sacrifice of the mass, and added that this declaration was made without any mental reservation, or idea

(a) This account is taken from a tract published in the *Phœnix*, ii. 501. See also an article in Butler's *Roman Catholics*, iii. 141.

[1] 25° Charles II. 2.

[2] 30° Charles II. stat. 2, c. 1.

that it could be dispensed with by the pope. The penalty was a fine of 500*l.*, and the seat of a commoner was rendered vacant, and the peer disabled from sitting during the parliament. The same penalty was incurred by a popish recusant convict coming into the presence of the king or queen. The Duke of York was excepted from the operation of this act. These enactments were nugatory with regard to a king who was determined to govern without laws, and without a parliament; but had one injurious effect, that they tended to unite every friend of the Roman Catholic religion in firm adherence to the crown, when the crown was opposed to the liberties of the subject.

§ 721. The warmth with which all parties regarded each other was kept up, and the mind of the nation retained in this unnatural state of excitement, by many plots, real and pretended, with which the country was agitated. To say nothing of other disturbances, Venner, and some fifth-monarchy men, threw London into a state of great alarm, but were immediately suppressed. (1661.) Phillips, Stubbs, and two others, were executed (1662) for another conspiracy; and the year afterwards (1663) twenty-one conspirators were put to death in the north. But the plot[1] (1678) which caused the greatest agitation was that, with the discovery of which the name of Titus Oates has been so constantly connected, that it is generally known by the appellation of Oates's plot. He stated himself to have been engaged with the Roman Catholics, at home, and abroad, and now brought forward the evidence of a plot framed in order to introduce the Roman Catholic religion into England, and to murder the king. For this plot ten laymen[2] and seven priests of that persuasion suffered, and seventeen more were condemned to death, some of whom died in prison; yet it is still a question whether the whole of the evidence under which they were convicted were not fictitious. There can probably be no doubt, in the mind of any one, that there was a plot generally to introduce the Roman Catholic religion; and the conspirators, among whom were some of the most exalted persons in the country, might have been little scrupulous as to the means of effecting their object; but whether the intention of murdering the king were ever seriously entertained, is very problematical; and Sir Walter Scott has, with his usual skill, taken advantage of the violence raised by this question, when he makes Charles say, 'I can scarce escape suspicion of the plot myself, though the principal object of it is to take away my own life.' Men believed the evidence which was sworn to by the witnesses, and a jury which did so, could not but convict the prisoners; but, unfortunately, perjury was by no means uncommon

[1] Rapin, ii. 688; Welwood's *Memoirs*, 128.
[2] Butler's *Roman Catholics*, iii. 74.

at this period. The conviction of Oates himself, and the severity with which he was treated in the next reign, does not invalidate the evidence, because it proves too much, and only really shows the temper with which both parties could act, when they were possessed of power. The excitement occasioned by this plot enabled Lord Shaftesbury to carry the bill which excluded Roman Catholics from the two houses, and we owe to it the passing of the Habeas Corpus.

§ 722. In order to counteract the fatal effects which this plot was inflicting on the Roman Catholics, a sham plot was contrived for the purpose of throwing the odium on the presbyterians, and the heads of the country party; but Dangerfield, who was chiefly concerned in it, discovered the truth: and the attempt only tended to confirm the kingdom in its opinion of the danger from the Roman Catholics, and to create a greater dislike to them: while it contributed to convince all sober-minded persons, that no one could be safe under such a government, or guard against the effects of perjury and a prejudiced or packed jury; a truth which was more sadly confirmed by the fate of Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney,[1] who, whatever might have been their guilt, were in all probability unjustly condemned (a); and indeed, throughout the latter part of this reign, the law seems to have been made an engine rather for the oppression of the subject than for his defence.

§ 723. The circumstance, that the heir presumptive to the crown was a Roman Catholic, and anxious to introduce his own religion into the country, together with a well-founded belief that the king himself secretly belonged to that communion, could not fail to raise a very general idea that the stability of the church was in danger: but the whole of this question properly belongs to the civil historian. There was no probability that the Roman Catholics would be able to convert the Protestants, or establish their religion, by any other methods than those which must first have destroyed the liberty of the subject; except, indeed, inasmuch as the violence with which the Protestants attacked each other, might induce the timid members of their communion to throw themselves into the arms of the church of Rome, and to seek to quiet their doubts under the treacherous security of her infallibility.

(a) The question of Lord Russell's guilt seems to turn on the truth of the evidence. A juryman who believed the evidence, could hardly help convicting him. If a man meet a party frequently, which is plotting to overthrow a government by force, and is present when some of them are despatched to see whether the guards may be surprised, surely he must, *in foro conscientiæ* as well as *legali*, be guilty of treason. I own I do not believe the evidence.

[1] Rapin, ii. 729, 730.

The real state of the question seems to be this. The Roman Catholics were more friendly to arbitrary power than the presbyterian; they possessed a more gentlemanly religion, to adopt the idea of Charles II.; and the church of England lying between the two, approaching to the church of Rome in the imitation of ancient rites and ceremonies, in her respect for antiquity, and coinciding with the rest of the reformed churches in her strict agreement with the Scriptures in point of doctrine, drew nearest to the former when the country seemed in danger from republicanism; but when the change in the face of politics marked out the evils which were to be apprehended from arbitrary power and the introduction of the Roman Catholic religion, the high and the low church parties joined to repel the threatened invasion, and raised the cry of 'No popery.' It is difficult however to suppose, that either Charles or James, at this time, cared more for religion than as it affected politics, or that Shaftesbury sought for anything beyond the establishment of his own influence, and the predominance of those principles which he had himself espoused. But these observations must not be extended to the country. When the feeling was excited, men entertained it according to their tempers. In the estimation of the sincere, it was a point in which religion was closely concerned; and as those who cared not for religion gave it the same denomination, it became one of those mixed questions which agitate the country with the greatest vehemence: one in which the religious scruples of the people are apparently joined with their temporal interests.

§ 724. It was for these reasons that the commons viewed with alarm two attempts which were made by the king to grant indulgence to those who differed from the church (Dec. 26, 1662). Charles had published a declaration for liberty of conscience,[1] wherein, among other things, he says, 'That all his subjects might, with minds happily composed by his indulgence, apply themselves to their several vocations:' and in his speech at the opening of parliament, he says, 'And yet if the dissenters will demean themselves peaceably and modestly under the government, I could heartily wish I had such a power of indulgence to use upon occasions, as might not needlessly force them out of the kingdom, or, staying here, give them cause to conspire against the peace of it.' This step created so great a terror, that the commons voted an address against any indulgence to those who presumed to dissent from the act of uniformity, and the religion established by law; and many reasons were assigned why such an indulgence was unadvisable, particularly since continual concession must at length lead to a general toleration. A similar attempt was made (March 15,

[1] Echard, 806.

1672) when the king [1] published a declaration of toleration which suspended all the penal laws on account of religion, and the result was the same.

The presbyterians were as adverse as the church to toleration. The mass of the people, and their representatives, were unwilling to make concessions, or to grant indulgence, to the nonconformists, and even less favourable to the Roman Catholics; while every true lover of his country must have been alarmed at seeing the king assume to himself a power, which the disorganized state of the kingdom appeared to render in some degree necessary; but which was inconsistent with the due observance of the laws, since all enactments must be nugatory, if the crown can dispense with them. The Roman Catholics, and the court, desired that the severities exercised on the nonconformists should so dissatisfy the minds of sober men, that they might all readily embrace a toleration flowing entirely from the crown; the country party dreaded the assumption of such a power; but, till the difficulties which preceded the Revolution had convinced the nation of the necessity of toleration, no one seemed willing to concede such liberty to others as he justly claimed for himself.

§ 725. The nonconformists are often praised for the disinterested readiness with which they declined accepting a toleration granted to themselves, upon condition that the Roman Catholics should share in it; but, though we can account for such feelings, we can hardly applaud the liberality of men, who would rather give up their own liberty in religious matters than suffer their neighbours to worship God as they pleased. The exclusion of the Roman Catholics from places of trust, and from the two houses, and the attempt to deprive the duke of York of his right of succession to the crown, stand on totally different grounds from the question of toleration. It must be the inherent right of every body politic to defend itself; if, therefore, the constitution will be endangered by committing power into the hands of those who entertain opinions inconsistent with the safety of the state, the supreme authority of a kingdom must have a power of making such an exclusion; it can only be defended on the plea of necessity, and if necessary it must be just. The common safety of the whole must give the captain of a ship the right of throwing the property of his passengers into the sea; but, unless he can show that the safety of the whole depends on his doing so, he will have much difficulty in persuading his passengers to consent to the measure; yet it may become his duty to take the responsibility of such an act upon himself. The policy and the justice of each of these proceedings are inseparable, and depend entirely on the necessity. All exclu-

[1] See § 715.

sion is, *per se*, an evil; circumstances may render it the less of two evils; but no Christian country can have a right to hinder men from worshipping God according to their own fashion, provided it be done peaceably, and without disturbance to society.

§ 726. It would be totally inconsistent with the plan of this work to enter into any description of the policy of this reign. It consisted in a variety of contrivances, by which the crown endeavoured to obtain money from a yielding parliament, and the bargains which the house of commons made for each of its concessions; bargains, in which the welfare of one part of the community, and the well-being of the whole, were sacrificed to the supposed interests of the rest. The money was no sooner obtained than it was squandered on the most unworthy purposes, and the liberty of the subject preserved, not by any constitutional stand, or carefulness in the parliament, but because the prodigality of the court always kept the king at the mercy of his people.

§ 727. Among the various calamities which attended this eventful reign, there are two of so marked a character that we can hardly omit the mention of them; particularly as they each tended to call forth the energies of the church, and the nonconformists; and furnished a short space of time, during which the labours of both were directed to the same important object.

The plague broke out in London in May, 1665, and raged with greater or less violence till the fire put an end to its contagion. The upper orders, generally speaking, fled to avoid its ravages, and unfortunately some of the London clergy imitated their example;[1] but their places were quickly filled by the nonconformists (a), and the near prospect of death caused a strong effect on the minds of many persons,[2] to whom the ministers of God's word addressed themselves. Writers who have described the events which attended this pestilence speak of the religious impressions which were generally produced on the people; and, though there was a dreadful continuance of vicious indulgence, which showed itself in many cases, yet the effect was ordinarily much stronger on the other side, and promoted the reformation of morals. It might prove a useful speculation to compare the effects of such visitations on heathen and on Christian countries (b). In Athens it pro-

(a) There died of the plague 68,596 persons within the bills of mortality. Among those who exerted themselves in this season of distress, the names of the duke of Albemarle, Sheldon, archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Craven, must not be forgotten. Thomas Vincent, a Westminster student of Christ Church, wrote an account of it: he stayed in London, and preached during the whole time.

(b) See some valuable remarks on this subject in Burton's *History of the Second and Third Centuries*, p. 345, A.D. 253, and the account of the conduct of Cyprian and the other bishops.

[1] Echard, 823.

[2] Baxter's *Life*, iii. 2.

duced an extraordinary excess of immorality of every description. In London, though gross vice still in some measure prevailed, yet men were ordinarily turned towards religion; the churches were crowded by persons exhibiting every outward appearance of piety, and the very exclamations heard in the streets partook of a devotional character. Nothing but the pure and revealed word of God can impress upon the mind of man a real belief in a future state; and few who possessed a practical faith in this doctrine, could fail to be influenced by it, at least for the time, and frightened by such a tremendous warning into some species of reformation.

§ 728. (Sept. 1666.) The fire of London was one of the most terrible afflictions which ever befel a devoted city; and though the lives of the inhabitants were spared, yet their property was so generally destroyed, that the most active exertions on the part of the benevolent could not prevent a considerable quantity of actual suffering. Many of the nonconformist ministers were especially injured, since London formed a great bank of charity from whence their necessities had been supplied, and the present distress not only disabled some of those who contributed to their support, but diverted much of the beneficence of the kingdom into a new channel. This visitation, however, did not produce the good which might have been expected from it. The violence which had long exasperated the two parties in the church was far from being appeased; in reflecting on these calamitous events, each threw the blame on their opponents; the one reprobated the schismatic temper of the nonconformists, the other declaimed against the perjury and tyranny of the hierarchy,[1] but neither confessed their own offences.

As eighty-nine churches were destroyed, and the great mass of the population remained, the nonconformists gladly exerted themselves in opening such meetings for public worship as could most easily be provided, and the obvious necessity of the case prevented any opposition which might otherwise have been raised to such an attempt; but unfortunately the doctrines which were then prevalent in the kingdom breathed not that spirit of reconciliation which might have promoted the cause of Christianity. It happened indeed most providentially, that several of the parish-churches which were preserved, were in the hands of the most moderate and ablest of the clergy of the day, as Stillingfleet, Tillotson, Outram, and Patric; but their exertions were productive of less good, since many of the nonconformists exhibited so great a dislike to the Common Prayer, that they either refused to join with conformable ministers, or at least to be present at the Liturgy and sacraments.

[1] Baxter, iii. 18.

§ 729. The evil tendency of such schismatic notions, joined with much of disaffection towards the crown, which continued to increase during the whole of this reign, naturally produced a contrary feeling on the part of the church; and many churchmen, in their zeal to controvert what was wrong in these opinions, ran into the extremes of passive obedience and non-resistance, a doctrine which, during the latter years of the life of Charles II., seemed equally espoused by the court and the pulpit, the bench and the bar.[1] (1683.) Under the impulse of this increasing zeal, the university of Oxford made a solemn decree, which passed in the convocation there on the same day as the execution of Lord Russell took place, and presented it to the king, under this title,[2] 'The judgment and decree of the university of Oxford, passed in their convocation on July 21, 1683, against certain pernicious books and damnable doctrines, destructive of the sacred persons of princes, their state and government, and of all human society;' in which decree they formally condemned twenty-seven propositions collected out of several modern authors. This decree is attributed to Dr. Jane, regius professor of divinity, who was in consequence made dean of Gloucester, and who, upon the Revolution, again sought for preferment by changing his sentiments. The declaration was placed in the college-halls, and remained there till, in 1688, it was displaced by those who had framed it, on the arrival of the new government (a).

§ 730. In reviewing the history of the reign, if it were attempted to describe the characters of all those who took a prominent part in the affairs of it, the task would require a volume for itself; but there is one man who must not be overlooked.

Lord Clarendon showed so much wisdom in the treatment of the republicans, whose services he accepted, that it is difficult to understand why the same minister should have adopted a contrary policy with regard to the affairs of the church. Burnet's[3] account of this matter, therefore, may possibly contain some truth, where he states that the chancellor would have fallen into more moderate counsels towards the nonconformists, had he not been unwilling to disoblige the bishops, who had been very kind to him in the affair wherein his daughter's honour was concerned; and that

(a) These proceedings were so justly offensive to some of the younger students, who in those days published their satire in Latin verses, that many epigrams were written on him. Among the rest;

Cum fronti sit nulla fides, ut carmina dicunt,
Cur tibi bifronti, Jane, sit ulla fides?

And again—

Decretum figis solenne, Decanus ut esses:
Ut fieres Præsul, Jane, refigis idem.

[1] Echard, 1036. [2] Rapin. ii. 730. Kennet, iii. 419.
[3] *Own Times*, i. 305.

his friend Lord Southampton was disposed to have been very moderate. In the transactions connected with the Savoy conference, Lord Clarendon does not appear to have been adverse to the nonconformists; but the real state of the question, as it was gradually developed to those who were engaged in the government, may fully account for this difference in his conduct. At first he seems to have been equally ready to conciliate the enemies of the monarchy both in church and state; but when he came to act he found the characters of the parties so dissimilar, that he was led to pursue a very different line of treatment towards them. The republican statesmen were possessed of enlarged views, and were in many cases willing to fall in with the measures which the altered state of the kingdom required. The presbyterian churchmen were men of contracted notions, who would make no allowances for the opinions of others, or concessions from their own decisions. No one can examine the Savoy conference without being convinced that men of such tempers were unable to govern, or to legislate for any church.

A wiser policy might probably have broken the party, and greater concessions would perhaps have conciliated many; but mankind had not then learnt, nor could they foresee, and know, the benefits which toleration was likely to produce. Lord Clarendon therefore thought, with others, that nothing but severity could give security to the church; and this idea predominated till the course of events convinced every one that divisions among Protestants could neither give safety to the church, or advance the cause of religion.

§ 731. The fate of the lord chancellor was such as might have been naturally anticipated; his misfortune seems to have been, that he did not retire from his pre-eminent station sufficiently early. He had been raised too high for a subject, and he could not hope to govern, or to guide, a man so vicious as the king. When he found that his power of acting rightly had ceased, he should have withdrawn from the scene; but he esteemed himself bound to support the measures of the court, though he did not approve of them, and his high station compelled him to take a share in whatever was done; so that, though he concurred in the treatment of the nonconformists, we can hardly be sure that he might not have adopted a more enlightened policy, had he been able to direct the government in all its details. The general feeling of the country was probably the real cause of whatever was now done in this respect. Baxter, in his own life, is often violent in the blame which he throws on the bishops, with persecuting, with all the severity of the law, their nonconforming brethren; and particularizes Sheldon and Ward.[1] These men were both of them

[1] iii. 3.

very influential persons in the concerns of the church, and therefore the policy which was adopted must in some measure be referred to them; but Baxter himself seems never to have possessed those extended views which could comprehend that men, who differed entirely from himself in their opinions, might still be sincere and conscientious in their proceedings. These bishops were probably never guilty of any acts of severity, to which those who approved of their line of policy would honestly object. They tried to reduce the nonconformists by force of law, and not by conciliation; and many persons may even now think that they were right, and that their principles were sound. Persecution of every sort is unchristian, but he must be very ignorant of human nature who presumes to assert that every one who wishes to persecute must be entirely unchristian. What would have been the fate of churchmen if the nonconformists had predominated? And yet there were many very good men among them. A spirit of toleration is one which his own heart will never teach to any one: and it is only by degrees that nations learn the virtue of moderation. In looking at this point during the usurpation, and at the Restoration, it would be useless and invidious to draw comparisons. Severity and injustice might have been expected from rebels, even though driven into rebellion by oppression; but where a legitimate government throws off the fostering care which it should exhibit towards all its children collectively, and tries to uphold its own selfish power by balancing against each other those whom it should endeavour to unite; when the church, which we admire and love, takes part in this disgraceful struggle; it cannot but point out to us the insufficiency of the best of human policy and human institutions, and make us look up to that power which has preserved us, and which can alone vouchsafe to continue our existence.

§ 732. Charles himself sought rather to escape from the trouble of governing, than was anxious to tyrannize over others; his wish for arbitrary power arose from the delusive hope, that it would free him from those disturbances to which he found himself continually exposed: he did not desire[1] to be like a grand signior, but he did not think himself a king while a company of fellows were looking into all his actions, and examining his ministers as well as his accounts; and he expected that, by balancing the church party against the dissenters, he might be able to hold the reins in his own hands; he was rapacious in seeking money, for the sake of squandering it on his favourites; and if the opinion of Coleman, secretary to his brother, may be trusted, there was nothing which he would not do for the sake of obtaining it. He conformed, in religious matters, outwardly with the church of

[1] Burnet's *Own Time*, ii. 1.

England;[1] and it may be a question whether he did not join the church of Rome rather for the sake of that fallacious ease, which that sect could impart to his troubled and wavering conscience, than for any better reason. He treated his wife as kindly as any man of his vicious habits could do, and he was the slave of his mistresses. His natural talents are described as being considerable, and he was possibly a better politician than any of his ministers; but he was disgusted with business by Lord Clarendon, and latterly gave himself up to the guidance of his brother, who being, perhaps, at that time as bad a man, was certainly a much worse monarch. The circumstance which must load Charles and his brother with a political infamy, which nothing can wipe away, was the manner in which they separated their own supposed interests from that of their country. Because they could not govern England according to their own wishes, they were ready to become themselves the pensionaries of France, and to sell the interests of Britain, that they might obtain the means of enslaving it. This project seems to have flowed from James, rather than from Charles; but it is shameless enough even to have entertained the idea.

§ 733. The natural tendency of such a reign was to create a most stupendous degree of profligacy, moral and political; and this fruit was produced in abundance. Perhaps there never was a more disgraceful public act than the stoppage of the treasury, and certainly all authors agree that this country was never more degraded in its morality than while Charles II. was king. Religion, instead of reforming these evils, was itself the most fertile cause of contention, and fostered every evil passion with which human nature is corrupted: gross profligacy will easily taint the breasts of the thoughtless and the worldly; but religious discord takes away the savour from that salt which should season the whole; at once infects whatever is most valuable in the community; and renders even the expectation of amendment distant and uncertain. Fanaticism and a false discipline had promoted the cause of hypocrisy and irreligion, and debauchery and vice followed in their train; but party feeling seemed likely to have destroyed whatever portion of Christianity remained, had not God in mercy raised up a body of men, whom the very dangers and difficulties of the times tended to educate; and whose virtues and experience were matured by the opposition which they were obliged to encounter.

[1] Welwood, 148.

APPENDIX E. TO CHAPTER XVI.

HISTORY OF THE COMMON PRAYER BOOK (a).

§ 741. 1545. The King's Primer, printed by authority.
742. 1548. Communion Service.
743. 1549. First Liturgy of Edward VI. published.
744. 1550. First Ordination Service published.
745. 1550. Second Liturgy of Edward VI.
. Second Ordination Service.
746. 1560. Liturgy of Elizabeth.
747. 1604. Alterations introduced by James I.
748. 1633. ——————————and Charles I.
749. 1661. Last revision. Authorized Liturgy.
750. Service for the Consecration of Churches; political services.

§ 741. In giving an account of the Common Prayer Book, it will be more correct to describe it as a work compiled from the services of the church of Rome, or rather as a translation of such portions of them as were free from all objection, than as an original composition. The use of prayers in a language unintelligible to the mass of the congregation is an evil so obvious, that whenever men begin to judge for themselves, they must necessarily reject it; and the first step which was taken by the church of England is, I believe, now generally adopted in that of Rome; I mean a translation of those portions of the service which are most frequently used. The book denominated the *King's Primer* was, I believe, first published by authority early in the spring of 1545 (b). The

(a) Few references are here given, for most of the observations are made from collating the original editions. There is a nice tract on the subject in Sparrow's *Rationale of the Common Prayer*, drawn up by Downes. Wheatley and Nicholls may be consulted. A complete documentary history of the *Common Prayer* has been published by my friend Dr. Cardwell at Oxford. *History of the Conferences*, &c., connected with the *Common Prayer*, by E. Cardwell, D.D., Oxford, 1840. See also, *Liturgiæ Britannicæ*, by Keeling, which furnishes a complete *History of the Changes in the Prayer Book*.

(b) Before this, about 1535, a book called by the same name, and written, or rather compiled, by Cuthbert Marshall, archdeacon of Nottingham, was published, probably with Cranmer's approbation, but without authority (Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, i. 335, ch. xxxi. and Cranmer, i. 138). It contains many independent tracts, of which Strype gives a list; possibly the *Primer* might have been allowed, to which Marshall affixed these additions. I have never seen the book. Strype calls it a second edition with divers additions, 4to. A Primer, 1545, to which I allude above, is in the Bodleian. Waterland on the *Athanasian Creed, Works*, iv. 282, a, speaks of a Primer set forth in 1539, by John, bishop of Rochester (Hilsey), p. 285.

In 1834 my late friend Dr. Burton published three primers; that of—

William Marshall	. 1535
John Hilsey .	. . 1539
Henry VIII.	. . 1545

In the preface which he has given there is all the information on the

object of its publication was to furnish the unlearned with such parts of the church service as were most required, as well as to supply them with the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in the vulgar tongue. This book was republished in the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth.

It contains the Litany, varying but little from our present form, excepting that there are certain petitions requesting 'the prayers of angels, saints, and martyrs,' and 'to be delivered from the tyranny of the church of Rome.' The former of which was omitted in the Prayer Book of Edward VI., and both in that of Elizabeth. In the Dirige, or service for the dead, all the Primers contain prayers for departed souls, which is the more extraordinary with regard to that published during the reign of Elizabeth, since this point had been altered in the second Common Prayer of Edward VI., 1552, and was never again introduced into the service of our church.

§ 742. (March 8, 1548.) The second step in framing a new Service Book referred to that particular in which the church of Rome had introduced the greatest corruptions. When it was ordained by act of parliament that the use of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in both kinds should be restored to the people, a short formulary (a) was drawn up for this purpose, to be used at the end of the Latin mass, in which the priest, having himself partaken during the previous ceremony, was directed subsequently to administer to the rest of the congregation both the bread and wine. The service is, from this circumstance, much shorter than that which formed a part of the Common Prayer in 1549, but most of the prayers and exhortations are the same; both these contain one direction with regard to confession, which marks the temper in which they were drawn up. The people when exhorted as at present to come to some minister of God's word, and open their grief to him, in case they find their consciences troubled, are urged to use mutual charity towards those whose opinions differ from their own as to private confession: that neither they who open their sins to the priest should be offended at others who are satisfied with their own humble confession to God; nor these latter exhibit less forbearance towards such as seek for further satisfaction from auricular confession.

§ 743. (May 4, 1549.) But when the principles of general reformation were more fully acted upon, the whole service was put

subject which he could collect. He proves the error of the account above given from Strype, and affords much new information on the use made of Marshall's *Primer* in composing the *Institution of a Christian Man* (or the *Bishops' Book*); Roman Catholic Primers were previously in use; he mentions one as early as 1527.

(a) Printed in Sparrow's *Collection*, p. 13.

forth in English(a), and all men were thus enabled to join in the very words used by the minister of the church.

The execution, however, of this work was far from being so complete as its first appearance might induce us to suppose. The original Common Prayer Book is, in all outward appearance, nearly the same as that which we now use, though its pages retain many of the particulars in which we differ from the church of Rome. In the funeral service there are prayers for the dead. The custom of anointing with oil is retained in the office for baptism; and in that for the visitation of the sick, in case the patient requested it. The outward sign of the cross is still retained in several of the services where it is now omitted: so that on the whole this book forms a connecting link between the Missal and the Prayer Book(b).

(a) The persons employed in drawing it up were—

Cranmer, abp. of Canterbury.
Goodrich, bp. of Ely.
Holbech, bp. of Lincoln.
Day, bp. of Chichester.
Skip, bp. of Hereford.
Thirlby, bp. of Westminster.
Ridley, bp. of Rochester.
Cox, dean of Christ Church.
May, dean of St. Paul's.
Taylor, dean of Lincoln.
Hayns, dean of Exeter.
Robinson, archd. of Leicester and dean of Durham.
Redmain, dean of Westminster and master of Trinity, Cambridge.

As to the sources from whence our Prayer Book is drawn, the reader is referred to a most complete treatise on this subject by Palmer, published at the University Press in Oxford. Since the publication of the 2nd edition, these two Prayer Books, § 743, § 745, have been reprinted at the University Press, by my friend Dr. Cardwell.

(b) The most material differences between the first Liturgy and that now in use are—

1. The morning and evening service began with the Lord's Prayer; and the prayers for the king, royal family, and clergy, &c., were wanting at the end of it. The Litany was not ordered to be used on Sundays, and contained a petition to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome.

2. Each communion service began with an Introit, or psalm, sung as the officiating ministers were proceeding to the altar (a custom which is still retained in cathedral churches). In the praise given for the saints the name of the Virgin was especially mentioned. The sign of the cross was used in the consecration of the elements; and there was a prayer that they might be sanctified with the Spirit and Word of God. The words at the presentation of the elements were only the first clause of those now used; and water was to be mixed with the wine. This service varies much from the one at present in use, and the Decalogue forms no part of it.

3. In the baptismal service a form of exorcism, in order to expel the evil spirit from the child, was still used; the child was anointed, and invested with a white garment, or chrisom, to denote the innocency of the profession into which it was now admitted. The baptismal water was consecrated once a month, and the minister was directed to dip the child thrice.

4. The catechism formed a part of the office for confirmation, and wanted the explanation of the sacraments at the end.

5. The office for confirmation consisted merely in the laying on of hands with prayer, without any promise on the part of the person confirmed, with which it now begins. The sign of the cross was still used in it.

6. In matrimony the sign of the cross was still retained, and money was given with the ring to the bride.

§ 744. It is impossible not to remark the prudence with which this book was drawn up. Almost the whole of it was taken from different Roman Catholic services, particularly those after the use of Salisbury, which were then generally adopted in the south of England; and the principle on which the compilers proceeded in the work was, to alter as little as possible what had been familiar to the people (a). Thus the Litany is nearly the same as that in the *Salisbury Hours*, excepting that one hundred and sixteen addresses to the apostles, the Virgin, and different saints, are left out; it only differs from that published by Henry VIII. in the *Primer*, by three addresses of the same nature, which were then retained; and varies from our own in one petition only, 'That we may be delivered from the tyranny of the pope.' The collects, epistles, and gospels, were almost entirely the same as those in the *Salisbury Hours*, and several ceremonies were retained, which have been since discarded.

(Nov. 1549.) In the latter part of this year a meeting of divines[1] (probably the same as had been engaged in compiling the Common Prayer) took place, for the purpose of framing an ordination service, which was published in March of the next year, and, after some trifling alterations (b), adopted into the Prayer Book, upon

7. In the visitation of the sick, allusion was made to Tobias and Sarah, from the Apocrypha. A prayer was added in case the sick person desired to be anointed, and he was to be signed with the cross. And it was further directed, that the same form of absolution should be used in all private confessions.

8. In the burial of the dead there were prayers for the person buried, and for the dead generally. A particular service was added for the celebration of the eucharist at funerals.

9. With regard to dresses, priests were ordered to wear the surplice in parish-churches, and to add the hood when they officiate in cathedrals or preach. And in the communion, the bishop was directed to wear besides his rochet, a surplice or albe, with a cope or vestment, and to have a pastoral staff borne by himself, or his chaplain. The officiating priest to wear a white albe, plain, with a vestment or cope. And the assisting ministers to appear in albes and tunicles. Rubric, Com. Service.

10. With regard to ceremonies used by the people, the following rubric occurred, which has been subsequently omitted. 'As touching kneeling, crossing, holding up of hands, knocking upon the breast, and other gestures, they may be used or left, as every man's devotion serveth, without blame;' and it may be observed, that the reasons then drawn up 'why some ceremonies were abrogated, and others retained,' and which were then placed at the end of the Prayer Book, now stand as a preface.

(a) Many parts of the service, which are not derived from the Roman Catholic service-books, are taken from Herman's *Consultation about Reformation*. He was archbishop of Cologne, and the work was drawn up by Melancthon and Bucer, and translated into English in 1547. Laurence, *Bampton Lectures*, 440.

(b) Differences between the ordination service, 1549–1552:—

The service began with an Introit; the deacons were to be dressed in albes, and the one who read the gospel was to put on a tunicle. The

[1] Burnet, ii. 109, fol. 265, 8vo.

the review of it which took place in 1552. It corresponds very nearly with that now in use, excepting that some of the portions of Scripture which are read are different, and the oath of supremacy has been changed (c). Its several parts are taken from that in use in the church of Rome, with the omission of certain ceremonious observances, and the insertion of most of the questions proposed to the candidates.

§ 745. (A.D. 1552.) When a few years had enabled the Christian community to examine the new Common Prayer Book, and some persons were hardly satisfied with many of the ceremonies which were still retained in the offices, it was determined to make a general review of the whole, under the direction of Cranmer, with the assistance of other divines, the same probably as had originally compiled it. While this was in progress, two learned foreigners, who were then in England, were consulted on the subject, and their opinions seem to have coincided with or to have influenced (a) the decisions of the English bishops; for most of the points objected to by Bucer[1] were subsequently amended, and the sentiments of Peter Martyr appear to have been very similar to those of Bucer (b).

bread and chalice were given into the priest's hands, together with the Bible. In the consecration of bishops the pastoral staff was used, and committed into the hands before the words 'Be to the flock of Christ a shepherd.' The archbishop laid the Bible on the bishop's neck; the other alterations are merely verbal. The original edition was published by Grafton. The copy in the Bodleian library is a reprint.

(c) The smaller differences consist in the alteration of some few words, and in the rubric concerning the ages at which deacons and priests may be ordained, corresponding with the law of Elizabeth. See § 435.

(a) Dr. Laurence (*Bampton Lect.* 247) seems to doubt whether these foreigners had much influence with regard to the matter.

(b) The alterations from the last, 1549, now made, were as follows:—

1. The sentences, exhortation, confession, and absolution, with which the service begins, were now introduced. The idea of them is probably taken from a form of prayer used by the church of Strasburgh, and published in 1551 by Valerandus Pollanus, when this church was established at Glastonbury. The use of the Decalogue, as part of the public service, is probably due to the same source. See Laurence's *Bamp. Lect.* 198; and Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* II. i. 378. The Litany was to be used on Sundays.

2. In the communion service the Decalogue was now introduced. The Introit, the name of the Virgin Mary, together with the thanksgiving for the saints, the sign of the cross in consecration, the invocation of the Word and the Holy Ghost which accompanied it, and the admixture of water with wine, were omitted. And the words at the presentation of the elements were only the second clause of those now used. At the same time a declaration concerning the posture of kneeling in receiving the sacrament was subjoined, which differs not materially from that which now stands at the end of the communion service. It is difficult to understand why the invocation of the second and third Persons in the Trinity was left out;

[1] Burnet, ii. 287, 8vo. Strype's *Cranmer*, i. 299.

This Prayer Book, in fact, differs very little from the one now in use, excepting that at the end of the morning and evening service the prayers for the king and royal family were wanting, and that the other prayers were then placed at the end of the Litany, and probably not read unless that was used. The occasional prayers, too, as well as the thanksgivings, were wanting; those for rain and fair weather occurred at the end of the communion service.

§ 746. (A.D. 1560.) On the re-establishment of Protestantism by Queen Elizabeth, one of her first cares was to review the Common Prayer Book. The question which was agitated between those whom she nominated to this task (a), was whether the first, or second, book of Edward VI. should be adopted. Her own inclination would probably have guided her to prefer the former, since it retained many ceremonies of which she was particularly fond; but upon examination, the second of Edward VI. was selected, and a few alterations were made in it (b).

it has been wisely restored in the American Prayer Book.

3. In baptism, the form of exorcism, the anointing of the child, the use of the chrisom, and the trine immersion, were omitted; the water was consecrated for the occasion as at present.

5. In confirmation, the sign of the cross was omitted.

6. In matrimony, the sign of the cross, and the giving of gold and silver, were omitted.

7. In the visitation of the sick, the allusion to Tobias and Sarah, the anointing, and the direction about all private confessions, were omitted.

8. In the burial service, the prayers for the dead, and the office for the eucharist at funerals, were omitted.

9. The rubric about the dresses was, 'And here it is to be noted, that the minister at the time of the communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use neither albe, vestment, nor cope; but being archbishop or bishop, he shall have and wear a rochet; but being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only.'

(a) The persons employed were (Strype's *Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, p. 56)—

Bill, master of Trinity, Cambridge, and afterwards dean of Westminster.

Parker, dean of Lincoln, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury.

May, dean of St. Paul's, and afterwards archbishop of York.

Cox, dean of Ch. Ch. Oxford, and Westminster, and afterwards bishop of Ely.

Pilkington, master of St. John's, Cambridge, and afterwards bishop of Durham.

Grindal, bishop of London, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury.

Whitehead, who had been chaplain to Cranmer.

Sir Thomas Smith.

Of these, May and Cox had been employed at the compilation of the work. In the Annals, Strype (*Ann.* i. 119,) adds Sandys and Guest.

(b) The changes specified in the act of uniformity 1° Elizabethæ are, 'With one alteration or addition of certain lessons, to be used every Sunday in the year, and the form of the Litany altered and corrected, and two sentences only added in the delivery of the sacrament to the communicants, and none other or otherwise.' Of these, the changes in the lessons are not considerable. In the Litany, the petition to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome was omitted, and

§ 747. (A.D. 1604.) During the reign of James I., in consequence of some discussion at the conference at Hampton Court, another review of the Common Prayer was instituted, and a few changes (a) introduced with much judgment; but it must not be forgotten that they possessed no legal authority, inasmuch as they were only sanctioned by the royal proclamation under which they were published.

§ 748. Laud[1] is generally accused of having made considerable alterations in the Common Prayer, for which he had no sufficient authority; and doubtless there are many words changed in the edition of 1638, as compared with that of 1622. If this had not been brought forward among ten thousand charges equally frivolous, as a proof of treason, we might be induced to reprobate such unwarrantable proceedings as they deserve; but there is little evidence that Laud was the author of the alterations, and he expressly denies it[2] in his own version of his defence (a) (b).

that for the queen altered. And in the communion, both the clauses at the presentation of the elements, which had stood in the first and second of Edward, were put together, forming the words now used. The clause in the act of uniformity, 1° Elizabethæ, about dresses, is, 'Such ornaments of the church, and of the ministers thereof, shall be retained, and be used, as was in this church of England by authority of parliament in the second year of the reign of Edward VI., until order shall be therein taken by the authority of the queen's majesty,' by the advice of the ecclesiastical commission, or of the metropolitan of this realm. I am not aware that any such order was ever taken by Elizabeth. And by the act of uniformity, Charles II. 14°, and the rubric, this is now the law of the land. See § 743, (b), 9. The prayers for the king and clergy, which now stand at the end of the morning and evening service, were then first inserted, but placed at the end of the Litany, and the declaration about kneeling, at the end of the communion, was left out.

(a) The rubric in the service for private baptism was so framed, by inserting the term 'lawful minister,' as to leave no doubt concerning the point that the church did not authorize lay baptism. See § 424, (a). In the church catechism that part was added in which the sacraments are explained (drawn up by Dr. John Overall), and certain forms of thanksgiving were now added, to correspond with the prayers for fair weather, &c.

(a) Besides verbal changes which are of no material importance, the word *priest* is in several of the services substituted for *minister* (not before the absolution), and this, as at present, without any apparent rule; the word had better be confined to such offices as are peculiar to the priesthood, while that of *minister* extends to all others, excepting when the cure of souls is implied, where *curate* might be used, if such a distinction be necessary.

In the prayer for the royal family the words 'Almighty God, which hast promised to be a father of thine elect, and of their seed,' are changed to 'Almighty God, the fountain of all goodness.'

In the service of the fifth of November, 'Cut off those workers of iniquity, whose religion is rebellion,' &c., is changed into, 'who turn religion into rebellion,' &c.; an expression which makes the sentence apply to the puritans, as well as to

[1] Neal's *Puritans*, ii. 220.

[2] *Troubles and Trials*, 357.

§ 749. (A.D. 1661.) Upon the fruitless termination of the Savoy conference, it was determined that the alteration of the Common Prayer should be submitted to the convocation which was then sitting, and a king's letter, giving them authority to proceed to this work, was read in the upper house of convocation on November 21. This convocation[1] had been previously employed in framing new services for the twenty-ninth of May, and the thirtieth of January; and had prepared a form of baptism for those of riper years, the necessity of which had been created by the neglect into which that sacrament had frequently fallen,

the papists. But it may be observed that the first of these two, the prayer for the royal family, was introduced merely by a proclamation of King James, and might therefore be altered by King Charles, and the service for the fifth of November is not appointed by act of parliament. The day is ordered to be kept holy, but no form is authorized.

In the epistle for Palm Sunday the word *in* the name of Jesus was altered to 'at;' a change which, whether right or wrong, is sanctioned by the authorized and Geneva translations.

(b) The Prayer Book so altered, differs but little from that which was prepared for Scotland; but the alterations, trifling as they are, mark the spirit of those who then directed the public affairs of the kingdom, and are therefore well worthy of our notice. In the table of lessons most of those taken from the Apocrypha are omitted in the Scotch Prayer Book, the names of fifteen Scotch saints are introduced into the Calendar, and the word *presbyter* is everywhere substituted for that of *priest*. The reading psalms too are taken from the received version of 1611. These changes were probably all of them in accordance with the wishes of the nation, and conciliatory in their intention. In the administration of the Lord's Supper, which is the only service in which any considerable change took place, there are many small particulars calculated to be very offensive to persons superstitiously hostile to Rome, which was the state of the people of Scotland at that time.

A quiet Christian would perhaps object to but few of these alterations; but it was surely injudicious to bring back a Prayer Book destined for the use of that country, to a greater conformity to the first liturgy of Edward VI. and the Roman rituals. The bread and wine are to be 'offered up,' and placed upon the Lord's table. The prayers for the church militant, and of consecration, are nearer to those of 1549; and the words pronounced at the delivery of the elements, are the very same as those in the Prayer Book of that date. These had been altered in the reign of Elizabeth, for fear of any mistake about transubstantiation. In one rubric the word *corporal* for the napkin is retained: in another, the use of wafer bread is permitted; and in the prayer which now immediately follows the Lord's Prayer after receiving, but which in the Scotch Prayer Book is used before, the expression, 'we may worthily receive the most precious body and blood of thy Son,' is reintroduced from that of 1549; all which changes, whether objectionable in themselves, or no, mark a decided want of attention to the feelings of that country at the time. It may be here worthy of remark, that a custom, prevalent in many parishes in England, of saying, 'Glory be to thee, O God,' immediately before the reading the Gospel for the day, is directed in the Scotch Prayer Book, and was perhaps then introduced, from being in common use in this country.

[1] *Synodus Ang.* App. 83.

during the usurpation; but when the inutility of the conference had become apparent, several of the bishops had probably so prepared things, during the vacation, that the work went rapidly on, when it was brought forward in the autumn. Within two days after the king's letter was read, a portion of the revised Prayer Book was transmitted to the lower house, and the whole put into their hands on November 27. The several offices were subsequently examined; and a form of prayer to be used at sea introduced; but the whole was finished and subscribed on December 20 (a).

There were, it appears, some small alterations made in the Prayer Book in Parliament (1662), while the act of uniformity was passing, which were referred by both houses, March 5, to a committee of three bishops (August 24), and when this act came in force, the Common Prayer Book, as it now stands, became part of the law of the land, and has been uniformly used in the church of England ever since.

In speaking of a work of this sort, the excellency of which is acknowledged by all parties, it must be superfluous to enter into any commendations however well deserved. If there be persons who doubt of the propriety of the expression with which it was originally ushered into the world, as being 'set forth by the aid of the Holy Ghost;'[1] yet all members of our church must thank God, that among the many other national blessings bestowed upon us, we possess a Liturgy probably the most pure and apostolical which exists. The only question which admits of any doubt is, whether some reasonable objections to it may not still be obviated; whether some verbal alterations may not be made with advantage; and a further amalgamation take place in the three services which are now generally used together in the morning, by which an unnecessary repetition of the same or similar petitions may be avoided (b). See, too, § 806.

(a) The convocation of York took little interest in these proceedings. At the request of Archbishop Frewen they gave a hasty assent to what was done by means of their proxies (Wake's *State of the Church*, App. No. 158).

(b) The most important alterations which now took place are:

1. The new or authorized version of the Bible was adopted in it, except in the Psalms, the Ten Commandments, and the sentences in the Communion Service.

2. The morning prayer was printed separate from the evening, such prayers as are common to both being reprinted, and the five last prayers in each were introduced from the end of the Litany.

3. The occasional prayers, which stood connected with the Litany, were now divided from it. The prayers in the Ember weeks were inserted (the latter of them from the Scotch Liturgy), as well as that for the parliament and for all conditions of men: at the same time the gene-

[1] Act of Uniformity, Edward VI. 2° 3° ch. i.

§ 750. Although the service generally used at the consecration of churches is possessed of no actual authority, yet as there exists a form sanctioned by custom, it can hardly be passed over without some brief notice. Churches have been dedicated to the service of God from the earliest periods, and since the time of Constantine (who died in 337), some form of consecration has been used for this purpose. The custom prevailed among our Saxon forefathers, and was continued by the church of Rome to the Reformation. At that period of our history, unfortunately, more churches were destroyed than built. Bishop Andrews,[1] who died in 1626, had drawn up a form in English, taken chiefly, I believe, from the office of the church of Rome, and this form was approved and followed (though possibly not without some alterations), by Laud, and most other bishops. (1630.) It had been the intention of the archbishop[2] to have prepared a service for this purpose in the convocation of 1640, but the circumstances

ral Thanksgiving and that for restoring public peace at home, were added.

4. Some few new collects were inserted, some changed, and verbal alterations introduced into many. *Church* was generally substituted for *congregation*.

5. In the Communion Service the exhortations were a good deal changed, and directed to be read on some previous Sunday or holiday, and communicants were directed to give notice of their intention the day before. The admonition about transubstantiation was again introduced, with some alterations from that of 1552.

6. The service for the baptism of those of riper years, and the form of prayer to be used at sea, were also introduced; and,

7. The five last prayers in the Visitation of the Sick.

If it be asked which of these changes were in compliance with the wishes of the nonconformists, it may be observed that the whole of the first and fifth were in conformity with their desires, and the introduction of the general Thanksgiving and many verbal alterations were suggested by them.

8. The consent of the Curate is now required for confirmation, though the bishop may, if he see fit, confirm without it; and this rite is not made a *sine quâ non* for receiving the Lord's Supper.

9. The Absolution in the Visitation of the Sick is left to the judgment of the curate by the insertion of the clause (if he humbly and heartily desire it).

10. In the churching of Women, the service may now be performed from the desk, and the psalms are changed. The newly-married couple are not now required to receive the Lord's Supper. The font is now to be placed conveniently, by the direction of the ordinary, and the words, in the latter part of the Catechism, 'Yes, they do perform them by their sureties who promise and vow them both in their names,' &c., are changed to, 'Because they promise them both by their sureties,' &c.

Of these 5, 8, 9, increased the discretionary power of the curate with regard to admonition, but afforded him not any judicial authority; and herein probably the real interests of Christianity were consulted.

It may be worthy of remark that there have been four Acts of Uniformity.

1548. 2° and 3° Edw. VI. c. 1. } These two were repealed in 1559.
1552. 5° and 7° }
1° Elizabethæ, which was not repealed in 1662.
14° Caroli II.

These two last are often printed in the beginning of the Prayer Book.

[1] Heylin's *Laud*, 213.

[2] Ibid. 441.

which attended that assembly, prevented the accomplishment of this object. The subject[1] was again taken under consideration in the convocation of 1661, and the preparation of a form committed to the care of Bishop Cosins; and when presented to the house, it was referred to a committee of four bishops for revision; but nothing seems ultimately to have been done about it. In 1684, Bishop Sparrow published that of Bishop Andrews. In the year 1712, a form[2] of consecrating churches, chapels, and churchyards, or places of burial, was sent down from the bishops to the lower house of convocation, on the 2nd day of April, and was altered by a committee of the whole house; which form, as it did not receive the royal assent, was not enjoined to be observed, but is now generally used. It is printed in Burn; but every bishop is at liberty to adopt a form according to his own judgment, and bishops do frequently make slight alterations, but the service is virtually that of Bishop Andrews.[3]

There are at the end of the Prayer Book four services, which, properly speaking, form no part of the book itself. They consist of forms of prayer for,

1. The 5th of November, the Gunpowder Treason ([a]).
2. The 30th of January, the Martyrdom of Charles I. ([b]).
3. The 29th of May, the Restoration ([c]).
4. The Queen's Accession ([d]).

The three first of these days are by acts of parliament[4] ordered to be kept holy, but no service is specified as being appointed for them. The authority by which they are here introduced, is merely an order from the king in council, repeated at the beginning of every reign.

([a]) Some expressions in this service were altered by Laud, and gave great and unreasonable offence. At the accession of William and Mary it was altered so as to apply to the Revolution, as a second escape from popery (Heylin's *Laud*, 418, § 748, a).

([b]) This was drawn up by Sancroft, and approved by the convocation, 1661, through a committee of four bishops, and eight members of the lower house: it has received hardly any alterations since that time (D'Oyly's *Life*, i. 44. *Syn. Ang.* 67).

([c]) This was approved by the committee of convocation, 1661, and was originally adapted to commemorate the birth of Charles II., as well as the Restoration; at his death it was altered, and some further substitutions took place at the same time, in which mention is made of the rebellion, and those concerned in it, in stronger terms than before (D'Oyly's *Sancroft*, i. 116).

([d]) The day of their inauguration has been generally observed by our sovereigns since the Reformation, upon the same authority as any other day of thanksgiving, or fasting. The present service differs but little from that of Queen Anne, which was framed from that of James II.

1 *Synodus Anglicana*, 107.
2 Burn's *Eccl. Law*, i. 300.
3 See Harrington's *Consecration of Churches*, 1844.
4 3° Jac. I.; 12° Car. II. 14, 30.

CHAPTER XVII.

DURING THE REIGN OF JAMES II. 1685—1688.

751, 752. Opinions of James II. 753. Accession of James; addresses. 754. Revenue, policy. 755. Cruelty of James. 756. He alarms his subjects; letter about preaching. 757. Court of ecclesiastical commission. 758. Declaration for liberty of conscience. 759. Dispensing power. 760. Sufferings of the dissenters. 761. Attacks on the universities; Magdalen college. 762. Cambridge; Charter-house. 763. Folly of James. 764. Remonstrances of the court of Rome. 765. He tries to frame a parliament favourable to his plans. 766. Army; Johnson. 767. Declaration for liberty of conscience. 768. Difficulties of the clergy; the seven bishops. 769. Sent to the Tower. 770. Tried and acquitted. 771. Temper of the king and of the dissenters; Sancroft's attempts at a comprehension. 772. Progress of the Revolution; James alone ignorant of the preparations of the Prince of Orange. 773. He retraces his steps by the advice of the bishops. 774. The bishops refuse to sign a protest against the Prince of Orange. 775. James finds that his army will not support him, and flies into France. 776. Character of James; his talents and false notions of Government. 777. His desire to introduce popery, chiefly political. 778. He never submitted his own opinion to that of Rome; dishonest, imprudent. 779. Birth of the prince. 780. Nature of the Revolution. 781. Conduct of the clergy.

§ 751. (A.D. 1685.) THE difficulty of drawing a strict line between civil and ecclesiastical history, which has been so frequently stated, will appear perhaps more strongly in this reign than in any other. The contest which was decided in 1688, is often regarded as one merely of a religious character; but if it were viewed without those strong prejudices which are occasionally mixed up with it, it would probably be denominated a political struggle, with which the interests of religion were closely connected, as they are indeed with most political questions. James had been early led to regard rebellion as the worst of crimes, and his education, carried on in a French camp, had disposed him to conceive that obedience was the only virtue; a circumstance which never allowed him to gain any just ideas of the civil rights of his subjects. Obedient in the extreme to the commands of the king his brother, he expected the same deference to his own wishes, when the death of Charles had placed him on the throne. He had been brought up with a high, perhaps a blind veneration for the church of England; and when he came to examine the question for himself, he could see no reason why the same sort of veneration should not lead him to the church of Rome. His conversion to that communion does not appear to have depended on any examination of the tenets of the two churches, but on his

discovering,[1] that neither the church of England, nor Calvin, nor any of the reformers, had power to do what they did;' it was not whether the church of Rome were wrong in her opinions or doctrines, but whether those who seceded from it had any authority to do so.

§ 752. The political tendencies of Popery and Protestantism very probably influenced him in his choice; 'he loved[2] and aimed at absolute power, and believed that nothing could introduce and support it but the Catholic religion, as the Romanists call theirs; and this increased his zeal for it, and that zeal increased his disposition to arbitrary power: so that in truth his religion and his politics were partly the cause of each other, and indeed they cannot easily be separated. The Protestant faith is founded upon inquiry and knowledge, the Popish upon submission and ignorance. And nothing leads more to slavery in the state than blind obedience in matters of religion; as nothing tends more to civil liberty than that spirit of free inquiry which is the life of Protestantism.' Sentiments which fully bear out these general observations, are frequently expressed by James. In speaking of the bill of exclusion,[3] in 1680, he says, 'He was astonished that men of sense did not see that religion was only the pretence, and that the real contest was about power and dominion; that it was the monarchy they designed to banish; without which, the other banishments would give them little satisfaction.'

§ 753. This attempt which had been made to exclude him from the throne, had not only confirmed him in all these opinions, but had made him the enemy of the Protestant cause: while the pertinacity with which the Roman Catholics supported his arbitrary measures, was as much due to the severity of the penal laws, and the intolerance of Protestants, as to the principles entertained by the members of that communion. Protestants first drove out the Roman Catholics from the pale of civil liberty, and then wondered that they were ready to support arbitrary power, which could alone relieve them. While the bill of exclusion was in agitation, a very powerful party appeared adverse to the succession of James; but the latter years of Charles II., wherein the duke had entirely governed the country, had so altered the outward expression of opinion, that the alarms of the kingdom were displayed in the looks of the people, while their acclamations welcomed the new monarch. In his first speech, 'he expressed[4] his good opinion of the church of England, as a

[1] *Life of James II.* i. 630.
[2] Note of Speaker Onslow's, in Burnet's *Own Time*, iii. 2, a.
[3] *Life of James II.* i. 594. [4] Burnet's *Own Time*, iii. 6.

friend to monarchy. Therefore he said he would defend and maintain the church, and would preserve the government in church and state, as it was established by law.' These words were much repeated, and the common phrase was, 'We have now the word of a king, and a word never yet broken.' Some of the addresses, however, which were presented at this period, contained expressions(a) which ought not to have been misunderstood; while others renewed their assurances of fidelity and obedience in such terms as, gratifying the wishes of the king, tended to delude him, and to influence the formation of his plans; for he expected that the high church party would comply with his desires, and allow him to proceed on his arbitrary principles.

§ 754. James began his reign by levying those duties on tonnage and poundage, which had ceased to be due upon the death of his predecessor; so great an inconvenience would have arisen from the interruption of this payment, that the measure was in itself unobjectionable; but the manner in which it was done, by proclamation, without any appearance of deference to law, afforded no very favourable prognostic of his future conduct. The parliament, however, as soon as it met, settled this upon him, and with it a larger revenue for life than had ever been possessed by any previous monarch, amounting to two millions per annum; at the same time an attempt was made, that the grant might be accompanied by a petition for putting the laws in force against dissenters, as had been the case during the late reign; but this was resisted in the commons. The early policy of the king was founded upon the hope that he might balance the high church party against the dissenters, and ultimately bring them to his own persuasion. This, however, was a method of proceeding, from which nothing but the blindness of James could have expected success; and perhaps the victory which he obtained over the duke of Monmouth in the west, and the earl of Argyle in Scotland, contributed to blind him, while it opened the eyes of his subjects; for the cruelties then exercised exceed belief. To say nothing of those who suffered (a) for their rebellion, and who had no right to expect mercy, there are among others two instances of old ladies who were executed for concealing fugitives. They both denied any knowledge of the guilt of those whom they protected; but whether this were true, or no, Lady Lisle was beheaded, and Mrs. Gaunt burnt, for doing that which many a friend of the best government might readily commit; and which the feelings of the majority of the kingdom

(a) The London clergy for instance talked 'of their religion established by law, which was dearer to them than their lives.' Burnet, iii. 7.

(a) Three hundred and thirty were executed, and eight hundred and fifty-five transported. Hallam, ii. 412.

would certainly pardon. It may be sometimes necessary to punish such an act, but no power on earth can prevent mankind from secretly applauding the action; and every government is unwise which uses severity contrary to the better feelings of mankind.

§ 755. James is occasionally exculpated by throwing the blame on Jeffreys, yet James rewarded Jeffreys by immediately making him chancellor; and he who could see his own nephew, when he had determined to execute him; who could allow the duke of Monmouth to come into his presence, and yet behead him; can little expect that he shall be freed from the charge of cruelty by transferring it on his ministers. The vindictive spirit with which severity was carried on, and the insecurity which every one must have felt, from the manifest injustice of several legal proceedings, particularly that against Cornish (a), could not fail to alienate the minds of the generality of his subjects, till the rapid strides made towards the introduction of popery roused the friends of freedom and religion. Indeed James never concealed his preference for his own church, or left any room to hope that he would govern constitutionally, whenever he had obtained the means of doing otherwise. He went to mass publicly on the first Sunday after his accession; in his address to his parliament in Scotland, he declared his determination to uphold the royal power in its greatest lustre; and in his speech to the two houses after the defeat of Monmouth, professed his intention of keeping up a standing army, and retaining certain of his officers,[1] though disqualified on account of their not having taken the test. Now though an honest man will not disguise his religious opinions, though an honest king will try to uphold the just rights of the crown, yet it is difficult not to be somewhat sceptical about the religious zeal of an individual, who at the age of fifty could not be prevailed on by the entreaties of his wife, or his confessors, to resign his mistress (b); and who, after a most solemn promise frequently repeated, of maintaining the government as established by law, seemed so far from having a wish to keep it, that he turned out four of his judges[2] because they

(a) Oates was probably justly convicted of perjury, but the sentence that he should be whipped publicly twice, that he should be imprisoned during the rest of his life, and stand in the pillory four times during each year, was excessively cruel. Dangerfield's sentence was most unjust. His narrative of the Meal-tub plot, whether true or false, was ordered to be printed by the House of Commons; and to fine Williams the speaker for licensing the book, was unjustifiable. Mr. Cornish suffered for the Rye-house plot on very inadequate evidence. See Kennet, iii. 442.

(b) 'When I urged him how such a course of life did agree with the zeal he showed in his religion; he answered, "Must a man be of no religion, unless he is a saint?"' Burnet's *Own Time*, ii. 28.

[1] Kennet, iii. 439.

[2] Ibid. 451.

would not profess their readiness to comply with the desires of the court.

§ 756. James had been at first disposed to conduct himself on friendly terms with the church of England; but he soon discovered that the steps which he adopted alarmed the members of that communion; whose ministers became forward in asserting the doctrines of the Reformation, and warning their hearers against the dangers of popery. In order then to check these proceedings, and to intimidate those who were carrying them on, the king sent a letter to the bishops, prohibiting the clergy from preaching on controversial subjects,[1] and threatening, in case of any opposition to his wishes, that he would exact the tenths and first-fruits to their full value (a). This letter, while it reminded every one of a similar step taken in the beginning of the reign of Mary, called forth the energies of those who were most able to advocate the cause, and roused them to stand forward in defence of the doctrines of the church (b). It became, therefore, obvious that, unless the king could depress the church, there was no hope of his being able to succeed in the establishment of his own religious tenets, or of arbitrary power, and he commenced his operations by setting up a court well calculated to execute his plans. In April, 1686, he issued a commission for ecclesiastical affairs, a step totally illegal. The act passed in 1641, for the purpose of destroying the court of high-commission, did in fact take away the whole coercive power exercised by the ecclesiastical courts; when, therefore, after the Restoration, some papists and dissenters denied the authority of the bishops over them, a new act[2] was passed, repealing such part

(a) There may be a question as to the right possessed by the crown to do this; the words of the Act are, 'And be it ordained and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said yearly rent and pension shall be taxed, rated, levied, proceyved, and paid to the king's use, his heirs and successors, in manner and form hereafter to be declared by this act; that is to say, That the chancellor of England for the time being, shall have power and authority to direct unto every diocese in this realm and in Wales, several commissions in the king's name under his great seal, as well to the archbishop or bishop of every such diocese, as to every such other parson or parsons, as the king's highness shall name and appoint, commanding and authorizing the said commissioners, so to be named in every such commission, or iii. of them at the least, to examine, search, or inquire, by all the ways and means that they can by their discretions,' &c. &c. Where the words seem to carry the right, though it might be doubted whether this were the intention of the bill. This law was abrogated by Philip and Mary, but re-established by Elizabeth.

(b) Among the persons who managed and directed this controversial warfare were Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Tennison, Patric, Sherlock, Aldrich, Atterbury, Wake, Henry Wharton, Prideaux, Bull, and Sharp. See Burnet's *Own Time*, iii. 99. D'Oyly's *Sancroft*, i. 220. Gibson published 3 vols. folio, of these pieces.

[1] Echard, ii. 1077.

[2] 13° Car. II., ch. 12.

of the act of Charles I. as pertained to bishops' courts, but still disannulling the right of appointing an ecclesiastical commission, and excepting the canons of 1640 (c).

§ 757. The commission now issued is printed in Kennet;[1] it confers very ample powers for visiting and reforming all ecclesiastical abuses, for which purpose the presence of the lord chancellor (Jeffreys) and of two other commissioners was required. It directs them also to inspect and correct the statutes of any schools, or colleges, in either of the universities, and, if necessary, to make new rules for their government; but this could not be done, unless four commissioners were joined to the chancellor. Such a court, against which no exemptions might be pleaded, laid every species of academical or ecclesiastical property at the mercy of the crown. The commissioners were, Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury; Crew, bishop of Durham; Sprat, of Rochester; Lord Rochester, Lord Sunderland, and Sir Edward Herbert. Of these, Sancroft refused to take any part in their proceedings, and Cartwright,[2] a creature of the court, was substituted in his place. The first act of this illegal tribunal was directed against Compton, bishop of London, a man well suited for the struggle, of a noble family, and undoubted loyalty, who proved himself ready to defend the rights of his sovereign, or of his fellow-subjects, by the sword, carnal (a), as well as spiritual. Sharp, afterwards archbishop of York, then rector of St. Giles, had attacked some of the errors of popery, and James, who esteemed this conduct as a personal insult towards himself, directed Compton to suspend him. The bishop expressed his readiness to comply with any lawful command, but declared that he had no authority to do so, except by a legal process in an ecclesiastical court; and in the mean season persuaded Sharp to make all due submission to the king, and to avoid preaching till the affair was settled. But as this would not satisfy his majesty, Compton was brought (Sept. 6) before the court of ecclesiastical commission, and suspended from executing his office as a bishop.

§ 758. These measures were grounded upon the idea that the king, as supreme head of the church, might make ecclesiastical law as well as execute it; and the next step in which James was engaged,

(c) The words are, 'Provided &c. . . . this Act shall not extend, &c. . . . Nor to confirm the canons made in the year 1640, nor any of them; nor any other ecclesiastical laws or canons not formerly confirmed, allowed, or enacted by Parliament, or by the established laws of the land, as they stood in the year of the Lord 1639.' *Statutes of the Realm.*

(a) When he had conveyed the Princess Anne from London to Northampton, he put himself at the head of a small army which was there assembled (See Burnet's *Own Time*, iii. 318, and Wood's *Ath.*).

[1] iii. 454.

[2] Burnet, iii. 136.

assumed almost the same power with regard to the law of the land; for when he found that his expectations from the high church party were disappointed, he betook himself to the dissenters, and tried, by favouring them, to establish a force which should be sufficient to curb those whom he now deemed his enemies. On April 4, 1687, he issued a declaration[1] for liberty of conscience, whereby he suspended all the penal laws against those who differed from the church of England, and virtually repealed them. At the same time, he allowed all those who were unwilling to conform to the rites of the church, to assemble for purposes of public worship, dispensed with the necessity of taking any oaths, before entering on office, and stated his determination to employ such persons as had been faithful in their duty, and of whose service he did not choose to be deprived. The law of the land, as it stands at the present moment, differs so little from what James wished to establish, that on the part of those who rejoice in our present liberty of conscience, no objection can be justly raised against this measure, except that which arises from the nature of the authority assumed in the publication of such a document. Laws are annihilated, if the king by one sweeping clause may dispense with them. The power of pardoning, mercifully lodged in the crown, is totally different from that which was now claimed. There the king forgives, because some circumstances render pardon the truest justice, and happy is the government which is strong enough frequently to exercise this power; but to forgive an act when committed, and to license the commission of it, are steps of a totally different nature. James never pretended to exercise this power so as to affect the property of his subjects, but when the power is admitted, who can set limits to the use of it? Who can guarantee that no private property shall be injured by it? In the case of Magdalen college, of which mention will hereafter be made, James[2] argues justly, that 'it was ridiculous to dispute the king's power in dispensing with the local statutes of a college, which had been so frequently practised in former reigns; after it had been decided in his majesty's favour that he might dispense with certain standing laws of the land.' The admission of this right in the crown would, in this case, have deprived an honest man of his prospects in life, and might have rendered the situation of all the members of a large college very uncomfortable, by robbing them of their right to appoint their own head, a privilege as dear as any other species of property; nor should it be forgotten, that when an individual is wrongly appointed to any place of honour or emolument, some proper person is prevented from obtaining the preferment.

[1] Kennet, iii. 463. [2] *Own Life*, ii. 123.

§ 759. Kennet[1] says, that the assumption of this power might have been overlooked, if the king had not endeavoured to form a parliament for the purpose of repealing the penal laws(a). The attempt was made in a very unconstitutional manner through private communications, generally denominated closetings; and many undue steps were taken to influence men in their decisions. Though the legal repeal of all penal laws would probably have been a measure productive of the greatest good to England, had it been effected from the very first, yet unfortunately we can hardly attribute any such enlarged views to James, whose sole object seems to have been, to establish his own authority, and to introduce his own religious opinions, two ideas almost inseparably connected in his mind. In this attempt to bias the judgments of his people, there was nothing which a weak man might not have esteemed justifiable; but when we look at his conduct with respect to the judges, it is impossible to acquit him of absolute dishonesty. The question of the legality of the dispensing power was brought to trial in the case of Sir Edward Hales; but, as a previous step, the judges were sounded concerning their several opinions, 'and such as were not clear to judge as the court did direct, were turned out.'[2] Sir Edward accepted a place which required him to take the test, and his own coachman sued him in the penalty of five hundred pounds for not doing so; in bar of which, the dispensing power of the king was pleaded, and allowed. The twelve judges on this occasion decided the matter, as far as a court which had not the confidence of the country, could decide it, and there were so many persons indirectly interested in the admission of the power, that it is almost wonderful that the decision was not received with greater satisfaction.

§ 760. The sufferings of the dissenters had been so great, that no government, worthy of the name, could have long allowed them to be inflicted. The quakers,[3] in their petition to the king and parliament, declared that above fifteen hundred of their brethren had been of late in prison, of whom 1383 now remained there; and that of these more than two hundred were women. That since 1660, above three hundred and fifty had died in gaol; that many others had lost their lives from ill treatment which they had experienced while under confinement; and that numberless injuries had been done to their property. The writer of the preface to *Delaune's Plea for the Nonconformists* says, that he was one of eight thousand Protestant dissenters who had been punished in gaol during the reign of Charles II. Oldmixon[4] says that Jeremy

(a) That is, such laws as impose any pains or penalties on account of religion.

[1] iii. 466.
[2] Burnet, iii. 91.
[3] Neal, v. 17.
[4] *History of the Stuarts*, 715.

White had collected a list of sixty thousand persons who had suffered for religion, between the Restoration and Revolution. These accounts may be, and probably are, much exaggerated; but after treatment which at all approached to this description, or extent, it is only wonderful that the dissenters were as friendly to the church as they were. The court[1] had tried to render the breach between the two parties as wide as possible, by issuing a commission to examine into the proceedings which had been unjustly carried on against them (for in many cases they had bought off further prosecutions against themselves, by making presents to those who were connected with the ecclesiastical courts); but the general moderation of the dissenters at this moment prevented any such effect from being produced, since they were convinced that the sole object of the apparent kindness of the king was to employ them in throwing down the constitution. His arbitrary conduct, indeed, which was always exercised more or less in favour of the Roman Catholics, prevented any one from mistaking the plans which he had in view.

§ 761. James directed his first open attack against the universities; for he foresaw, that if he could have succeeded in contaminating the sources from whence many of the higher feelings which pervade a country, derive their origin, the task of perverting the minds of the rest of the community would have become comparatively easy. Oxford was but ill prepared to resist the attempt. Anthony Wood,[2] in his own life, describes the place as given up to idleness, and containing few scholars, who generally spent their time in coffee and ale-houses. He adds, that colleges[3] were deserted, for fear the gownsmen[4] should be turned out of their rooms to provide lodgings for the members, in case a parliament should be assembled there. That whigs were afraid to send their sons to a seminary, where there was danger lest they should be perverted to tory principles, or converted to popery. For after the accession of James, Obadiah Walker, head of University college, and five or six more, declared themselves of the Roman Catholic persuasion. Upon the death of Fell, in 1686, the crown had appointed Massey(a), a Roman Catholic, to the deanery of Christ Church; and in 1687, when a vacancy occurred in the headship of Magdalen college, the king sent a mandatory letter, enjoining the fellows to elect Farmer, a man of bad character, and a Roman Catholic. The fellows petitioned that the crown would either

(a) There was a particular dispensation for O. Walker, Massey, and several other members of the University; and one for Sclater, curate of Putney and rector of Esher, for not using the Common Prayer (Hallam's *Cons. Hist.* ii. 410).

[1] Burnet, iii. 175. [2] *Ath.* lxxix. [3] Ibid. lxxx. [4] Ibid. xciv. xcvii.

grant them a free election, or that the king would recommend such a person as might be serviceable to his majesty, and to his college; but in the mean time, before any answer was received, they, complying with the directions of their statutes as to the time of election, proceeded to choose Hough, and afterwards refused to admit Samuel Parker, bishop of Oxford, who was recommended to them by the court. In consequence of this disobedience, his majesty cited the fellows before him, during his visit to Oxford; and upon their continued refusal to obey his commands, they were brought before a committee of the ecclesiastical commission, sent to the university for the purpose of punishing them, and ultimately Hough and twenty-five fellows quitted their academical preferments, protesting against the illegality of the whole proceeding. Parker enjoyed his preferment only two years, and at his death, Bonaventure Giffard, vicar apostolic from the see of Rome, was installed as president.

§ 762. We have before seen[1] in what light James regarded the transaction; he conceived that the king, who had a right to dispense with the laws of the land, must have an equal power to change the statutes of a college; and there are many instances where, in the appointments to colleges, the nomination had been virtually transferred to the crown (ª). James, therefore, who entertained the most extravagant notions of prerogative, and who was urged on by the blind zeal of his ecclesiastical advisers (for the Roman Catholic laity were too wise to approve of his conduct), saw not that the freehold of every one of his subjects was rendered insecure by so arbitrary an act, and that every member of the college thus ejected, would be regarded as a confessor for the cause of Protestantism; while every friend to the universities, or the church, would be in arms against a measure, which might in the next place eject any clergyman from his living.

This shameless treatment however was not confined to Oxford. In Cambridge,[2] James had before directed the university to confer the degree of M.A. without taking the oaths, on Allen Francis, a Benedictine monk, then resident there. The senate rejected the mandamus as quietly as they could, but Dr. Peachell (ᵇ), master of

(ª) When Sancroft vacated his headship at Emmanuel college, Cambridge, the king nominated Dr. Breton, who was accordingly elected; and one of the fellows approved of it as the only method of preserving unanimity among them (D'Oyly's *Sancroft*, i. 135†). Finch was appointed warden of All Souls by a mandamus from James, 1687, and upon the death of the duke of Ormond, in July 1688, the university proceeded to a hasty election, lest a mandamus should come in favour of Jeffreys (Birch's *Tillotson*, 222, 234). William III. attempted to do the same in King's college, Cambridge, but gave it up, on the resistance of the fellows (Ibid. 261).

(ᵇ) He is called Rachell by Lord

[1] See § 758.

[2] Burnet, iii. 141.

Magdalen college, and vice-chancellor, was ultimately deprived of this office by the ecclesiastical commission. The court however went no further, and the degree was never conferred. An almost similar case took place at the Charter-house,[1] where the king ordered the governors to admit Andrew Popham without administering any oaths to him. The governors very properly resisted, and the affair was never brought to an issue. Two out of these three acts were direct attacks upon property; for where a candidate disqualified by law is appointed, it cannot but happen that some qualified person is deprived of his right. The third was an act of pure tyranny upon the magistrate of a body corporate, who did nothing beyond his duty.

§ 763. Some other parts of the conduct of James are marked with a folly as conspicuous as the injustice which is exhibited in the previous instances, particularly the appointment of Father Petre as a privy counsellor, and the sending Lord Castlemain to Rome. The writer of the *Life of James II.* throws the blame, in both these cases, on Lord Sunderland, who brought forward the king's confessor, that he might use him as a tool, and a screen. Petre was a weak, though plausible man, but had a great influence over the king, and the credit of more than he really possessed; Lord Sunderland therefore wished that Petre might be supposed to direct the king's counsels, while the measures really proceeded from the minister; and the prospect of obtaining a cardinal's hat was too strong a temptation to be resisted by Petre. Lord Castlemain was in consequence sent ambassador to Rome,[2] in order to obtain this object, and to request that three vicars-general more might be appointed for the kingdom; but his reception there was most unfavourable; and after delays and neglect, the only point in which he succeeded was the nomination of Drs. Giffard and Smith and Father Ellice, who were consecrated bishops *in partibus*, and vicars-general in England (ª).

Dartmouth in his note on Burnet. There is an excellent letter of his to Pepys, in the *Diary*, ii. 81:—'I am sorry, as well as unhappy, to be brought to a straight 'twixt God and man: the laws of the land and the oaths we lie under, are the fence of God's church and religion professed and established amongst us; and I cannot suffer myself to be made an instrument to pull down those fences: if H. M. in his wisdom, and according to his supreme power, contrive other methods to satisfy himself, I shall be no murmurer or complainer, but can be no abettor. For the doctrine, discipline, and worship of our church I heartily believe was neither fetched from Rome, nor from Geneva, but from Jerusalem, from Christ and his apostles.'

(ª) Watson, bishop of Lincoln, the last of the Roman Catholic bishops who had not become Protestant at the Reformation, died in 1584. In 1598, the English Roman Catholic Church was placed under the juris-

[1] D'Oyly's *Sancroft*, i. 239.

[2] *Life of James II.*, ii. 79.

§ 764. The court of Rome was far too wise to approve of the hasty steps which were taking place in this country, and foresaw the destruction which such imprudence must bring upon the interest of the papal cause. Innocent XI.[1] indeed is said to have advised James to use all moderation, and to have written to him for that purpose immediately on his accession (probably through Carryl, who was sent into Italy upon his ascending the throne). The Spanish ambassador and the English Roman Catholic laity joined in urging the same point, but to no purpose; and it is difficult to decide whether the madness of the priests, or the impolicy and dishonesty of Lord Sunderland, were the most influential cause which led to the ultimate catastrophe: probably each contributed to assist the other. It was not perhaps in itself likely that James should have been influenced by the suggestions of the Pope, for like Lewis XIV., he was rather an enemy to the principles of Protestantism than a friend to the court of Rome, of which he had no wish to increase the power; but no outward rupture took place in consequence of these events; and though Lord Castlemain[2] afterwards declared that the object of his embassy was one of mere compliment between two temporal princes, yet the accounts given by historians, and appearances in England, seem to support a contrary supposition. The next year (July 3, 1687), the pope's nuncio was publicly received at Windsor, and the duke of Somerset[3] disgraced, because he refused to incur the danger of rendering himself guilty of high treason, in the eye of the law, by presenting the accredited agent of the see of Rome. The king had not only allowed the monks in St. James's to wear the dresses of their orders, but the nuncio[4] himself, Sen. F. d'Adda, had been consecrated archbishop of Amasia, in the chapel belonging to that palace.

§ 765. All this served but to irritate the minds of the people.

diction of an arch-priest, vested with full authority over the secular clergy, but unable to perform any episcopal functions, as he was not a bishop. The Roman Catholics of England justly remonstrated against this, as being virtually deprived of the benefits of episcopacy. In 1623 a vicar-apostolic was first appointed. This is an officer vested with episcopal authority by the pope over any church which is in want of a bishop, but which, for some reason, cannot have one of its own: the bishop is consecrated to some see, *in partibus infidelium*, which had formerly a bishop, but has now no church. The real difference between a bishop of a see and a vicar-apostolic is, that the commission of the latter is only during the pope's pleasure. Ireland has Roman Catholic bishops of her own, who are independent of Rome, as far as Roman Catholics can be; and the members of that communion in England have much reason to complain that they have never been allowed this privilege (Butler's *Roman Catholics*, ii. 249, &c.).

[1] Welwood's *Mem.*, 157.
[2] Welwood, 184.
[3] Ibid. 182.
[4] *Life of James II.*, ii. 116.

It convinced every thinking person that they could expect no half measures, and enabled those who approved not of these proceedings, to enlist the prejudices of every Protestant in opposition to his majesty. It showed the world that James cared nothing for laws, and proved to them that their only safety depended on their establishing a power in the force of general opinion, which should be able to overwhelm any strength with which the injustice of the king might be backed.

James himself could not fail to perceive the danger of acting entirely against law, and therefore attempted to obtain a sanction for his own conduct by procuring a change in the laws themselves. With this view, when he had dismissed his former parliament[1] (July, 1687), he endeavoured to assemble a new one, which might coincide with his own wishes in the abolition of the Test. The method by which he tried to effect this object was, first, by going on a progress through many parts of the country, during which he sounded the opinions of the most influential persons, hoping to bias their judgments, but found that the feelings of most men were unequivocally adverse to his desires. He discoursed of liberty[2] of conscience, but forgot that all his acts tended to destroy even liberty of person and property. In order that such members as were friendly to the court might obtain seats in the commons, he used the most arbitrary measures towards corporations, particularly that of London; and while, in his alteration of plans, he discarded his old friends, he gained no new supporters among those who were advanced by him; for no one could feel sure that a fresh line of policy might not presently be pursued, which would again make a sacrifice of their interests. With regard to members of parliament, he attempted to produce the same effect by means of the lords lieutenant, whom he directed to put questions with respect to elections, both to candidates and to electors; but the task was carried on with no zeal, and some of the lords lieutenant even opposed the wishes of the court, without concealing it.

§ 766. Such decided marks of dislike on the part of his subjects would not allow James to shut his eyes to the uncertainty of his prospects of success, dependent on any, or all these means, and he seems therefore to have placed his reliance upon the army, which he had formed with much care, and modelled as far as possible, so as to give him every reason for expecting support from it; but after all, the feelings of the army were strongly against the religion of the king, and his plans tended only to make the real objects of his intentions more apparent. In 1686 Mr. Johnson,[3] a clergyman, who was already in prison, for having written a work

[1] Rapin, 760. [2] Burnet, iii. 180. [3] Birch's *Tillotson*, 217. Kennet, 452.

called *Julian the Apostate*, published 'An Address to all the English Protestants in the army, to dissuade them from becoming the tools of the Court, and contributing to subvert the Constitution.' For this he was most severely, nay, barbarously punished; he was degraded from his orders, in St. Paul's, by some of the courtly bishops, placed three times in the pillory, and whipped from Newgate to Tyburn. This rigour betrayed the weakness of the court and their alarms; and though numbers of Roman Catholics were subsequently introduced into the army, yet that body still continued true to the real interests of the country.

§ 767. (A.D. 1688.) When James then had offended the mass of his subjects; when he had outrun the zeal of those whose religious opinions seemed to connect them more closely with his interests; when he dared not call a parliament, and could not trust his army: he republished his declaration for liberty of conscience. It is a painful consideration that this act, which, if it had been done at a proper season, and from good motives, might have formed the glory of any Christian king, can now only be regarded as the last arbitrary proceeding of one who would willingly have made himself a tyrant; and that the political liberty of our country must date its origin from the opposition which was now raised to a proclamation, in itself advocating the cause of religious freedom; so complicated are the connexions between real and pretended liberty. This declaration, which had been originally published April 4th, 1687, was now put forth with a new preface and conclusion (April 27th), stating the determination of the king to support it, the efficient state of the army and navy, and the prosperous condition of the country; and as if this were not sufficiently exasperating, it was directed by an order of council that it should be read in every parish church (a).

§ 768. The clergy were now placed in the very difficult situation[1] of either disobeying the commands of the king, or of contributing to their own degradation; and the more dignified members of that body nobly came forward to sustain the violence of the storm. Archbishop Sancroft, from the very first, seems to have been employed in consulting with his episcopal brethren, who happened to be in the neighbourhood of London, with regard to the line of conduct which they ought to pursue; and when after a few days, he had assembled a certain number of bishops, it was agreed that they should present a petition to the king, signifying their reluctance to distribute and publish the declaration; and

(a) That the clergy might, as Father Peter said, eat their own dung (Kennet, iii. 481. Burnet, iii. 217).

[1] D'Oyly's *Sancroft*, 254.

professing their readiness to come to some temper with the dissenters. This petition was signed by Sancroft,[1] W. Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, F. Turner of Ely, J. Lake of Chichester, Th. Kenn of Bath and Wells, Thomas White of Peterborough, and Jonathan Trelawney of Bristol; and on the evening of the same day the six last presented it to his majesty at White Hall, for Sancroft had been previously forbidden to appear at court. The king received it with great appearance of anger; the bishops, who conducted themselves with great calmness and respectfulness of demeanour, were dismissed from the royal presence; and through some unfaithfulness of those about the king, a copy was printed and dispersed throughout the town on the same evening. The petition was afterwards subscribed by six more bishops(ª), as approving its contents,[2] and the clergy generally followed the steps of the bishops, so that not above two hundred of them, through the whole kingdom, read the declaration in their churches. There were four bishops(ᵇ) only who complied with the orders of the court,[3] and of these Crew suspended about thirty in his diocese for their refusal; and the diocese of Chester, of which Cartwright was bishop, united in an address of thanks for the declaration itself.

§ 769. James remained some time in suspense as to what measures he should pursue, but at length came to the imprudent resolution of prosecuting the bishops for a misdemeanour: and on Friday, June 8th, they were all committed to the Tower, because they would not enter into recognizances for their further appearance, a step which their legal advisers recommended them not to take. 'The people,' says Hume,[4] 'were already aware of the danger to which the prelates were exposed; and were raised to the highest pitch of anxiety and attention with regard to the issue of this extraordinary affair. But when they beheld these fathers of the church brought from court under the custody of a guard, when they saw them embarked in vessels on the river, and conveyed

(ª) Compton of London, W. Lloyd of Norwich, R. Frampton of Gloucester, Seth Ward of Sarum, Peter Mew of Winchester, Thomas Lamplugh of Exeter (*Sancroft*, 269).

(ᵇ) Nathaniel Crew, bishop of Durham, Herb. Crofts of Hereford, Thomas Barlow of Lincoln, and Thomas Sprat of Rochester; Sprat was also dean of Westminster (Rapin, 763). 'I was then at Westminster school, and heard it read in the abbey. As soon as bishop Sprat, who was dean, gave order for reading it, there was so great a murmur and noise in the church, that nobody could hear him; but before he had finished, there was none left but a few prebends in their stalls, the choristers, and Westminster scholars. The bishop could hardly hold the proclamation in his hands for trembling, and everybody looked under a strange consternation.' Note of Lord Dartmouth's in Burnet's *Own Time*, iii. 218, g.

[1] *Sancroft*, 262.
[2] *Ibid.* 269.
[3] *Life of James II.*, ii. 167.
[4] viii. 261.

towards the Tower, all their affection for liberty, all their zeal for religion, blazed up at once, and they flew to behold this affecting and animating spectacle. The whole shore was covered with crowds of prostrate spectators, who at once implored the blessing of those holy pastors, and addressed their petitions towards Heaven for protection during this extreme danger to which their country and their religion stood exposed. Even the soldiers, seized with the contagion of the same spirit, flung themselves on their knees before the distressed prelates, and craved the benediction of those criminals whom they were appointed to guard. Some persons ran into the water, that they might participate more nearly of those blessings which the prelates were distributing on all around them. The bishops themselves, during this triumphant suffering, augmented the general favour by the most lowly, submissive deportment; and they still exhorted the people to fear God, honour the king, and maintain their loyalty, expressions more animating than the most inflammatory speeches. And no sooner had they entered the precincts of the Tower, than they hurried to chapel in order to return thanks for those afflictions, which Heaven, in defence of its holy cause, had thought them worthy to endure.'

§ 770. On Friday, June 15th, these venerable sufferers[1] were brought before the court of king's bench, on a writ of *habeas corpus*, but allowed to return to their own houses upon bail, till the day of trial, which was fixed for the 29th. The anxiety expressed by the country generally was excessive, and the crowds assembled in Westminster-hall and its neighbourhood, when their fate was to be decided, proportioned to the interest which all orders took in the event. The evidence for the prosecution consisted in the proof of the signature of the bishops, and of the publication of the petition, which was established on the testimony of the clerk and president of the privy council. Their defence rested on the right of petitioning possessed by every Englishman, on the modest terms in which this petition was expressed, and the private manner in which it was presented; but the chief argument lay in the illegality of the dispensing power now claimed by the crown. Of the four judges on the bench, Wright and Allybone gave it as their opinion, that the petition was a libel, and Holloway and Powell pronounced it not to be so. The jury remained in consultation all the night, and at six o'clock the next morning brought in their verdict of 'Not guilty.' The tumultuous joy excited by the news of their decision spread rapidly through the country, and the acclamations extended to the camp at Hounslow, where the eagerness with which the soldiers joined in expressing their satisfaction, justly excited the alarms of the king.

[1] *Sancroft*, 288.

§ 771. The temper, however, of James was such, that he would not see the real condition to which he had reduced himself, and having always blamed the vacillation of his father and brother, he hoped to remedy by firmness an evil into which imprudence had led him. His immediate advisers, too, wished to widen the breach between the king and his subjects, and the manner in which he proceeded to act sufficiently accomplished this object. The week after the trial, he dismissed the two judges who had been favourable to the bishops, and issued, through the ecclesiastical commission, an order, that all chancellors and archdeacons should send in the names of those clergymen who had refused to read the declaration. Sancroft, who through the whole of this part of the transaction showed great christian firmness, published some admonitions[1] designed to be addressed by the bishops to their respective clergy, in which he called upon them to exert themselves as became their station, and to endeavour to promote the peace of the nation and unanimity between Protestants. Indeed, the friendly temper of the dissenters at this period called forth the praises of the church, and in consequence of the prevalence of such feelings, while the hour of danger was at hand, the archbishop made some attempts towards a comprehension. 'The scheme was laid out,[2] and the several parts of it committed to such of our divines as were thought most worthy to be entrusted with it. His grace took one part himself, another was committed to Dr. Patric. The reviewing of the Liturgy was referred to a select number of persons. The design was this: to improve, and, if possible, amend our discipline; to review and enlarge our Liturgy, by correcting some things, by adding others, and if it should be thought advisable by authority, when the matter should be legally considered, first in convocation, then in parliament, by omitting some few ceremonies which are allowed to be indifferent in their natures, as indifferent in their usage, so as not to make them of necessity binding on those who had conscientious scruples respecting them, till they should be able to overcome their weaknesses or their prejudices respecting them, and be willing to comply.' Sancroft considered how good an opportunity had been lost at the Restoration, because no previous steps had been taken by the friends of the church, and because the warmth of the other party had tended to inflame the minds of those who were sufficiently adverse to any alterations.

§ 772. 'In the mean time by the continued[3] and less disguised attempts of King James against the liberties of his subjects and

[1] D'Oyly's *Sancroft*, i. 320.
[2] Ibid. i. 327. *Wake's Speech at Sacheverel's Trial*, 212, 8vo.
[3] D'Oyly's *Sancroft*, i. 330, &c.

the safety of the Protestant church, matters were fast drawing to a crisis. The Protestants became every day more and more convinced that nothing less than open resistance could preserve to them the enjoyment of their religious profession; and all eyes were turned towards Holland, as the quarter whence deliverance was to spring. The prince of Orange, in consequence of the numerous and strong solicitations he had received from persons of various ranks and interests in England, had come to the resolution of undertaking an expedition for the express purpose of saving that kingdom from the dangers which threatened to overwhelm it. In consequence, he had employed the earlier part of the year in making such preparations as had more the appearance of providing for the security of his own states, than of meditating anything hostile against another. But as the autumn drew on, he was obliged to take other measures in collecting troops, artillery, and arms, which unequivocally marked the design of undertaking a foreign expedition. While this storm was gathering, James alone remained unconscious of his danger. Blinded by his passions, and given over to infatuated counsels, he vainly hoped for success in measures from which every other eye saw that his ruin must ensue; and when preparations were making, the object of which was to all the world too plain to be mistaken, he alone remained in ignorance of their real destination. At last, about the middle of September, he first became convinced of the purpose of the intended expedition from Holland, by a letter, as it is said, from Lewis XIV. On receiving it, he turned pale, and stood motionless, and the letter dropped from his hand; striving to conceal his perturbation from his courtiers, he more plainly betrayed it; and they, in affecting not to observe his emotion, showed no less plainly that they did. The immediate effect of this discovery, and of the alarm which overwhelmed him, was to make him recur, with hurried precipitation, to milder measures of government, for the purpose of regaining his lost popularity. Accordingly, on Sept. 21, he published a declaration expressing that it was his resolution to preserve inviolable the church of England; that he was willing the Roman Catholics should remain excluded from the house of commons; and assuring his loving subjects, that he should be ready to do everything else, for their safety and advantage, that becomes a king who will always take care of his people. Five days afterwards, he declared his intention of restoring to the commission of the peace those gentlemen who had been displaced. But matters had advanced too far for these concessions to have any effect. Although ostensibly proceeding from his own free will, they were manifestly extorted from him by fear. All confidence in him, on the part of the people, was forfeited; and his devotion to the

Roman Catholic cause was known to be such, that he would certainly recur to his violent measures for establishing it, as soon as the fear of consequences was again removed.'

§ 773. 'But what was the most striking effect of the alarm into which he was now thrown, he condescended to ask advice of those very persons whom he had so lately treated with hasty and inconsiderate violence, the archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the bishops;' and was pleased in being able to assure his people of the returning cordiality between himself and their lordships. He took off the suspension from Bishop Compton, and restored to the city of London their charter which had been so unwarrantably taken from them, and on Oct. 2 he received from Sancroft, and the other bishops who were in town, a paper(a) containing their opinion as to the measures which he ought to pursue, couched in language of meekness, and delivered with great gravity and courage. The king thanked the bishops for their advice; and each of the points either had been, or were successively conceded; but the concession came too late; the country had lost all confidence in their sovereign, and his acts of grace were esteemed acts of weakness. Nay, the very prayers for the peace and safety of the nation, which Sancroft composed with great moderation and discretion, are said to have tended to confirm the minds of the people in the quiet opposition which they raised against the proceedings of the court, by directing their thoughts to religion, the point concerning which the only danger seemed to threaten them.

§ 774. The change in the king's councils, with regard to the bishops, caused them to be viewed at first as objects of suspicion, but their subsequent conduct, with respect to not expressing their abhorrence of the measures of the prince of Orange, placed their conduct in its true light. James, alarmed at the appearance of an universal defection, when the intended invasion became evident, requested from such bishops as could be assembled at the moment, a public expression of their dislike to the measures of his son-in-law, and in a long personal interview urged them to comply with his request. But, after having vindicated themselves from the charge of having invited the prince, the bishops declined expressing

(a) It consists of ten heads: 1st, that he should commit the government in the several counties to those who were legally qualified; 2nd, annul the ecclesiastical commission; 3rd, restore the president and fellows of Magdalen college; 4th, reverse all dispensations; 5th, and not grant any for the future; 6th, that he should inhibit the vicar-apostolic; 7th, fill all vacant bishoprics; 8th, supersede all *quo warrantos* and restore ancient charters; 9th, issue writs for a free parliament to provide for the security of the church of England and liberty of conscience; 10th and lastly, listen to the arguments which should be advanced by the bishops to induce him to return to the communion of the church of England (D'Oyly's *Sancroft*, i. 340).

any opinions distinct from the rest of the peers, whose interest in the prosperity of the nation was as strong as their own. This refusal, while it injured the cause of James, probably contributed to save episcopacy in England; for, had the bishops of this country committed themselves on the side of arbitrary power, as the Scotch bishops did: had they so fettered themselves by any declaration of opinions hostile to the principles of the Revolution; it is not improbable that they would have been hindered from taking part in the events which subsequently occurred, and by leaving the field open to their enemies, as was the case in the north, have tended to destroy the very order among us.

§ 775. James was much irritated at this refusal; but the landing of the Dutch, with its immediate consequences, prevented him from showing his anger publicly. When it was known that the disembarkation had been effected, the bishops joined with several temporal peers in London to persuade the king to call a free parliament, a step which might even then, perhaps, have preserved the crown; but he refused to listen to the suggestion, till he had found the insecurity of any reliance on the army, and had seen that, as no one trusted him, he could confide safely in no one.

Events now followed each other in rapid succession. The king joined his army at Salisbury, on the 19th of Nov., but found that resistance was in vain, since his own officers declined fighting against the prince. Deserted by his troops, his friends, and his children, he determined to call a parliament when it was too late, and at length attempted to fly into France. The peers who were in London, assembled, and took upon themselves, for the time, the government of the country, in order to preserve peace; but the detention of James, and his return to White Hall, where he was received with the acclamations of the people, and the attendance of a considerable court, again seemed to give him a momentary hope that all was not lost. When, however, the prince of Orange came to London, and the difficulties which must have presented themselves as to any future settlement became apparent, James was compelled hastily to quit his palace, and his escape into France was connived at.

§ 776. The personal character of James must explain to us many of the secret springs of those proceedings for which it might otherwise be difficult to assign any sufficient reason. He seems to have possessed that species of talent which would have rendered him a distinguished second in any department, but to have wanted that honest sound sense, which can alone qualify talent for the highest stations. His conduct as a young soldier under Turenne, his extreme attention to business, his readiness to obey, and, above

all, his regulations with regard to the admiralty, mark him out as an object of admiration. He viewed trade with the eye of a superior statesman, and perceived its connexion with religious liberty. He saw that the establishment of liberty of conscience would make England great; but here his faults displayed themselves in connexion with his good sense: for he was utterly deficient of that uprightness of mind which might have delivered him out of the intricacies in which his prejudices and religion involved him.

The misfortunes which attended his early youth led him to false views of governing. The education which he had received in a camp, but, above all, the notions which he derived from Colonel Berkeley,[1] who was entrusted with the care of him, and was a bold insolent man, disposed towards popery, and exceedingly arbitrary in his temper and ideas, probably infused into the mind of James those high opinions concerning absolute power, which were the incessant bane of his whole life.

§ 777. When he came to the throne, it was his first object to establish a strong government, for he had seen the miseries of a weak one, during the lives of his two nearest relations; but his only idea of a strong government was of one which did not depend on resources furnished at the will of the people, and which, therefore, might be denied him. While his brother was king, he had always been ready to allow England to be under the control of France, provided he could maintain his own authority in England; and when advanced to the throne, he was eager to adopt a line of policy, which, without rejecting the assistance of France, should enable him to emancipate himself from her power. The friendly feeling towards him, on the part of the people, with which his reign commenced, and which must appear wonderful after the specimens which he had given of his own previous conduct, made him master of a revenue which, with his habits of business and economy, seemed to render him independent of his parliament; and the first point to which he applied himself, in his general plan of establishing a strong and arbitrary government, was the introduction of the Roman Catholic religion into Britain. He had ever connected the idea of rebellion with puritanic strictness, and he fancied that by bringing in his own outward form of worship, he should introduce with it his own opinions as to passive obedience. It is often assumed that James, in his proceedings, was influenced by religious motives. He alone who knoweth the hearts of men can estimate the motives of either kings or subjects, but all his conduct corresponds with the supposition that he wished to introduce arbitrary power. He had taken up the object of introducing

[1] Burnet, iii. 4.

Romanism into England, and in his attempts to effect any purpose he was apt to disregard right and wrong, law and justice;[1] they alone were friends who aided his object, and whoever opposed it was a rebel. This temper of construing opposition[2] to his measures into treason pervaded the whole of his life, and tended more than anything else to prevent even those most closely connected with him from loving or trusting him. In a free constitution, it is impossible to establish unanimity of measures, and unanimity of object can only be obtained by mutual confidence; a feeling which the faults of James entirely destroyed in all around him, and threw him into the hands of advisers who were either very dishonest, or very foolish, or perhaps both. Lord Sunderland was probably careless of every result, save of his own interest, and the Jesuits had not prudence enough to manage so vast a business.

§ 778. James, who while he was king probably cared little about religion, at least cared not for the essentials of religion in himself(a), was most anxious to make others adopt his tenets, though he himself displayed no wish to submit his own judgment to the see of Rome. Lewis, in his severity and injustice against Protestants, was as careful to preserve his own temporal authority over the church as Queen Elizabeth; he revoked the Edict of Nantes, and was by no means indisposed to quarrel with the pope; and James, in his zeal for Romanism, would attend no further to the advice of Rome than as it coincided with his own views. He received the refugees who were driven from France, because by this measure he hoped to establish a spirit of toleration; for he was then desirous that the Roman Catholics should be tolerated in England, and he foresaw the benefit which such an accession of active and industrious strangers must bring to his country. He prided himself much on the sacredness of his word; yet, though he had promised, as solemnly and frequently as was possible, to uphold the church of England, he obviously sought every means of introducing Roman Catholics into the higher preferments. And if his own mind could receive any comfort from the distinction between the church of England *de facto*, the Protestant church, and the church *de jure*, or the Roman Catholic, whereby, while his promise seemed to speak of one, he intended the other, such dishonesty would only tend to augment his guilt; he either meant to break his promise, or he admitted in his own mind such an equivocation as must prove him doubly dishonest; but as to his honesty of purpose, we have a confession of his own, which proves that he

(a) In the latter part of his life he exhibited strong proofs of a sincere sense of religion. See his own *Life*, published by Clarke.

[1] *Life*, 733, 738. [2] Ibid. 734. Burnet, i. 288.

was not very scrupulous. In a dirty pecuniary transaction between Charles II. and the duchess of Portsmouth, wherein it was intended to raise a sum of money for her, by persuading James to surrender a rent-charge on the post-office, he professes extreme readiness to do all that was desired,[1] yet, 'all this while the duke knew very well his revenue was so settled, that nothing but an act of parliament could alienate any part of it; which he took care not to mention to any living soul, lest that might have made the king lay the thoughts of it aside; and, by great fortune, none of the lawyers about town, who were studying which way to bring it about, hit upon that difficulty.' The acts of imprudence of which he was guilty, and which have been before partially detailed, arose from the same temper; he thought it beneath his dignity to conceal his wishes, or his plans, and though he displayed and carried them on contrary to the desires of all his subjects, yet he wondered that he was hated, and perceived not that a king of England cannot be powerful, unless he possess the love of his people.

§ 779. After all, it may be questionable whether the ill conduct of James would have roused the nation to throw off their allegiance, had not the birth of a son and heir, who might continue the struggle, excited every one to exert himself in the defence of those points, which good men hold most dear, their religion and their liberty. The queen was delivered on June 10, and the dislike which was borne to the parents, has caused the son to be sometimes called suppositious. At the time of his birth, all the precautions do not appear to have been taken, which would have been desirable in consequence of subsequent suspicions: but as William never ventured to enter into a formal examination of the birth of the child, though he had mentioned this subject in his first declaration; and as he would probably have done so, had he found any evidence to substantiate a charge which would have been so useful to himself, we may fairly presume that it has no foundation in truth. But the fact that an heir was born, produced a strong effect in the country. The event on which the king and his Roman Catholic advisers had always built their hopes was accomplished, but its accomplishment proved the ruin of their cause. Many an Englishman had looked forward to the time when a Protestant successor should free them from their alarms, real and imaginary; but this hope was now destroyed, and every one saw that his safety depended on himself. Free men will not live in an uncertainty whether or no their rights are to be respected, and the conduct of James prevented any one from supposing that he meant to respect their rights, any further than his own want of power to subvert them should render it necessary.

[1] *Life*, i. 724.

§ 780. It may be asked, whether the present struggle were political or religious, whether the attacks of the king were directed against the church or against the state; but this question can never be answered till the line shall have been distinctly drawn between the church as a spiritual body and the church establishment as a member of the body politic. The attack was made on the property of the church and on the property of the state, when men who were by law unqualified, were put into civil and ecclesiastical stations; and the passions and prejudices, together with every honourable feeling of the people, were excited, when they beheld, on the part of the crown, a total disregard of the very appearance of law. When the bishops were imprisoned for petitioning the king, a right which belongs to every man in the kingdom was invaded; and the boldness of these sufferers, and the interest which was exhibited in their favour, were as much connected with patriotism as with religion. Yet since religion is a higher feeling than patriotism, since obedience to God is a plainer duty, and one in the performance of which the reason of all men will agree, whatever be their conduct, it naturally came to pass that the opinion of the country referred the quarrel to religious grounds. The question, however, still is of a mixed nature: had not religion been indirectly attacked, the country might never have been excited; and though the measures of James might have been opposed, the prince of Orange would probably not have been so strongly invited to rescue the kingdom from the misrule of his father-in-law.

§ 781. It is not easy to state exactly what part the church of England, as a body, took in this struggle; for, by consulting different authorities, we may draw conclusions diametrically opposite. They had, to use the language of the biographer of James, notwithstanding the doctrines[1] of non-resistance and passive obedience which they preached, 'begun early to spread jealousies among the people; and, instead of suffering with patience, they complained before they felt any smart; and thought imaginary dangers a good pretence to encourage a real sedition. They had preached prerogative and the sovereign power to the highest pitch, while it was favourable to them; but when they apprehended the least danger from it, they cried out as soon as the shoe pinched, though it was of their own putting on.' And the same invectives are thrown out against them by the historian of the puritans. Though there may be some grounds for such an accusation, yet the language of some of the addresses presented by the clergy had contained declarations sufficiently clear. The London clergy had used the expression, 'our religion established by law, dearer to us than our

[1] *Life*, ii. 70.

lives;'[1] the very terms adopted by the house of commons, when Monmouth had been defeated. The wishes of James made him assume that the clergy generally spoke the same language as those individuals who wished to gratify him by their compliances; yet the readiness with which they all came forward in defence of the Protestant faith, when it was endangered, ought to have shown him the value which they attached to their religion; and to have led him to presume that their submission would go no further than was consistent with their sense of duty towards God. With regard to many of the distinguished ornaments of our church, nothing can be more glorious than their conduct. They resisted the arbitrary proceedings of James, while he was king, and afterwards sacrificed their worldly situations, when, after his flight, they conceived that their duty towards him demanded such a surrender. Their circumstances put them forward in the fight, and they nobly defended their country; happy would it have been, if all their later acts had been guided by the same spirit. But this part of the question belongs to another chapter.

[1] Burnet, iii. 7. Welwood, 175.

CHAPTER XVIII.

DURING THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF WILLIAM AND MARY, 1688, 1689.

801. Non-jurors; many of the clergy unwilling to recognise the new government. 802. Inutility of oaths generally. 803. The authors of the Revolution most injured by the oath; their subsequent ill conduct. 804. Their principles. 805. Principles of the Revolution. 806. Toleration Act; attempt at a comprehension; ecclesiastical commission for reforming evils. 807. Alteration of the Liturgy. 808. Further additions; family prayer; (b) American Prayer Book. 809. The convocation throw out everything. 810. Advantages and disadvantages of this failure. 811. Summary of the History of the Church; Henry VIII.; Edward VI. 812. Mary. 813. Elizabeth. 814. James I. 815. Charles and Laud. 816. Restoration. 817. Present constitution of the church. 818. Evils arising from the connexion of church and state. 819. Advantages and blessings.

§ 801. When William and Mary were seated on the throne by the decision of the convention parliament, and it became necessary that those who held offices under the new government should express their adherence to it, the oaths of supremacy and allegiance were so modelled as to be less particular with regard to the royal authority, and more decidedly adverse to the pretensions of the church of Rome. But many of the bishops, and some of the clergy, were unwilling in any way to acknowledge that which was in their eyes merely a government *de facto*, when they had before promised fidelity to the other, on the ruins of which it had been established. Eight bishops (a) and about four hundred of the other clergy, most of whom held considerable situations in the church, refused to transfer their allegiance; and though great moderation was used towards them before they were deprived, yet the necessity of depriving them, and the policy of the law which obliged every one holding such preferments to take the oaths, are very questionable. The question was indeed discussed, and one plan proposed was to enable William to impose the oath at his pleasure; but this would have thrown the whole odium of ejecting the bishops on the king, and there was no absolute necessity of imposing the oath at all; it might probably have answered all the purposes of the government as effectually, if such persons had been severally

(a) The non-juring bishops were Sancroft; Lloyd, Norwich; Turner, Ely; Frampton, Gloucester; White, Peterborough; Kenn, Bath and Wells. These were ejected. Lake of Chichester and Thomas of Worcester had died in the meantime (D'Oyly's *Sancroft*, i. 447).

required to make a promise not to disturb the new order of things. For as the large majority of the clergy took the oath, and many of them were certainly far from favourable to the objects of it, they who complied were often exposed to much censure, as having sworn contrary to their consciences; and neither those who then bound themselves in opposition[1] to their inclinations, nor those who, by refusing to take the oath, were deprived of their preferments, were likely to prove very faithful adherents to their new sovereigns; whereas they might have been perfectly contented to continue quiet subjects, under a government which they had neither power nor inclination to disturb.

§ 802. No oaths, of whatever description, will bind bad men, when the sentiments of the mass of the people are contrary to the tenour of the oath; and there is no more frightful particular presented to us by history than the frequency with which oaths are imposed and broken (a). The prudence and success of William prevented his opponents from having any opportunity of trying the force of the promises made to him; but had the fate of war in Ireland enabled James to assert his rights in this country, it is absurd to suppose that they who had sworn fidelity to both could be bound to obey both, or would have hesitated in following their interests or the inclination of their own minds. He who holds an office or dignity under a government, may fairly be called on to declare his fidelity to that government, in any way which the government shall choose to select; but it is very doubtful whether or no the authority imposing such an oath strengthens its hold on the mind of the man. He who takes an office is, *in foro conscientiæ*, bound to perform the duties of it, whether he swear to do so or no; and probably general promises and oaths, made at the time of entering into office, have a good tendency in fortifying the resolutions of the individual; they form a sort of bond upon the man himself, when called on to exert his authority. It may happen that, when he is wavering as to whether or no he ought to act on some point, the thought of his oath may be useful to his own mind; but if it be not decidedly useful, the habit of taking frequent oaths cannot fail to injure him. And it is a disgrace to the age in which we live that oaths, with regard to trifling matters, should be required on so many occasions as they are; for

(a) When William was about to go into Ireland, it was proposed to frame an oath of abjuration with regard to James II. In the debate in the house of lords, the earl of Macclesfield declared, 'that he never knew them of any use, but to make people declare against the government, that would have submitted quietly to it, if they had been let alone' (Burnet, iv. 77, Note of Lord Dartmouth, u).

[1] Burnet, iv. 49.

they must tend most injuriously to demoralize the people who take them(b).

§ 803. In this case many upright men, whose bold and temperate opposition to James had been chiefly instrumental in fixing the opinions of the nation, who, under God, hand contributed more than any others to effect the change which had taken place, were the first to suffer for their uprightness. No one can fail to admire their conduct, and to pity them (if indeed any one who suffers in the performance of his duty can be an object of pity); but surely the government which imposes the oath by which such persons are ejected, has no reason to expect that it will be served by honest men. Most of these bishops would probably have continued to hold their preferments had there been no necessity of taking the oath; and would perhaps have readily promised not to disturb the new government; but they felt their duty to James, and were ready to suffer rather than betray it. The law[1] which imposed the new oaths, enabled the king to allow twelve non-juring clergymen incomes out of their benefices, but it does not appear that he made any use of this licence. The act was a most impolitic one; for it gave to every friend of James a most convincing argument in favour of his claims, and could not but indispose the minds of honest men towards a government which could be guilty of such gross injustice.

But the ejected bishops, and some of the non-jurors, have made themselves, by their subsequent conduct, the objects of just disapprobation in the eyes of the friends of the establishment. For Sancroft, who, from his age and timidity, was unwilling to act himself, made over his archiepiscopal authority to Lloyd, bishop of Norwich, and the deprived prelates proceeded to continue the succession of bishops in the church, in opposition to those who were authorized by the government. This schism continued till 1779, but this subject does not properly fall within our portion of history. The principle on which these bishops acted was partly true and partly false; but the extent to which they carried it rendered it very prejudicial to the peace of the church.

§ 804. The authority by which every bishop or priest acts is one which is derived by succession from the apostles, each succeeding generation communicating to the next the authority under which they themselves have been acting. The division of the country into dioceses and parishes is a civil arrangement, which regulates the place where the individual shall exercise his ministry;

(b) Every friend of religion must rejoice in alterations which have taken place, in this respect, since this was originally printed; and pray that all unnecessary oaths may gradually be dispensed with.

[1] 1° William and Mary, 8.

but the civil power neither confers the ministerial authority, nor can alter it. When, therefore, the civil authority deprived these non-juring bishops of their temporal jurisdictions, it could not divest them of the sacred office to which they had been called; and they conceived that, as this was still continued to them, they were bound still to exercise it. The same thing is actually taking place at this moment in Scotland. The legal church government there is presbyterian; yet is there a regular succession of Protestant bishops, who fill certain sees, without any authoritative power derived from the state, and constitute perhaps one of the purest forms of episcopacy in the world. As far as Scotland is concerned, her bishops are, in the opinion of an episcopalian, fully borne out in this apparent schism; because the rest of the church there, though legally established, has discarded the apostolical order of bishops, and the division must be charged by us on those who have introduced the anomaly of a Christian church without bishops. Let us hope that, at this moment, both parties are free from any schismatic feelings, and pray that God may guide whichever of them is wrong into the right path: yet the bishops in England cannot be absolved from the crime of contributing to a schism; whatever their own ideas might be, they could hardly deem it necessary to make two churches within the kingdom, because an usurper was prayed for in that connected with the establishment; and yet it is extraordinary that both Sancroft [1] and Tillotson, men whose opinions about the Revolution were diametrically opposite, both concurred in esteeming it sinful for those who were opposed to the principles of the Revolution to join in a service in which a prayer was offered up for William and Mary. The schismatic feeling, the spirit of opposition which thus prevailed, with but few bright exceptions, was excessive, and no man was exposed to greater obloquy on this account than Tillotson.[2]

§ 805. If it be asked, whether the bishops were justified in the opposition raised by them against James, though they refused to submit to the government which this opposition had virtually established, the answer must depend on our opinion of the merits of the Revolution itself. The blessings which had been derived to us from this great event make every Englishman anxious to justify the principles on which it was carried on; but, after all, it seems much more clear that the Revolution was necessary, than easy to justify it on any permanent principles. It is one of those extraordinary cases which are not referable to any general law; it was a recurrence to first principles, an exception to the law. About such questions Christianity probably gives no other rules than that great one of 'doing unto others as we would have others do unto

[1] D'Oyly, 458; Birch's *Tillotson*, 282. [2] Birch's *Till.* 316.

us;' and when those in authority pervert that power which has been entrusted to them for the good of their fellow-creatures, in order to trample on their rights, it becomes the duty of those next in command and in authority, those into whose hands God has put a subordinate power, to exert this power for the good of the body politic. England would have been ruined had the policy of James been continued; and William and the peers of the realm, aided by the representatives of the people, did the best they could under such circumstances; and we should be thankful to God that so great a benefit was effected. With these views the bishops were right in opposing James, and would have been wise, perhaps, had they taken the oaths; but who shall venture to blame conscientious prelates who did not view the matter in this light? The hardship with which these good men were treated rendered some of them morose, and made Turner (bishop of Ely), perhaps, afterwards join in Lord Preston's plot; in which, as he answered for the other bishops, though probably without any authority, the blame was in some degree thrown on the whole body. But in their subsequent conduct about ecclesiastical matters they were at all events guilty of creating a schism in the church, and added one more to the ten thousand causes of division which have distracted the church of England, and which all the measures of conciliation used at this time proved inadequate to heal.

§ 806. Among the steps taken to tranquillize the nation, and to promote peace, the passing of the toleration act[1] stands pre-eminent. It granted the dissenters a full liberty as to religious worship; but was not extended either to Roman Catholics, or those who denied the doctrine of the Trinity; and left all who did not conform to the church of England under many disqualifications.

But a much greater attempt was made for healing our divisions by means of some alterations in the church itself. On Sept. 13, 1689, a commission was issued, 'to prepare alterations in the Liturgy and Canons, to make proposals for reforming the ecclesiastical courts, and to provide for a strict method of examining candidates for holy orders.' It consisted of ten bishops and twenty divines (a), many of whose names form the brightest ornaments of

(a) Lamplugh, archbishop of York.
Compton, bishop of London.
Mew, bishop of Winchester.
W. Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph.
Spratt, bishop of Rochester.
Smith, bishop of Carlisle.
Trelawney, bishop of Exeter.
Burnet, bishop of Salisbury.
Humphreys, bishop of Bangor.
Stratford, bishop of Chester.
Stillingfleet.
Patric.
Tillotson.
Meggot.
Sharp.
Kidder.
Aldrich.
Jane.
Hall.
Beaumont.
Montagu.
Goodman.
Beveridge.
Battely.
Alston.
Tenison.
Scott.
Fowler.
Grove.
Williams.

(Birch's *Tillotson*, 181.)

[1] 1° William and Mary, 18.

our church, from the writings which they have left behind them. They met in the Jerusalem chamber, and a discussion was soon raised as to the legality of the commission itself, but was overruled, since none of the acts of such an assembly could be at all binding till they had received legal confirmation, and were only destined to prepare matters for the convocation. Two bishops, however, Mew and Sprat, and Drs. Jane and Aldrich, withdrew in dissatisfaction, and the subsequent conduct of these latter plainly showed the motives which influenced them. As the labours of this commission in the end proved ineffectual, it is only by accident that we are acquainted with any of their proceedings, and this, fortunately, on the point which is perhaps in itself of the greatest interest; I mean with regard to the proposed alterations in the Liturgy.

§ 807. These points which were settled were,[1] that the chanting of divine service in cathedral churches shall be laid aside, that the whole may be rendered intelligible to the common people. That, besides the psalms being read in their course, as before, some proper and devout ones be selected for Sundays.

That the Apocryphal lessons, and those in the Old Testament which are too natural, be thrown out, and others appointed in their stead by a new calendar, which is already fully settled, and out of which are omitted all the legendary saints' days, and others not directly referred to in the service book.

That, not to send the vulgar to search the canons, which few of them ever saw, a rubric be made, setting forth the usefulness of the cross in baptism (a), not as an essential part of that sacrament, but only a fit and decent ceremony. However, if any do, after all, in conscience scruple it, it may be omitted by the priest.

That likewise, if any refuse to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper kneeling, it may be administered to them in their pews.

That a rubric be made declaring the intention of the Lent fasts to consist only in extraordinary acts of devotion, not in distinction of meats; and another to state the meaning of 'rogation Sundays,' and 'ember weeks;' and appoint that those ordained within the *quatuor tempora* do exercise strict devotion. That the rubric which obliges ministers to read or hear 'Common Prayer,' publicly or privately, every day, be changed to an exhortation to the people to frequent those prayers.

(a) In Nicholls' *Apparatus ad Defensionem Eccl. Ang.* 95, &c., it is said, that it should be left to the decision of convocation, whether the use of the cross should be left optional to the parents.

[1] Birch's *Tillotson*, 193.

That the absolution, in morning and evening prayer, may be read by a deacon, the word *priest* in the rubric being changed into *minister*, and those words, 'and remission,' be put out, as not very intelligible.

That the *Gloria Patri* shall not be repeated at the end of every psalm, but of all appointed for morning and evening prayer. That those words in the *Te Deum*, 'thine honourable, true, and only Son,' be thus turned, 'thine only-begotten Son,' 'honourable' being only a civil term, and nowhere used *in sacris*.

The *Benedicite* shall be changed into the 128th psalm, and other psalms likewise appointed for the *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis*. The versicles after the Lord's Prayer, &c., shall be read kneeling, to avoid the trouble and inconveniences of so often varying postures in the worship. And after those words, 'Give peace in our time, O Lord,' shall follow an answer promissory of somewhat on the people's part, of keeping God's law, or the like; the old response being grounded on the predestinating doctrine taken in too strict an acceptation.

All high titles or appellations of the king, queen, &c., shall be left out of the prayers, such as *most illustrious, religious, mighty*, &c., and only the word *sovereign* retained for the king and queen. Those words in the Prayer for the king, 'Grant that he may vanquish and overcome all his enemies,' as of too large an extent, if the king engage in an unjust war, shall be turned thus, 'Prosper all his righteous undertakings against thy enemies,' or after some such manner.

Those words in the prayer for the clergy, 'who alone workest great marvels,' as subject to be ill interpreted by persons vainly disposed, shall be thus, 'who alone art the Author of all good gifts:' and these words, 'the healthful Spirit of thy grace,' shall be, 'the holy Spirit of thy grace,' 'healthful' being an obsolete word. The prayer which begins 'O God, whose nature and property,' shall be thrown out, as full of strange and impertinent expressions, and besides not in the original, but foisted in since by another hand (b). The collects, for the most part, are to be changed for those which the Bishop of Chichester (c) has prepared, being

(b) It is difficult to understand what is here meant. The prayer was introduced, 1560, from the Litany of the *Salisbury Hours*, and is certainly one of the most beautiful and Christian prayers in the Liturgy. He who has never felt the propriety and force of it, must be either a very good or a very bad man.

(c) Simon Patric. In Nicholls' *Apparatus ad Def. Eccl. Ang.* it is added, that the epistles for the day were selected so as better to agree with the several gospels. Simon Patric framed the collects; G. Burnet added fresh spirit to them; Stillingfleet reviewed them: and Tillotson gave the last polish to them. Tenison altered all the expressions in the Liturgy to which objections were raised. It was left to convocation to determine whether, in the re-ordina-

a review of the old ones with enlargements, to render them more sensible and affecting, and what expressions are needless, to be retrenched.

If any minister refuse the surplice, the bishop, if the people desire it, and the living will bear it, may substitute one in his place, that will officiate in it, but the whole thing is left to the discretion of the bishops.

If any desire to have godfathers and godmothers omitted, and their children presented in their own names to baptism, it may be granted.

About the Athanasian (d) Creed, they came at last to this conclusion, that, lest the wholly rejecting it should by unreasonable persons be imputed to them as Socinianism, a rubric shall be made, setting forth or declaring the curses denounced therein not to be restrained to every particular article, but intended against those that deny the substance of the Christian religion in general.

Whether the amendment of the translation of the reading psalms (as they are called) made by the bishop of St. Asaph (William Lloyd), and Dr. Kidder, or that in the Bible, shall be inserted in the Prayer Book, is wholly left to the convocation to consider of and determine. Several alterations were made in the Litany, Communion Service, &c.

§ 808. H. Prideaux, dean of Norwich, had formed great hopes and expectations from this convocation, and in his life[1] mention is made of several desiderata in the Liturgy; but it is not stated whether the opinions there expressed were precisely his own. The points mentioned are, forms for receiving penitents (a), for preparing condemned prisoners, for the consecration of churches, and a book

tion of ministers ordained by presbyters only, a conditional form should not be used, as in the baptism of those about whose previous admission into the Christian covenant there is a doubt.

(d) Nicholls says, that it was left to the judgment of the minister to exchange this for the Apostles' Creed. Nicholls however is wrong. See Waterland's *Tract, Works*, iv. 305. Whoever wishes for information about this Creed may find it in Waterland. The history of the creed is as follows. It was probably composed in France (between A.D. 426–430) by Hilary, bishop of Arles, in Latin. The translation in our Prayer Book is taken, by mistake, from the Greek.

(a) In 1637, while Hall was bishop of Exeter, certain slaves returned to that diocese from Morocco, who, having renounced Christianity during their captivity, were on their return readmitted into the church. Laud and Hall composed a form of prayer for this purpose, which was approved by the bishops of Ely (White) and Norwich (Wren), and settled by the king's appointment (See Laud's *Own Life*, p. 550). In the convocation of 1640, one of the services then intended to have been drawn up was a form of reconciling penitents and apostates. This probably would have only been an authoritative publication of the former (Neal's *Puritans*, ii. 297).

[1] P. 59.

of family prayer, which was actually drawn up, but never published, and at last mislaid and lost, at the death of Williams, bishop of Chichester, in whose hands it had been placed. Something of this sort was the more wanted at this period, since the custom of family prayer had been generally discontinued. The puritans disgusted many sober persons with their crude and extempore effusions, and the opposite party had extravagantly cried up the Liturgy, as if no other form of prayer was to be used in families, any more than in the churches; and the natural consequence was, that in houses where there were no chaplains, the Prayer Book was disused, and nothing substituted in its place.

In looking at the alterations now proposed, there are several particulars which seem to be unimportant, while others are omitted in which a change might be desirable; nor does it appear that the time occupied by the prayers would have been rendered shorter, the object perhaps most required, when our own service is compared with that of other reformed churches (b).

(b) The American Prayer Book, altered in 1790, is formed in great measure on this model. With the exception of one or two particulars, the changes appear to be judiciously made; and as it is not a book which falls in the way of every English reader, a brief statement of some of its chief variations from our own may not prove unacceptable. Throughout the whole, there are many small verbal alterations, where obsolete terms, or forms of expression, are exchanged for such as are now in common use; and most of those sentences and words are altered, which are liable to foolish cavils, or real objections. It begins with a preface, which modestly justifies the alterations.

1. In the calendar, the lessons are a good deal changed. About one-half the first lessons for Sundays are the same, and there are also proper second lessons from the New Testament, appointed for each Sunday. Those for saints' days are nearly the same as in ours. In the general calendar of lessons, the chapters composing the first lessons are so divided, that all those taken from the Apocrypha, and which are read in our church from September to November, are omitted. The second lessons in morning service, taken from the Gospels, are so divided, that the Gospels are read over only twice during the year, and the Epistles, as in our church, three times.

2. In the general arrangement of the three services which are used together in morning prayers in our church, such portions of each as are virtually repetitions, may be omitted at the discretion of the minister. Thus one creed only need be read; the Lord's Prayer and the collect for the day need only be used once; and the *Gloria Patri* repeated only at the end of the psalms for the day, or the *Gloria in excelsis* substituted for it. Thus also a large portion of the Litany (from 'O Christ, hear us,' to 'As we do put our trust in thee') may be omitted; and thus the morning prayer, litany, and communion service, are converted, as far as possible, into one uniform office.

3. Of the three forms of absolution in our Prayer Book, that used in the visitation of the sick is wholly omitted; and either the form contained in the morning prayer, or that taken from the communion service, may be used at the discretion of the minister.

4. With regard to the psalms, there are ten portions of them selected, and ordered to be used instead of those of the day, at the discretion of the minister; and in cases of fasts and thanksgivings, where none are appointed by autho-

§ 809. All these attempts, however, were rendered abortive, by the temper which soon displayed itself in the lower house of convocation. The first circumstance which evinced this disinclination to any changes, was the election of a prolocutor; for it had been the desire of the bishops, who were most friendly to alterations, that Tillotson should have been chosen to that office; whereas Dr. Jane, author of the Oxford Decree, 1683,[1] and Regius Professor of Divinity, obtained a majority of two to one in his favour. This success was said to be greatly promoted by the interference of the earls of Clarendon and Rochester, uncles to Queen Mary, who endeavoured to perplex the measures of the court, from the administration of which they found themselves excluded. And Birch, in his *Life of Tillotson*, accuses Compton of having joined in

rity, the minister is allowed to choose them for himself. The version is the same as that in our Liturgy.

5. The Athanasian creed is wholly omitted, and the minister may use, at his discretion, the Nicene, or Apostles'.

6. In the evening prayers, the Magnificat and Song of Symeon are omitted, and the 92nd psalm introduced.

7. The occasional prayers are newly arranged, and several new ones, as well as corresponding thanksgivings, introduced.

8. In the Communion, no previous notice is to be required of the communicants, who are all to receive kneeling. There is a new additional preface for Trinity Sunday; and a prayer of oblation, partly new, in which the invocation of the three persons of the Trinity is reintroduced from the Liturgy of 1549.

9. In baptism, the parents are allowed to stand as sponsors, and the use of the cross may be omitted at their desire. The rubric about baptized children being undoubtedly saved is omitted; and in the baptism of persons of riper years, all mention of informing the bishop is left out.

10. The catechism is nearly the same. Ministers are not ordered to cathechise after the second lesson. The confirmation is nearly the same.

11. In matrimony, the ceremony may take place in a house, and the prayers are a little altered, and some are omitted.

12. In the visitation of the sick, all notice of private confession and absolution is omitted; the psalm is changed to the 130th, and there are some new occasional prayers at the end.

13. In the burial of the dead, the psalms are shortened, and all expressions changed which seem to apply to the state of the person buried.

14. The churching of women is much shortened, and may be confined to a single prayer. The offering to be applied to the relief of distressed women in childbirth.

15. The form of prayer to be used at sea is nearly the same.

16. The commination is wholly omitted.

17. The form of ordaining priests and deacons, and consecrating bishops, is nearly the same.

18. There are added, a form of prayer for the visitation of prisoners, a prayer of thanksgiving for the fruits of the earth, a form of family prayer, a form for consecrating churches (which is nearly the same as that published by Bishop Andrews), and an office of institution.

19. The Thirty-nine Articles are hardly changed. In the eighth, all mention of the Athanasian Creed is left out; the twenty-first, about assembling councils, is left out. In the thirty-fifth, the homilies are allowed of as containing sound doctrine, but are not to be read till they have been revised.

[1] § 729.

this cabal, out of ill will to the destined prolocutor, who was already marked out as the successor to Sancroft. This election[1] sufficiently proved what was to be expected from the convocation; and Dr. Jane, in his speech which he made as prolocutor to the upper house, after having greatly extolled the church of England, concluded with the emphatic words, 'Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.' The commission from the crown, under which the convocation would have acted, was delayed on account of the loss of the great seal, which James had thrown into the Thames in his flight. It was couched in very conciliating terms, and requested that the matters proposed for the consideration of convocation might be discussed with impartiality and moderation. When this had been read, and it was necessary that an address should be prepared in answer to it, a dispute arose between the two houses, as to the terms in which they should return their thanks, since the lower house refused by any expression to acknowledge any connexion between the Protestant churches generally and the church of England, and were but ill disposed to feel or evince any gratitude to the king for issuing the commission. The whole appearance indeed of the lower house was such, that the session was soon discontinued; and a considerable clamour justly raised against the clergy, who now expressed so little kindness towards their dissenting brethren, after all the promises which had been made while the dangers arising from a Roman Catholic king united all Protestants during the Reign of James II.

§ 810. In one point of view, the failure of such a plan at this moment may be considered providential; for had any alterations in the Liturgy, or constitution, been effected, it would have afforded the non-jurors a strong handle for attacking the church. They would then, with a greater show of plausibility, have spoken of themselves as the ancient church of England, and thrown the blame of the schism, which they themselves had created, on those who had introduced the innovations.

Whether or no any great success might have arisen from an attempt at a comprehension, is very doubtful. Those who have once left the communion of the establishment are not likely to be reclaimed by any changes which can be made in the services; but it would surely be desirable, if every objection which a sober and reasonable member of the church might make to these formularies, were as far as possible obviated. There were many things which did then, there are some things which do now, offend the true friends of the church of England, who willingly comply with the Liturgy and services, as established by law, because they esteem the Common Prayer Book, as a whole, to be a most excel-

[1] *Tillotson*, 202.

lent composition, one wonderfully well suited to the purposes for which it was intended; but who, nevertheless, regard it as a human production, and therefore capable of improvement, as well as requiring, from time to time, verbal alterations, as the language of the country gradually varies. And the quiet friend of reform cannot but feel sorry that this attempt was then dropped, and has never since been carried into effect.

§ 811. The church of England was now established by law upon its present basis, and has retained the form which it then acquired, without any variation. Though the several steps by which this object was accomplished have been gradually detailed, yet it may not be uninteresting to take a brief and summary view of the progressive alterations, and of the constitution of the church, as it exists at this moment.

The church of England first ceased to be a member of the church of Rome during the reign of Henry VIII., but it could hardly be called Protestant till that of Edward VI. Its doctrines were in an intermediate state, and differed little from the declaration of faith set forth by the Roman Catholic bishops of England in 1826. During the short reign of Edward VI. it became entirely Protestant, and, in point of doctrine, assumed its present form. This step, however, was made rather by the decree of the government than by the conviction of the nation. The people, indeed, were generally too ignorant to form any opinions of their own; and the probability of opposition, which might naturally have been expected from the clergy, had any attempt been made to introduce these innovations through their intervention, induced Cranmer, and the Protector, to establish what has been called a parliamentary religion. Viewing, then, the religion thus authorized as a part of the law of the land, to disagree with it became, in the eye of the government, an offence against the state, and, as such, punishable by civil penalties.

§ 812. Under Mary, the kingdom was reconciled to the church of Rome, but the entire sway of that court was far from being re-established. Mary persecuted from principle; and the persecutions which were then inflicted served to open the eyes of the people to the evils of a form of religion, under the mask of which such barbarities could be perpetrated, and made them gladly recur to the tenets which had been previously established, as soon as her death gave them an opportunity of doing so.

§ 813. Elizabeth was herself not indisposed to have approached, as near as possible, to the Romish communion; an inclination which was increased in her through the opposition exhibited by the puritans of her day, with whom the love of liberty, political and religious, was most closely blended, and who were ready to

withstand her arbitrary proceedings in the government of the country, as well as to disregard the ceremonies and rites of the church. The power of the ecclesiastical courts was exerted to depress the spirit of independence, and any act which marked a dissent from the church was severely restrained by cruel penalties. The court of ecclesiastical commission became the tool of the state, and the idea of resisting the government became familiar to the minds of those, who either tried to establish civil freedom, or who disliked the institutions of the church.

§ 814. Under the weak reign of James I. all these evils were very much increased. He had personally suffered much from the presbyterians; he carried his notions of prerogative much higher than his predecessors, and administered the government in such a manner that they who were discontented with the state of affairs learnt that no safety could be expected, except from the dissemination of their own principles, and the combination which would be thus formed against the proceedings of the court. And the impolicy of the court itself, by a misuse of the term *puritan*, combined together all who were adverse to the government, civil or ecclesiastical, and augmented the ranks of its opponents, who were, perhaps, from these circumstances involuntarily forced to become the enemies of both church and state.

§ 815. All these evils assumed a more formidable appearance during the administration of Laud, in the time of Charles I. The courts of high-commission, and of the star-chamber, were so connected in practice, that the kingdom viewed them as branches of the same system of tyranny; and, regarding rather the administrators than the courts in which they acted, the people learnt to hate the bishops and the higher clergy. The canons of 1640 added to this odium; for, had they been carried into effect, they would have rendered the clergy the instruments of disseminating doctrines[1] which no free nation can consistently maintain. But the chief mistake in the administration of Laud was, that he ranked so many individuals among such as were unfriendly to the church, and in his conduct showed himself so adverse to all who were branded with his displeasure, that he made them assume a character foreign to their wishes; and thus, men who ought to have been the support of the establishment, and who would probably have proved so, had they not been cut off from all hopes of rising in their profession, were numbered among the enemies of the church, and, as it were, compelled to become so. These circumstances threw down the constitution of the church when the civil government was overturned; but even before this event the king

[1] See § 570.

had made a material alteration in the ecclesiastical constitution, by passing an act of parliament which took away most of the coercive power from the bishops' courts.

§ 816. At the Restoration the authority of the bishops' courts was restored, yet deprived of its excessive power, by the destruction of the court of high-commission. This, however, did not deliver the mass of dissenters from the persecutions to which they had been formerly subjected. The royalist house of commons became as persecuting as the high-commission had ever been, and the laws which were enacted against nonconformists and Roman Catholics show that a spirit of persecution is not confined to churchmen alone. It is a dreadful, but natural, temper of the human mind. These circumstances, however, produced one blessing; by degrees they opened the eyes of all orders to the real nature of toleration; and as the persecutions in the days of Mary tended, under God's providence, to establish Protestantism in England, so the miseries now borne by the dissenters contributed to afford us the blessings which liberty of conscience is calculated to confer on those nations which enjoy it, either in part, or in whole.

§ 817. The constitution of the church of England, as settled at the revolution, was that of an authorized and paid establishment; which was not allowed to persecute those who dissented from it. It was a church supported by the government, but not so exclusively as to render any opposition to it, or dissent from it, an offence against the state. To these observations there were two exceptions, with regard to the Roman Catholic and the Socinian. But when we consider the numbers of the several denominations of Christians in England, we may say that toleration was generally established, and that these exceptions did not invalidate the great charter of liberty of conscience, which this event had granted us; they obscured its glory, rather than impaired its substantial existence. The church of England then became, as it has continued ever since, a paid and authorized church establishment, which was to watch over the spiritual concerns of the nation, and to try to benefit the country by making every member of the body politic a better man, and a better Christian; it became the appointed duty of her ministers to endeavour to lead their brethren, through peace on earth, to bliss in heaven. The institution of such a body depended on the enactments of the first teachers of our holy faith. The payment of it, and its connexion with the state, has arisen from the gratitude which our forefathers felt towards a society so constituted. But this connexion has fettered the church with many evils.

§ 818. It has justly authorized the state in interfering with clerical appointments, and, from the value of the revenues which

are attached to them, has unfortunately induced those at whose disposal they are placed to select their friends, who are not always the proper persons, to fill the situations; while it has induced the clergy to seek for the preferments. The poverty of many of our spiritual cures prevents them, humanly speaking, from being properly taken care of; and God knows whether the wealth of others does not tend to diffuse a want of spirituality through the church.

It has induced the state, from mistaken kindness, to connect civil penalties with ecclesiastical censures, and, by altering the nature of such control, by diverting it from the consciences to the present fears of the sinner, has done away with the utility of them altogether.

It has put a stop in a great measure to the exercise of discipline over the members of the church itself; and while we trust that the establishment contains, perhaps, as large a number of the real servants of God as any other body of men of the same size, we cannot but deplore that there are many offending members in it, for the correction and cutting off of whom no steps are, or perhaps can be, taken.

§ 819. These are some of the most obvious evils with which the connexion between church and state has encumbered the establishment; but let us not shut our eyes to the benefits of this connexion. Let any one regard the church establishment as a moral police disseminated through the country; and he must be blind to the interests of civilization, if he thank not God for the advantages which are produced by the distribution of educated men in every part of England. Let him regard it as the instrument, under God, of spreading the knowledge of pure and simple Christianity, and he must be ignorant of the blessings of our holy faith if he thank not God that a minister of the gospel is provided for every parish. And if there be faults but too visible in the administration of this establishment, let us pray God that they may be reformed by the steady hand of those invested with legal authority; and that neither the dilatoriness, nor the half-measures, of her real friends, may transfer the task of reformation to those who are hostile to the interests of our church.

APPENDIX F.

See § 170 (a).

James Bainham was a lawyer of a good family, and had married the daughter of Simon Fish; in 1531 he was brought before Sir Thomas More and Bishop Stokesley, but submitted. The next year he was again in trouble as a relapsed heretic, and ultimately handed over to the civil power to be burnt. Fox, ii. 245, &c.

'After this, Mr. Latymer was retained in the court, and resorted much to London, and preached the gospel in divers churches there, to the great benefit of many, and the propagation of religion. Here, in 1532, he gave a charitable visit to James Bayneham, a little before his burning, upon this occasion. "After Mr. Bayneham had been condemned between More, the lord chancellor, and the bishops, and committed into the secular power to be brent; and so, immediately after his condempnation, lodged up in the deep dungeon in Newgate, ready to be sent to the fire, Edward Isaac, of the parish of Wel, in the county of Kent, and William Morice, of Chipping Ongar, the county of Essex, Esq., and Raphe Morice, brother unto the said William, being togethers in one company, met with Mr. Latymer in London. And for that they were desirous to understand the cause of the said Bayneham's condempnation, being to many men obscure and unknown, they entreated Mr. Latymer to go with them to Newgate, to th'intent to understand by him the very occasion of his said condempnation; and otherwise to comfort him to take his death quietly and patiently. When Mr. Latymer and thother before named, the next day before he was brent, were come down into the dungeon, where al things seemed utterly dark, there they found Bayneham sitting upon a couch of straw, with a book and a wax candle in his hand, praying and reading thereupon.

'"And after salutation made, Mr. Latymer began to commune with him in this sort: Mr. Bayneham, we hear say that you are condempned for heresy to be brent; and many men are in doubt, wherefore you should suffer; and I, for my part, am desirous to understand the cause of your death; assuring you that I do not allow that any man should consent to his own death, unless he had a right cause to dy in. Let not vainglory overcome you in a matter that men deserve not to dy for: for therin you shall neither please God, do good to yourself, nor your neighbour. And better

it were for you to submit yourself to the ordinances of men, then so rashly to finish your life without good ground. And therefore we pray you to let us understand the articles that you are condempned for. I am content, quoth Bayneham, to tel you altogether. The first article that they condemne me for is this, that I reported that Thomas Becket, sometime archbishop of Canterbury, was a traitor, and was dampned in hel, if he repented not: for that he was in armes against his prince, as a rebel; provoking other foreign princes to invade the realm, to the utter subversion of the same. Then said Mr. Latymer, Where read you this? Quoth Mr. Bayneham, I read it in an old history. Wel, said Mr. Latymer, this is no cause at all worthy for a man to take his death upon; for it may be a ly, as well as a true tale; and in such a doubtful matter it were mere madness for a man to jeopard his life. But what else is layd to your charge? The truth is, said Bayneham, I spake against purgatory, that there was no such thing, but that it picked men's purses; and against satisfactory masses: which [assertions of mine] I defended by the authority of the Scriptures. Mary, said Mr. Latymer, in these articles your conscience may be so stayed, that you may seem rather to dy in the defence thereof, than to recant both against your conscience and the Scriptures also. But yet beware of vainglory: for the Devil will be ready now to infect you therwith, when you shall come into the multitude of the people. And then Mr. Latymer did animate him to take his death quietly and patiently. Bayneham thanked him heartily therfore. And I likewise, said Bayneham, do exhort you to stand to the defence of the truth; for you, that shall be left behind, had need of comfort also, the world being so dangerous as it is. And so spake many comfortable words to Mr. Latymer.

'"At the length Mr. Latymer demanded of him, whether he had a wife or no? With that question Bayneham fel a weeping. What, quoth Latymer, is this your constancy to Godwards? What mean you thus to weep? O! sir, said Bayneham to Mr. Latymer, you have now touched me very nigh. I have a wife, as good a woman as ever man was joyned unto. And I shal leave her now, not only without substance, or anything to live by; but also, for my sake, she shal be an opprobrie unto the world, and be pointed at of every man in this sort, Yonder goeth a heretique's wife! And therefore she shall be disdained for my sake; which is no small grief unto me. Mary, sir, quoth Latymer, I perceive that you are a very weak champion, that wil be overthrown with such a vanity. Where are become all those comfortable words that so late you alledged unto us, that should tarry here behind you? I mervail what you mean. Is not Almighty God hable to be husband to your wife, and a father unto your children, if you

commit them to him in a strong faith? I am sorry to see you in this taking, as though God had no care of his, when he numbreth the hairs of a manys head. If he do not provide for them, the fault is in us that mistrusteth him. It is our infidelity that causeth him to do nothing for ours. Therefore, repent, Mr. Bayneham, for this mistrusting of Almighty God's goodness. And be you sure, and I do most firmly believe it, that if you do commit your wife with a strong faith unto the governance of Almighty God, and so dy therin, that within this two years, peradventure in one year, she shall be better provided for, as touching the felicity of this world, than you, with al your policy, could do for her your self, if you were presently here. And so, with such like words, expostulating with him for his feeble faith, he made an end. Mr. Bayneham, calling his spirits to himself, most heartily thanked Mr. Latymer for his good comfort and council; saying plainly, that he would not for much good but he had come thither to him: for nothing in the world so much troubled him, as the care of his wife and family. And so they departed. And the next day Bayneham was burnt." Of whose death this wondrous thing is recorded, that in the midst of the flames he professed openly, that he felt no pain; and that the fire seemed unto him as easy as lying down in a bed of down. But return we to Latymer, who glorified God twenty-three years after in the same manner of death, and under the same imputation of heresy.'[1]

The deaths of Ridley and Latimer may be found not only in Fox, but reprinted in Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biog.* iii. 418, &c. That of Cranmer is thus described in Strype:

'Yet, because it is not convenient so briefly to pass over such a remarkable scene of his life, being his last appearance upon the stage of this world, I shall represent it in the words of a certain grave person unknown, but a papist, who was an eye and ear witness, and related these matters, as it seems, very justly, in a letter from Oxon to his friend. Which is as followeth:

'"But that I know for our great friendship, and long continued love, you look even of duty that I should signify to you of the truth of such things as here chanceth among us; I would not at this time have written to you the unfortunate end, and doubtful tragedy of T. C. late bishop of Canterbury; because I little pleasure take in beholding of such heavy sights. And, when they are once overpassed, I like not to rehearse them again; being but a renewing of my wo, and doubling my grief. For although his former life, and wretched end, deserves a greater misery (if any greater might have chanced than chanced unto him), yet, setting aside his offences to God and his country, and beholding the man without his faults,

[1] Strype's *Eccl. Mem.* III. i. 372.

I think there was none that pitied not his case, and bewailed his fortune, and feared not his own chance, to see so noble a prelate, so grave a counsellor, of so long continued honour, after so many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painful a death to end his life. I have no delight to increase it. Alas, it is too much of itself, that ever so heavy a case should betide to man, and man to deserve it.

'"But to come to the matter: on Saturday last, being the 21st of March, was his day appointed to die. And, because the morning was much rainy, the sermon appointed by Mr. Dr. Cole to be made at the stake, was made in St. Mary's church: whither Dr. Cranmer was brought by the mayor and aldermen, and my Lord Williams. With whom came divers gentlemen of the shire, Sir T. A. Bridges, Sir John Brown, and others. Where was prepared, over-against the pulpit, an high place for him, that all the people might see him. And, when he had ascended it, he kneeled down and prayed, weeping tenderly: which moved a great number to tears, that had conceived an assured hope of his conversion and repentance.

'"Then Mr. Cole began his sermon. The sum whereof was this. First, he declared causes why it was expedient that he should suffer, notwithstanding his reconciliation. The chief are these. One was, that he had been a great cause of all this alteration in this realm of England. And, when the matter of the divorce between King Henry VIII. and Queen Katharine was commenced in the court of Rome, he, having nothing to do with it, set upon it as judge, which was the entry to all the inconveniences that followed. Yet in that he excused him, that he thought he did it not of malice, but by the persuasions and advice of certain learned men. Another was, that he had been the great setter forth of all this heresy received into the church in this last time; had written in it, had disputed, had continued it, even to the last hour; and that it had never been seen in this realm (but in the time of schism) that any man continuing so long hath been pardoned: and that it was not to be remitted for ensample's sake. Other causes he alleged, but these were the chief, why it was not thought good to pardon him. Other causes beside, he said, moved the queen and the council thereto, which were not meet and convenient for every one to understand them.

'"The second part touched the audience, how they should consider this thing: that they should hereby take example to fear God: and that there was no power against the Lord: having before their eyes a man of so high degree, sometime one of the chiefest prelates of the church, an archbishop, the chief of the council, the second peer in the realm of long time: a man, as might

be thought, in greatest assurance, a king of his side; notwithstanding all his authority and defence to be debased from an high estate to a low degree; of a counsellor to be a caitiff; and to be set in so wretched estate, that the poorest wretch would not change conditions with him.

'"The last and end appertained unto him: whom he comforted and encouraged to take his death well, by many places of Scripture. And with these, and such, bidding him nothing mistrust but he should incontinently receive that the thief did: to whom Christ said, *Hodie mecum eris in paradiso.* And out of St. Paul armed him against the terrors of the fire, by this: *Dominus fidelis est*: *Non sinet nos tentari ultra quam ferre potestis*: by the example of the three children; to whom God made the flame seem like a pleasant dew. He added hereunto the rejoicing of St. Andrew in his cross; the patience of St. Laurence on the fire; ascertaining him, that God, if he called on him, and to such as die in his faith, either will abate the fury of the flame, or give him strength to abide it. He glorified God much in his conversion; because it appeared to be only his work: declaring what travel and conference had been used with him to convert him, and all prevailed not, till it pleased God of his mercy to reclaim him, and call him home. In discussing of which place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his former doing.

'"And I had almost forgotten to tell you, that Mr. Cole promised him, that he should be prayed for in every church in Oxford, and should have mass and *Dirige* sung for him; and spake to all the priests present to say mass for his soul.

'"When he had ended his sermon, he desired all the people to pray for him; Mr. Cranmer kneeling down with them and praying for himself. I think there was never such a number so earnestly praying together. For they, that hated him before, now loved him for his conversion, and hope of continuance. They that loved before could not sodenly hate him, having hope of his confession again of his fall. So love and hope increased devotion on every side.

'"I shall not need, for the time of sermon, to describe his behaviour, his sorrowful countenance, his heavy cheer, his face bedewed with tears; sometime lifting his eyes to heaven in hope, sometime casting them down to the earth for shame; to be brief, an image of sorrow: the dolor of his heart bursting out at his eyes in plenty of tears: retaining ever a quiet and grave behaviour. Which increased the pity in men's hearts, that they unfeignedly loved him, hoping it had been his repentance for his transgression and error. I shall not need, I say, to point it out unto you; you can much better imagine it yourself.

'"When praying was done, he stood up, and, having leave to speak, said, Good people, I had intended indeed to desire you to pray for me; which because Mr. Doctor hath desired, and you have done already, I thank you most heartily for it. And now will I pray for myself, as I could best devise for mine own comfort, and say the prayer, word for word, as I have here written it. And he read it standing, and after kneeled down, and said the Lord's Prayer; and all the people on their knees devoutly praying with him. His prayer was thus:

'"O FATHER of heaven; O Son of God, Redeemer of the world; O Holy Ghost, proceeding from them both, three persons and one God, have mercy upon me most wretched caitiff, and miserable sinner. I who have offended both heaven and earth, and more grievously than any tongue can express, whither then may I go, or whither shall I fly for succour? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes; and in earth I find no refuge. What shall I then do? shall I despair? God forbid. O good God, thou art merciful, and refusest none that come unto thee for succour. To thee therefore do I run. To thee do I humble myself: saying, O Lord God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. O God the Son, thou wast not made man, this great mystery was not wrought, for few or small offences. Nor thou didst not give thy Son unto death, O God the Father, for our little and small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world: so that the sinner return unto thee with a penitent heart: as I do here at this present. Wherefore have mercy upon me, O Lord, whose property is always to have mercy. For although my sins be great, yet thy mercy is greater. I crave nothing, O Lord, for mine own merits, but for thy name's sake, that it may be glorified thereby: and for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake. And now therefore, Our Father, which art in heaven, &c.

'"Then rising, he said, Every man desireth, good people, at the time of their deaths, to give some good exhortation, that other may remember after their deaths, and be the better thereby. So I beseech God grant me grace, that I may speak something, at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified.

'"First, It is an heavy case to see, that many folks be so much doted upon the love of this false world, and so careful for it, that for the love of God, or the love of the world to come, they seem to care very little or nothing therefore. This shall be my first exhortation. That you set not overmuch by this false glossing world, but upon God and the world to come: and learn to know what this lesson meaneth, which St. John teacheth, *that the love of this world is hatred against God.*

'"The second exhortation is, That, next unto God, you obey your king and queen willingly and gladly, without murmur or grudging; and not for fear of them only, but much more for the fear of God, knowing that they be God's ministers, appointed by God to rule and govern you. And therefore whoso resisteth them, resisteth God's ordinance.

'"The third exhortation is, That you love altogether like brethren and sisters. For, alas! pity it is to see what contention and hatred one Christian man hath to another; not taking each other as sisters and brothers; but rather as strangers and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn and bear well away this one lesson, To do good to all men as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more than you would hurt your own natural and loving brother or sister. For this you may be sure of, that whosoever hateth any person, and goeth about maliciously to hinder or hurt him, surely, and without all doubt, God is not with that man, although he think himself never so much in God's favour.

'"The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have great substance and riches of this world, That they will well consider and weigh those sayings of the Scripture. One is of our Saviour Christ himself, who saith, *It is hard for a rich man to enter into heaven:* a sore saying, and yet spoke by him that knew the truth. The second is of St. John, whose saying is this, *He that hath the substance of this world, and seeth his brother in necessity, and shutteth up his mercy from him, how can he say he loveth God?* Much more might I speak of every part: but time sufficeth not. I do but put you in remembrance of things. Let all them that be rich ponder well those sentences: for if ever they had any occasion to show their charity, they have now at this present, the poor people being so many, and victuals so dear. For though I have been long in prison, yet I have heard of the great penury of the poor. Consider, that that which is given to the poor is given to God: whom we have not otherwise present corporally with us, but in the poor.

'"And now, for so much as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life passed, and my life to come, either to live with my Saviour Christ in heaven, in joy, or else to be in pains ever with wicked devils in hell; and I see before mine eyes presently either heaven ready to receive me, or hell ready to swallow me up; I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith, how I believe, without colour or dissimulation; for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have written in times past.

'"First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, &c., and every article of the Catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Christ, his apostles, and prophets, in the Old and New Testament.

'"And now I come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that ever I said or did in my life: and that is, the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth. Which here now I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and writ for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be: and that is, all such bills which I have written or signed with mine own hand since my degradation: wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished: for if I may come to the fire it shall be first burned. And as for the pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and antichrist, with all his false doctrine.

'"And here, being admonished of his recantation and dissembling, he said, Alas, my Lord, I have been a man that all my life loved plainness, and never dissembled till now against the truth; which I am most sorry for. He added hereunto that, for the sacrament, he believed as he had taught in his book against the bishop of Winchester. And here he was suffered to speak no more.

'"So that his speech contained chiefly three points, love to God, love to the king, and love to the neighbour. In the which talk he held men very suspense, which all depended upon the conclusion: where he so far deceived all men's expectations, that at the hearing thereat they were much amazed; and let him go on a while, till my Lord Williams bad him play the Christen man, and remember himself. To whom he answered, That he so did: for now he spake truth.

'"Then he was carried away; and a great number, that did run to see him go so wickedly to his death, ran after him, exhorting him, while time was, to remember himself. And one Friar John, a godly and well-learned man, all the way travelled with him to reduce him. But it would not be. What they said in particular I cannot tell, but the effect appeared in the end: for at the stake he professed that he died in all such opinions as he had taught, and oft repented him of his recantation.

'"Coming to the stake with a cheerful countenance and willing mind, he put off his garments with haste, and stood upright in his shirt; and a bachelor of divinity, named Elye, of Brazen-nose college, laboured to convert him to his former recantation, with the two Spanish friars. But when the friars saw his constancy, they said in Latin one to another, *Let us go from him; we ought not to be nigh him: for the devil is with him.* But the bachelor in divinity was more earnest with him: unto whom he answered that, as concerning his recantation, he repented it right sore,

because he knew it was against the truth; with other words more. Whereupon the Lord Williams cried, Make short, make short. Then the bishop took certain of his friends by the hand. But the bachelor of divinity refused to take him by the hand, and blamed all others that so did, and said he was sorry that ever he came in his company. And yet again he required him to agree to his former recantation. And the bishop answered (showing his hand), This is the hand that wrote it, and therefore shall it suffer first punishment.

'"Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his right hand, and thrust it into the flame, and held it there a good space before the fire came to any other part of his body; where his hand was seen of every man sensibly burning, crying with a loud voice, *This hand hath offended.* As soon as the fire got up, he was very soon dead, never stirring or crying all the while.

'"His patience in the torment, his courage in dying, if it had been taken either for the glory of God, the wealth of his country, or the testimony of truth, as it was for a pernicious error, and subversion of true religion, I could worthily have commended the example, and matched it with the fame of any father of ancient time; but, seeing that not the death, but the cause and quarrel thereof, commendeth the sufferer, I cannot but much dispraise his obstinate stubbornness and sturdiness in dying, and specially in so evil a cause. Surely his death much grieved every man; but not after one sort. Some pitied to see his body so tormented with the fire raging upon the silly carcase, that counted not of the folly. Other, that passed not much of the body, lamented to see him spill his soul wretchedly, without redemption, to be plagued for ever. His friends sorrowed for love; his enemies for pity; strangers for a common kind of humanity, whereby we are bound one to another. Thus I have enforced myself, for your sake, to discourse this heavy narration, contrary to my mind; and, being more than half weary, I make a short end, wishing you a quieter life, with less honour; and easier death, with more praise. The 23rd of March. Yours, J. A."

'All this is the testimony of an adversary, and, therefore, we must allow for some of his words; but may be the more certain of the archbishop's brave courage, constancy, patience, Christian and holy behaviour, being related by one so affected.'[1]

The feelings about his wife which agitated Bainham, and which were so happily removed by his conference with Latimer, might have been expected more or less to affect every one of the martyrs who were bound to earth by this most sacred tie; but

[1] Strype's *Cranmer*, 551–559, 8vo. 384–390. fol.

this does not appear to have been the case; and not only did many women suffer gloriously and patiently themselves, not only did men who were married, willingly resign their wives and families to the care of God, but several women were found who seem to have animated their partners to the struggle, as well by their prayers as by their assistance and advice.

Laurence Saunders was born of worshipful parentage, was educated at Eton, and King's College, Cambridge, and having taken orders he boldly preached in his parish-church of Allhallows, Bread Street, and was consequently confined and detained there for a very considerable time before his martyrdom (Fox, iii. 113). 'As the said Master Saunders was in prison, strait charge was given to the keeper that no person should speak with him. His wife yet came to the prison-gate with her young child in her arms, to visit her husband. The keeper though for his charge he durst not suffer her to come into the prison, yet did he take the little babe out of her arms, and brought him unto his father; Laurence Saunders seeing him rejoiced greatly, saying that he rejoiced more to have such a boy, than he should if two thousand pounds were given him. And unto the standers by, which praised the goodliness of the child, he said, "What man, fearing God, would not lose his life present, rather than by prolonging it here, he should adjudge this boy to be a bastard, his wife a whore, and himself a whoremonger? Yea, if there were no other cause for which a man of my estate should lose his life, yet who would not give it to avouch this child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be lawful and holy?"

'I do, good reader, recite this saying, not only to let thee see what he thought of priests' marriage, but chiefly to let all married couples and parents learn to bear in their bosoms true affections; natural, yet seasoned with the true salt of the Spirit, unfeignedly and thoroughly mortified to do the natural works and offices of married couples and parents, so long as with their doing they may keep Christ with a free confessing faith in a conscience unfoil; otherwise both they and their own lives are so to be forsaken, as Christ required them to be denied, and given in his cause.'

This good man was afterwards condemned to death, and sent to Coventry to be burnt. From the length of time during which he was in prison, he had the opportunity of addressing many letters to his friends, particularly to his wife, which are printed in the *Acts and Mon.*, and in the *Letters of the Martyrs*. Among a vast number of others, the following occurs addressed to his wife, wherein allusion is made to a shirt, which seems to have been prepared for his execution. There is no date to it. It is addressed 'To his wife and other of his friends.'

'Grace and comfort in Christ. Amen. Dear wife, be merry in the mercies of our Christ, and ye also, my dear friends: pray for us, every body. We be shortly to be dispatched hence to our good Christ. Amen. Amen. Wife, I would you sent me my shirt (a), which you know whereunto it is consecrated. Let it be sewed down on both sides, and not open. O my heavenly Father, look upon me in the face of thy Christ, or else I shall not be able to abide thy countenance, such is my filthiness. He will do so, and therefore I will not be afraid what sin, death, hell, and damnation can do against me. Oh wife, always remember the Lord. God bless you! Yea, he will bless thee, good wife, and thy poor boy also; only cleave thou unto him, and he will give thee all things. Pray, pray, pray' (Fox's *Martyrs*, iii. 118; *Letters of the Martyrs*, 206). Tyndale, writing to Frith, then in the Tower, says (*Works*, 453; Fox, ii. 307), 'Fear not threatening, therefore, neither be overcome with sweet words; with which twain the hypocrites shall assail you; neither let the persuasions of worldly wisdom bear rule in your heart; no, though they be your friends that counsel you. Let Bilney be a warning to you. Let not their visure beguile your eyes. Let not your body faint. He that endureth to the end shall be saved. If the pain be above your strength, remember, *Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name I will give it you.* And pray to your Father in that name, and he will ease your pain or shorten it. The Lord of peace, of hope, and of faith, be with you. Amen.' And again: 'Two have suffered at Antwerp, &c. See, you are not alone: be cheerful, and remember that, among the hardhearted in England, there is a number reserved for grace; for whose sake, if need be, you must be ready to suffer.' He then gives some account of the printing of Joye's Bible, and ends, 'Sir, your wife is well content with the will of God, and would not for her sake have the glory of God hindered. William Tyndale.'

(a) Rawlins White, fisherman, desired his wife to send him his wedding garment or shirt, in which he was afterwards burnt. Fox, iii. 181.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

B.C.

55. Julius Cæsar invades Britain.

A.D.

44. Claudius invades Britain.
50. Caractacus captive at Rome.
61. Anglesey taken by Suetonius.
67. St. Peter and St. Paul put to death at Rome.
80. Conquests of Agricola in Britain.
120. Adrian's wall built.
167-76. King Lucius embraces Christianity.
208. Severus in Britain. The wall between the Forth and Clyde built in the next year.
286. Carausius usurps the government in Britain.
301. Martyrdom of St. Alban.
307. Constantine emperor of Rome.
314. The Council of Arles.
325. The Council of Nice.
347. The Council of Sardica.
359. The Council of Ariminum.
383. Maximus takes the flower of the British forces from England.
416. The Pelagian heresy condemned in Africa.
427. The Romans finally leave Britain.
449. Hengist and Horsa land in England.
457. The kingdom of Kent, the first of the Heptarchy, established.
476. Rome taken by the Heruli.
493. St. Patrick, who converted Ireland, dies.
515. The supposed date of King Arthur.
560. Gildas, the first English historian, flourished.
582. The kingdom of Mercia, the last of the Heptarchy, established.
586. The British church had retired into Wales.
597. Augustin comes to Thanet.
601. The meeting of the Saxon and British churches in Worcestershire.
622. Æra of the Hegyra, or flight of Mahomet.
664. The Council of Whitby.

A.D.
678. Sussex, the last of the Heptarchy, converted to Christianity.
730. The edict of Leo Isaurus against image-worship.
Origin of the civil dominion of the popes.
735. The venerable Bede dies.
754. The pope re-established in his temporal power by Pepin.
787. The Danes invade England. Lichfield made an archbishopric.
The second Council of Nice.
872. Alfred begins his reign.
880. Schism between the Latin and Greek churches.
934. The Battle of Burnanberg placed all England under Athelstan.
940. Howel Dha, king of Wales.
996. The publication of Elfric's homily against Transubstantiation.
1013. Sweno, king of England and Denmark.
1041. Edward the Confessor.
1059. The Waldenses separated from Rome.
1066. Harold II. conquered at Battle.

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY BEFORE THE CONQUEST.

597. Augustin.
604. Laurence.
619. Mellitus.
624. Justus.
634. Honorius.
654. Adeodatus.
668. Theodore.
693. Birthwald.
731. Tatwine.
735. Nothelm.
742. Cuthbert.
759. Bregwin.
763. Lambrith, or Lambert.
793. Athelard.
804. Wulfred.
830. Theolgild.
830. Ceolnoth.
871. Atheldred.
891. Phlegmund.
923. Athelm.
928. Wulfelm.
941. Odo Severus.
954. Dunstan.
988. Ethelgar.
989. Siric.
996. Aluricius.
1005. Elphege.
1013. Living, or Leovingus.
1020. Agelnoth, or Æthelnot.
1038. Edsine, or Eadsius.
1050. Robert Gemeticensis.
1052. Stigand.

	Kings of England	Popes	Archbishops of Canterbury	Remarkable Events
1066	William I.			
1070			Lanfranc, 1070.	
		Gregory VII. 1073.		
				1079. Doomsday book begun
1080				
				81. Osmond, bishop of Sarum, frames the Service Book in Usum Sarum
		Victor III. 1086.		
1087	William II.			
		Urban II. 1088.		
1090				
			Anselm, 1093.	
				95. The first crusade; Peter the Hermit
		Pascal II. 1099.		99. The Knights of St. John instituted
1100	Henry I.			
				1105. Anselm goes to Rome about investitures
1110				
			Rodulph, 1114.	
		Gelasius II. 1118.		
		Callixtus II. 1119.		
				19. The order of Knights Templars instituted
1120				
			W. Corboyl, 1122.	
		Honorius II. 1124.		
1130		Innocent II. 1130.		
1135	Stephen.			
				37. The Pandects of the Roman law discovered at Amalphi
			Theobald, 1138.	
1140				40. Canon law introduced into England William of Malmsbury flourished
		Celestin II. 1143.		
		Lucius II. 1144.		
		Eugenius III. 1145.		
				47. Second crusade; St. Bernard. Geoffrey of Monmouth flourished
1150				
				51. The canon law collected by Gratian
		Anastasius IV. 1153.		

	Kings of England	Popes	Archbishops of Canterbury	Remarkable Events
1154	Henry II.	Adrian IV. 1154. Alexander III. 1159.		
1160			T. Becket, 1162.	1160. Some Germans punished for heresy at Oxford
				64. Constitutions of Clarendon
1170			Richard, 1171.	71. T. Becket murdered 72. Conquest of Ireland 75. Greathead born
1180		Lucius III. 1181. Urban III. 1185. Gregory VIII. 1187. Clement III. 1187.	Baldwin, 1184.	
1189	Richard I.	Celestin III. 1191.	Reginald Fitz Jocelin, 1191. Hubert Walter, 1193.	89. The third crusade
		Innocent III. 1198.		
1199	John.			1200. Mariner's compass used 2. Fourth crusade 4. The inquisition established 8. London incorporated by charter
1210			Stephen Langton, 1207.	10. One of the Albigenses burnt in London Crusade against them in France 15. Magna Charta
1216	Henry III.	Honorius III. 1216.		
1220				21. The first mendicant established in Oxford 22. A deacon burnt for apostasy
		Gregory IX. 1227.		
			R. Wethershed, 1229.	

	Kings of England	Popes	Archbishops of Canterbury	Remarkable Events
1230			Edmund, 1234.	1235. Greathead, bishop of Lincoln
1240		Celestin IV. 1241 Innocent IV. 1243.	Boniface, 1245.	49. University college, Oxford, founded
1250		Alexander IV. 1254.		59. Matthew Paris ob.
1260				
1261		Urban IV. 1261. Clement IV. 1265.		65. Knights and burgesses summoned to Parliament
1270		Gregory X. 1271.		
1272	Edward I.	Innocent V. 1276. Adrian V. 76. John XXI. 76. Nicholas III. 1277.	Rob. Kilwarby, 1272. J. Peckham, 1278.	79. Statute of Mortmain
1280		Martin IV. 1281. Honorius IV. 1285. Nicholas IV. 1288.		83. Final reduction of Wales 84. Roger Bacon ob. About this time Stamford became an university for a short period
1290		Celestin V. 1294. Boniface VIII. 1294.	Rob. Winchelsey, 1294.	
1300		Benedict XI. 1303.		1301. The barons assert the independence of England in a letter to the pope

	Kings of England	Popes	Archbishops of Canterbury	Remarkable Events
		Clement V. 1305.		
1307	Edward II.			
				1308. The seat of the pope transferred to Avignon
1310				
				12. The order of Knight Templars dissolved
			Walter Raynold, 1313.	
		John XXII. 1316.		
1320				
1327	Edward III.		Simon Mepham, 1328.	
1330				
			Joseph Stratford, 1333.	
		Benedict XII. 1334.		
1340				
		Clement VI. 1342.		
				43. The houses of lords an commons distinct
			Th. Bradwardine, 1349.	46. Battle of Cressy
			Simon Islip, 1349.	48. Some Flagellants lande in England, but mad no proselytes
1350				
		Innocent VI. 1352.		52. Statute of Præmunire
				The Plowman's Com plaint was publishe about this period
				56. Battle of Poictiers
1360				
		Urban V. 1362.	Simon Langham, 1366.	
			Will. Wittlesey, 1368.	
				69. Tamerlane the Mog Conqueror.
1370		Gregory XI. 1370.		
				71. The Parliament petitic that secular employ ments may not be he by churchmen
			Simon Sudbury, 1375.	
				76. Edward the Black Prin dies
1377	Richard II.			77. Wiclif answers befo Courtney in St. Paul's
		1378.		78. Grand schism of t West

	Kings of England	Popes		Archbishops of Canterbury	Remarkable Events
1380		Rome.	Avignon.	Will. Courtney 1381.	1381. Wat the Tiler's insurrection; S. Sudbury murdered
		Urban VI.	Clement VII.		83. Cannon first used by the English in defence of Calais
					84. Wiclif ob.
					87. Winchester sch. founded
					88. Commission against the Lollards
		1389.			
1390		Boniface IX.	1394. Benedict XIII.		95. The petition of the Lollards is presented to Parliament
1399	Henry IV.			Thomas Arundel, 1396.	1400. Statute against the Lollards
		1404. Innocent VII.			1. William Sawtrey, priest, burnt for heresy
		1406. Gregory XII.	Pisa. 1409.		7. Bank established at Genoa
					9. Council of Pisa, which deposes Gregory
			Alexander V. 1410.		10. Badby burnt
1413	Henry V.		John XXIII.	Hen. Chichley, 1414.	14. Council of Constance
					15. John Huss burnt
					Battle of Agincourt
					16. Jerome of Prague burnt
		Martin V. 1417.			17. Paper made from rags
					18. Lord Cobham hanged and burnt
1422	Henry VI.				
					28. Joan of Arc raises the siege of Orleans
		Eugenius IV. 1431.			31. Council of Basil
					36. Chevy Chase
		Felix IV. or V. 1439.			
1440					40. Printing established by Guttenberg, at Strasburg
					41. Eton school founded
				John Stafford, 1443.	44. Pecock, bishop of St. Asaph
		Nicholas V. 1447.			
1450					50. Pecock, bishop of Chichester

	Kings of England	Popes	Archbishops of Canterbury	Remarkable Events
1452			Joseph Kemp, 1452.	1452. The wars of Lancaste and York
			Thomas Bouchier, 1454.	53. Constantinople taken by the Turks
		Callixtus III. 1455.		End of the English government in France
		Pius II. 1458.		58. Pecock deposed
				59. Engraving on copper invented
1460	Edward IV.			
1461		Paul II. 1464.		
1470				
1471	Henry VI. restored.	Sixtus IV. 1471.		
1472	Edward IV. restored.			73. A press established in England, probably in Westminster Abbey
1480	Edward V.			
1483	Richard III.			83. Luther born
		Innocent VIII.		
1485	Henry VII.	1484.		85. Battle of Bosworth
			John Morton, 1486.	86. Cape of Good Hope discovered
1490				
				91. End of the empire of the Moors in Spain
		Alexander VI. 1492.		92. Discovery of Hispaniola by C. Columbus
				94. Algebra introduced into Europe
				98. Main Land of America discovered, and a new passage to India
1500			Henry Dean, 1501.	
		Pius III. 1503.	William Warham, 1503.	
		Julius II. 1503.		5. Colet, dean of St. Paul's
1509	Henry VIII.			
				12. Council of St. John Lateran
				13. Battle of Flodden Field
		Leo X. 1513.		14. Hunne murdered in prison
				17. Luther preaches against indulgences
				19. First voyage round the world by Magellan
1520				
				21. Henry VIII. declared Defender of the Faith

	Kings of England	Popes	Archbishops of Canterbury	Remarkable Events
1522		Adrian VI. 1523. Clement VII. 1523.		
1525				1524. Sweden and Denmark embrace the reformed faith 28. P. Hamilton burnt at St. Andrew's 29. Trial of the Divorce; Wolsey's fall Diet of Spires; name of Protestant first given
1530				30. Title of Supreme Head of the Church acknowledged by the clergy; diet of Augsburg, and league of Smalcalde 31. The bishops directed to prepare a new translation of the Bible 32. Marriage with Anne Boleyn
		Paul III. 1534.	Thomas Cranmer, 1533.	33. The divorce pronounced Elizabeth born 34. The marriage of Henry and Catharine confirmed at Rome
1535				35. Sir T. More and Bishop Fisher executed Visitation of the monasteries Order of Jesuits founded 36. Queen Catharine dies Queen Anne Boleyn executed Henry marries Jane Seymour Articles published by the king Pilgrimage of grace 37. The *Institution* published Edward born; Jane dies 38. Lambert burnt Henry excommunicated 39. New bishoprics erected by act of parliament Act of the Six Articles passed Cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's
1540				40. Henry marries Anne of Cleves

	Kings of England	Popes	Archbishops of Canterbury	Remarkable Events
1540				1540. Henry divorced Cromwell beheaded Barnes, &c., burnt Henry marries Cath Howard
				41. Cath. Howard beheaded
				42. Birth of Mary and death of James V. of Scotland
				43. *Erudition* published Henry marries Catherine Parr War with France
1545				45. Colleges and chantries given to the king The Council of Trent sits
1546				46. Peace with France; Cardinal Beaton assassinated
1547	Edward VI. Jan. 29.			47. The Earl of Surrey executed Homilies printed
				48. New Communion Cranmer's Catechism The Interim published
				49. Joan Bocher burnt
1550		Julius III. 1550.		50. Foreign churches established under A'Lasco
				51. Commission for reforming the ecclesiastical laws
				52. The Protector executed Treaty of Passau
1553	Mary, July 6.			53. Catechism published (Ponet's.) The acts of Edw. VI. repealed
				54. Wyat executed Disputations at Oxford Marriage of the queen
1555		Marcellus II. Paul IV. 1555.		55. Feast of reconciliation of the nation Peace of Augsburg Latimer and Ridley burnt
			Cardinal Pole, 1556.	56. Cranmer suffers at Oxford Bonner's Homilies published
				57. War with France
1558	Elizabeth, Nov. 17.			58. Calais taken Mary queen of Scots married to the dauphin Revision of the Liturgy
		Pius IV. 1559.	M. Parker. 1559.	59. Disputation at Westminster.

	Kings of England	Popes	Archbishops of Canterbury	Remarkable Events
1560				1560. Peace with France and Scotland Reformation established in Scotland 61. St. Paul's, London, bt. 62. Assistance sent to the French Protestants 63. End of Council of Trent Convocation, the Thirty-nine Articles passed Plague in England 64. Second Book of Homilies distributed Calvin dies
1565				65. Sampson deprived of the deanery of Christ Church
		Pius V. 1566.		66. Thirty-seven London ministers suspended for the dresses The church of Scotland writes to the church of England in favour of toleration 67. Schism of the London divines Persecutions under the duke of Alva in the Netherlands 68. Mary Queen of Scots enters England 69. The northern rebellion
1570				70. Regent Murray murdered Felton affixes the bull to the door of the bishop of London 71. The Ecclesiastical commission very active
		Gregory XIII. 1572.		72. Presbytery established at Wandsworth Massacre of St. Bartholomew 74. Prophesyings suppressed in the diocese of Norwich
1575			Edm. Grindal, 1575.	75. Two Dutch anabaptists burnt. 76. Antwerp taken by the Spaniards Grindal writes to the queen 77. Prophesyings put down, Grindal sequestered

	Kings of England	Popes	Archbishops of Canterbury	Remarkable Events
1577				1577. Drake sets off from Plymouth Socinus, F. publishes his opinions in Poland about this time
				79. Hamont burnt in Norwich for impiety. Rebellion in Ireland
1580				80. Campian and Persons come to England Drake returns
				81. The parliament petitions the queen for reformation in the church Declaration of the independence of Holland
				82. Reformation in the calendar by the pope. Grindal restored
			John Whitgift, 1583.	83. Chopping and Thacker executed
				84. First English settlements in N. America Prince of Orange shot Association formed to preserve the life of Elizabeth
1585		Sixtus V. 1585.		85. Elizabeth protectress of the Netherlands
				86. Leicester commands in Holland Trial of Mary queen of Scots
				87. Mary queen of Scots executed
				88. Elizabeth excommunicated The Armada sails from the Tagus F. Ket burnt for a heretic
				89. Marriage of James with Anne of Denmark
1590		Urban VII. Gregory XIV. 1590. Innocent IX. 1591. Clement VIII. 1592.		
				91. Trinity coll., Dublin, founded Cartwright before the ecclesiastical commission
				93. Barrow, &c., executed Plague in London
				94. Cardinal Allen dies in Rome

	Kings of England	Popes	Archbishops of Canterbury	Remarkable Events
1595				1595. Lambeth Articles
				98. Edict of Nantes
				Tyrone's rebellion
1600				1600. The pope grants a pardon to the rebels in Ireland as in the case of a crusade
				East India Company established
				1. Essex executed
				Spaniards land in Ireland
1603	James I. March 24.			3. Submission of Tyrone
				Coronation of James and Anne
			Richard Bancroft, 1604.	4. Conference at Hampton Court
1605		Leo XI. 1605. Paul V. 1605.		5. Convocation assemble
				Powder Plot
				6. Garnet executed
				Brief against the oath of allegiance
				7. Brief confirmatory of the last
				9. College at Chelsea founded
				Arminius dies.
1610			George Abbot, April 9, 1610.	10. Moors expelled from Spain
				Henry IV. stabbed by Ravaillac
				11. Translation of the Bible published
				Legate burnt in Smithfield, and Wightman at Lichfield
				12. Charter House founded
				Prince Henry dies
				13. Wadham Coll. founded
				Elizabeth married to the elector palatine
				14. Logarithms invented
1615				18. Beginning of the thirty years' war
				King's declaration for liberty on the Lord's day
				Synod of Dort begins
				Synod of Dort ends
				19. Queen Anne dies
				Discovery of the circulation of the blood
1620				20. Battle of Prague

	Kings of England	Popes	Archbishops of Canterbury	Remarkable Events
1621		Gregory XV. 1621.		1622. Proclamation for releasing popish recusants King's letter about preaching
		Urban VIII. 1623.		23. Charles and Buckingham go to Spain
1625	Charles I. March 27.			26. Letter to the clergy in favour of loans
				27. Abbot suspended
				28. Petition of rights presented Murder of the duke of Buckingham
				29. Charles's instructions to the bishops
1630				30. Laud, Chancellor of Oxford
			William Laud, 1633.	33. Charles crowned at Edinburgh Book of Sports published
1635				35. The Thirty-nine Articles received by the church of Ireland Juxon, lord treasurer
				36. Writs for ship money issued
				37. Tumult in Edinburgh about the Liturgy
				38. General assembly at Glasgow
				39. Peace with Scotland
1640				40. The Parliament meet April 3, dissolved May 5 The Long Parliament meet Nov. 3
				41. Lord Strafford executed Protestation of the bishops
				42. Bishops deprived of their votes Aug. 25. The king's standard raised

	Kings of England	Popes	Archbishops of Canterbury	Remarkable Events
1643				1643. Assembly of divines meet The covenant taken by the houses
		Innocent X. 1664.		44. Surrender of York
1645				45. Laud beheaded Directory introduced
				46. The king surrenders
				47. The king seized by Joyce
				48. Cromwell defeats the Scotch at Preston Conference in the Isle of Wight
1649	Charles I. executed.			49. Cromwell goes to Ireland
1650				50. Charles II. lands in Scotland
				51. Charles II. crowned at Scone Battle of Worcester, September 3
1653	Cromwell, Protector, Dec. 16.			53. Cromwell dissolves the parliament
				54. Triers appointed
1655		Alexander VII. 1655.		55. Archbishop Usher dies
				57. Inauguration of Cromwell
1658	Richard Cromwell, Sept. 3.			
1660	Charles II. restored.		Will. Juxon, 1660.	60. Trial and execution of the regicides 61. Savoy conference
				62. Episcopacy restored in Scotland Nonconformist ministers ejected
			Gilbert Sheldon, 1663.	63. Lord Bristol exhibits articles against Lord Clarendon

	Kings of England	Popes	Archbishops of Canterbury	Remarkable Events
1664				1664. The duke of York takes a fleet of Dutch merchantmen
				65. Plague in London Parliament meets at Oxford
				66. The fire of London The covenanters beaten by Dalziel
		Clement IX. 1667.		67. The Dutch enter the Medway. Banishment of Lord Clarendon
				68. Bridgman's attempt at a comprehension
1670		Clement X. 1670.		70. The duchess of Portsmouth came over with the duchess of Orleans
				71. Duchess of York dies
				72. The exchequer shut. The De Witts put to death in Holland
				73. Test act passes James marries the princess of Modena
1675		Innocent XI. 1676.	Will. Sancroft, 1677.	
				78. Oates's plot
				79. Archbishop Sharp murdered Dangerfield's plot. Habeas Corpus passed
1680				80. Lord Stafford executed
				83. Rye-house plot. Lord Russell beheaded The charter of the city of London made void
1685	James II. Feb. 6.			85. Revocation of the Edic of Nantes
1689	William and Mary.	Alexander VIII. 1689.		89. Episcopacy abolished in Scotland
1690		Innocent XII. 1691.	John Tillotson. 1691.	

TABLE I. *ANGLO-SAXON AND DANISH KINGS OF ENGLAND.*

1. EGBERT, surnamed THE GREAT, first King of all England, 827; † 836.
   - 2. ETHELWOLF, King, 836; † 857.
     - 3. ETHELBALD, King, 857; † 860.
     - 4. ETHELBERT, King, 860; † 866.
     - 5. ETHELRED I., King, 866; † 871.
     - 6. ALFRED, called THE GREAT, King, 871; † 901.
       - 7. EDWARD, called THE ANCIENT, King, 901; † 925.
         - 8. ATHELSTAN, King, 925; † 941.
         - 9. EDMUND I. King, 941; † 946.
         - 10. EDRED, King, 946; † 955.
           - 11. EDWY, King, 955; † 957.
           - 12. EDGAR, called THE PACIFIC, King, 957; † 975.
             - 13. EDWARD, surnamed THE MARTYR, King, 975; assassinated, 978.
             - 14 and 16. ETHELRED II. King, 978; deposed, 1013; re-established, 1014; † 1016.
               - 17. EDMUND II. surnamed IRONSIDE, King, 1016; † 1017.
                 - *Edward*, † 1057.
                   - *Edgar Atheling.*
                 - * * * *Godwin*, Count of Kent, 1053.
                   - 22. HAROLD II. King of England, 1066; defeated, and killed by *William the Conqueror*, 1066.
               - 21. EDWARD III. surnamed THE CONFESSOR, King, 1042; † 1066.
                 - * * * * *Harold Blaatand*, King of Denmark.
                   - 15. SWENO, King of England and of Denmark, 1013; † 1014.
                   - 18. CANUTE, called THE GREAT, King of England and of Denmark, 1017; † 1036.
                     - 19. HAROLD I. King of England, 1036; † 1039.
                     - 20. HARDIKNUTE, King of England and of Denmark, 1039; † 1041.

TABLE II. *KINGS OF ENGLAND OF THE NORMAN RACE.*

1. WILLIAM I. surnamed THE CONQUEROR, Duke of Normandy, King of England, 1066; † 1087.
   - 2. WILLIAM II. surnamed RUFUS, King, 1087; † 1100.
   - 3. HENRY I. surnamed BEAUCLERC, King. 1100; † 1135.
     - *Matilda*, declared Heiress of the Throne, 1127; † 1167; married, (1) HENRY V. Emperor of Germany, † 1125; (2) *Geoffrey Plantagenet*, Count of Anjou, 1127; FOUNDER of the House of PLANTAGENET. See TABLE III.
     - *Adelaide*, † 1137; married *Stephen*, Count of Blois.
       - 4. STEPHEN, King, 1135; † 1154,

TABLE III. *KINGS OF ENGLAND OF THE HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET.*

Matilda, daughter of King Henry I. (see TABLE II.) declared Heiress of the Throne of England, 1127 ; † 1167 ; married *Geoffrey*, surnamed *Plantagenet*, Count of Anjou ; † 1151.

5. HENRY II. King, 1154 ; †1189 ; married *Eleanor* of Poitou (divorced by Louis VII.), and heiress of Poitou and Gascony, 1152.

6. RICHARD I. called CŒUR DE LION, King, 1189 ; † 1199.

7. JOHN, called LACK-LAND, King, 1199 ; † 1216.

8. HENRY III. King, 1216 ; † 1272.

Richard, elected Emperor of Germany, 1257 ; † 1272.

9. EDWARD I. surnamed LONGSHANKS, King, 1272 ; † 1307.

Edmund, called *the Humpbacked*, Earl of Lancaster, pret. eldest son. † 1296.

10. EDWARD II. King, 1307 ; † 1327 ; married *Isabella*, daughter of Philip the Fair, King of France.

Henry, Earl of Lancaster, † 1345.

11. EDWARD III. King, 1327 ; † 1377.

Henry, surnamed *Grismond*, Earl of Lancaster, † 1361.

Edward the Black, Prince of Wales, † 1376.

12. RICHARD II. King, 1377 ; deposed 1399 ; † 1400.

William Lionel, Duke of Clarence, † 1368.

Philippa of Clarence, married *Edmund Mortimer*, 1368.

Roger Mortimer, declared Heir to the Crown, 1385 ; † 1399.

Anne Mortimer, first Heiress of the rights of Lionel ; married *Richard*, Earl of Cambridge, son of Edmund, Duke of York, and grandson of King Edward III. FOUNDER of the WHITE ROSE.

John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, † 1399 ; married *Blanche*, first Heiress of the rights of Lancaster.

13. HENRY IV. King, 1399 ; † 1413.

14. HENRY V. King, 1413, † 1422 ; married *Catharine of France*, dr. of Charles VI.

15 HENRY VI. King of England & France, 1422 ; killed 1472.

John Beaufort, natural son, adopted ; † 1410.

John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, † 1444.

Margaret Beaufort, † 1509, second Heiress of the rights of Lancaster ; married *Edmund Tudor*, Earl of Richmond, FOUNDER of the House of TUDOR. See TABLE IV.

Edmund, Duke of York, † 1402.

Richard, Earl of Cambridge, †1415 ; married *Anne Mortimer* first Heiress of the rights of Lionel, Duke of Clarence.

Richard, Duke of York, Protector 1455 ; † 1460.

16. EDWARD IV. King, 1461, and 1472 ; † 1483.

19. EDWARD V. King, 1483 ; killed 1483.

Blanche, first Heiress of the rights of Lancaster, † 1369 ; married *John of Gaunt*, third son of Edward III. FOUNDER of the RED ROSE.

18. RICHARD III. King, 1483 ; killed at the battle of Bosworth, 1485.

Elizabeth, second Heiress of the rights of Lionel, Duke of Clarence ; married Henry VII. King of England. See TABLE IV.

TABLE IV. *KINGS OF ENGLAND OF THE HOUSE OF TUDOR.*

Margaret Beaufort, second Heiress of the rights of Lancaster, or of the Red Rose (see TABLE III.), † 1509; married Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, son of Owen Tudor and of Queen Catherine of Valois, widow of King Henry V.

19. HENRY VII. surnamed TUDOR, King after the victory of Bosworth, 1485; † 1509; married *Elizabeth*, daughter of King Edward IV., second Heiress of the rights of York, or of the White Rose, 1486. See TABLE III.

Arthur, P. of Wales, † 1502; married *Catharine of Arragon*.

Margaret, born 1489; mar. *James IV.* (Stuart) King of Scotland, FOUNDER of the House of STUART. See TABLE V.

20. HENRY VIII., born 1495; King, 1509; † 1547; married, (1) *Catherine of Arragon*, dr. of Ferdinand the Catholic, and widow of his brother, 1509; divorced, 1533; (2) *Anne Boleyn*, 1533; beheaded, 1536; (3) *Jane Seymour*, 1536; † in child-birth, 1537.

Mary, born 1498; † 1533; married, (1) *Louis XII.* King of France, 1514; † 1515; (2) *Charles Brandon*, Duke of Suffolk, 1517.

(1) 22. MARY, born 1516; Queen, 1553; † 1558; married *Philip II.* King of Spain, 1554.

(2) 23. ELIZABETH, born, 1533; Queen, 1558; † 1603.

(3) 21. EDWARD VI. born 1537; King, 1547; † 1553.

Frances Brandon, † 1563; married *Henry Gray*, Marquis of Dorset, Duke of Suffolk, beheaded 1554.

Jane Gray, born 1537; proclaimed Queen, 1553; beheaded, 1554; mar. 1553, *Guilford Dudley*, son of John, Duke of Northumberland; beheaded, 1554.

TABLE V. *KINGS OF GREAT BRITAIN OF THE HOUSE OF STUART.*

Margaret Tudor, eldest daughter of King Henry VII. (see TABLE IV.) † 1539; mar. *James IV.* King of Scotland, of the House of Stuart, 1503; † 1513.

James V. King of Scotland, † 1542; mar. (1) *Magdalen*, dr. of Francis I. King of France, 1536; † 1537; (2) *Mary of Lorraine*, dr. of Claud, Duke of Guise, 1538; † 1560.

(2) *Mary Stuart*, born 1542; Queen of Scotland, 1542; of France, 1559; beheaded, 1587; married (1) *Francis II.* King of France, 1559; † 1560; (2) *Henry Stuart*, Lord Darnley, 1564; assassinated, 1567.

(2) 24. JAMES I. (VI.), born 1566; King of Scotland, 1567; of England, 1603; takes the title of King of Great Britain, 1604; † 1625; mar. *Anne of Denmark*, † 1619.

Elizabeth, born 1596; † 1661; married *Frederic V.* Elector-Palatine.

25. CHARLES I. born 1600; King of Great Britain, 1625; beheaded, 30th January, 1649, old style; mar. *Henrietta-Maria*, daughter of Henry IV. King of France, 1625; † 1669.

Sophia, born 1630; declared Heiress to the throne of England, 1701; † 18th June, 1714; mar. *Ernest-Augustus*, 1st Elector of Hanover, 1658; FOUNDER of the House of HANOVER. See TABLE VI.

26. CHARLES II. born 1630; King of Great Britain, proclaimed 18th May, 1660; † 1685; married *Catharine*, daughter of John IV. King of Portugal.

Mary, born 1631; † 1661; married *William II.* Prince of Orange, 1641.

27. JAMES II. born 1633; King, 1685; dethroned, 1689; † 1701; married, (1) *Anne Hyde*, 1660; † 1671; (2) *Mary of Modena*, 1673.

Henrietta Maria, born, 1644; † 1670; married *Philip I.* Duke of Orleans, 1661.

28. WILLIAM III. P. of Orange, born 1650; proc. King of Great Britain, with his consort, 1689; † 1702; mar. MARY, dr. of King James II. 1677; † 1695.

(1) 28. MARY, b. 1662, proc. Queen with her husband, 1689; † 1695; mar. WILLIAM III. P. of Orange, 1677; † 1702.

(1) 29. ANNE, b. 1665; (2) *James-Edward* Queen, 1702; † 12th Aug. 1714; mar. *George*, P. of Denmark, 1683; † 1708.

Francis, Pretender.

TABLE VI. *KINGS OF GREAT BRITAIN OF THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.*

Sophia, daughter of Frederic V. Elector Palatine, and of Elizabeth of England, (See TABLE V.) born 1630; declared Heiress to the throne of England, 1701; †18th of June, 1714; married *Ernest-Augustus*, first Elector of Hanover, 1658; †1698.

30. GEORGE I. born 1660; Elector, 1698; King of Great Britain, 1714; †1727; married *Sophia-Dorothea*, Princess of Brunswick-Zell, 1658; †1726.

31. GEORGE II. born 1683; King, 1727; †1760; married *Carolina-Wilhelmina*, Princess of Brandenburg-Anspach, 1705; †1737.

Frederick-Lewis, born 1707; Prince of Wales, 1727; †1751; married *Augusta*, Princess of Saxe-Gotha, 1736; †1772.

William-Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, born 1721; †1765.

Augusta-Frederica, born 1737; †1808; married *Charles-William-Ferdinand*, hereditary Prince of Brunswick, 1764; reigning Duke, 1780; †1806.

32. GEORGE III. born 1738: King, 1760; †1820; married *Sophia-Charlotte*, Princess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, 1761; †1818.

William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, born 1743; †1805; married *Mary*, daughter of Edward Walpole, 1766; †1807.

Henry-Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, born 1746; †1790; married *Anne*, daughter of Simon Luttrell, Earl of Carhampton, 1771; †1787.

Sophia-Matilda, born 1773; †1844.

William-Frederick, Duke of Gloucester, born 1776; married *Mary*, daughter of George III. 1816; †1834.

3. GEORGE IV. b. 1762; King, 1820; † June 26, 1830; m. *Caroline-Amelia*, Princess of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, 1795; †1821.

Frederic, D. of York, b. 1763; †1827; mar. *Frederica*, daughter of Frederic William II. King of Prussia, 1791; †1820.

34. WILLIAM IV. (William Henry Duke of Clarence) b. 1765; mar. *Adelaide*, daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen, 1818; King, 1830; †1837.

Charlotte-Augusta-Matilda, b. 1766; †1828; mar. Frederic Duke of Wirtemberg, 1797, King of Wirtemberg, 1806.

Edward-Augustus, D. of Kent, b. 1767; †1820; married *Victoria*, Princess of Saxe-Cobourg, 1818, widow of the Prince of Leiningen,

Augusta-Sophia, b. 1768.

Elizabeth, b. 1770; mar. Augustus Frederick Prince of Hesse-Homburg 1818.

Ernest-Augustus D. of Cumberland, b. 1771; mar. *Frederica-Caroline-Sophia* daughter of the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz and widow of the Prince of Salms, 1815.

Augustus-Frederick, Duke of Sussex, b. 1773; mar. Lady *Augusta Murray*, 1793. (The marriage annulled.)

Adolphus-Frederick, D. of Cambridge, b. 1774; mar. *Caroline*, Princess of Hesse-Cassel, 1818.

Mary, born 1776; mar. the Duke of Gloucester, 1816.

Sophia, born 1777.

Amelia, born 1783 †1811.

Charlotte-Augusta-Caroline, b. 1796; † Nov. 6, 1817; mar. 1816, Leopold-George, b. 1790, Pr. of Saxe-Cobourg, King of Belgium, 1832.

35. ALEXANDRINA VICTORIA, born 24th May, 1819 QUEEN, 1837.

George-Frederick, born 1819.

George-Augustus, b. 1794.

Matilda-Charlotte, b. 1801.

George-William, b. 1819.

Augusta-Caroline, b. 1822.

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ALI

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